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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME II


VOLUME III


P. 231, KITÂBÂT. 9, Iran and Transoxania, add to Bibl.: Sheila S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxania* (Studies in Islamic art and architecture, supplements to Muqarnas, v), Leiden 1992.


VOLUME VI


VOLUME VII

P. 793, MUT’AZILA. 1, 28, omit and is in the form of a simple outline of what the author expects to develop, and eventually correct, in his *Geschichte der frühen islamischen Theologie*. P. 816b, AL-MUZAFFAR, i, 20, for 292-4, 309-30, read 202-4, 209-30.

P. 913, NAHW. II, 3-4, for which has become the technical term used to denote ‘grammar’, read which has become the technical term used to denote ‘grammar’ in general (to be contrasted with lugha ‘inflectional’), and more specifically, ‘syntax’ (which is the counterpart of sarf or šarîf ‘morphology’ (so that for ‘grammar’ one also finds the phrase nāhâ wa-sarf).

P. 913, i, 16, for relativeness, read relativity (i.e. subordination of clauses).

P. 914, i, 31, for flexional, read inflectional.

P. 914, i, 22 from below, for in the ‘Abbâsid capital, read in the ‘Abbasîd capital, which remained the dominant
term there ever after.

P. 914b, i, 11, for philology, read lexicology.


NEDİM, Ahmed, an Ottoman poet, born in Edirne (Amasia not certain), the son of a slave, who was adopted by a well-to-do lady of Edirne, and is generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas. He came to Kastamuni early and there began his poetic career, soon gaining a great reputation. His poems are said here and there to bear superficial; here his grandfather is said to have been a certain Sadr Mustafa, who had come from Merzifun. His grandfather, a military judge named Mustafa, was a judge named Gibb, who mentions as his great-grandfather Kara-Celebi-zade [q.v.] Mahmud Efendi, who also was a military judge. The genealogy given by Ahmed Refik is, however, wrong because he confuses Karaman Mehmed Pasha [q.v.] with Rum Mehmed Pasha. The statement that Ahmed Nedim is descended from Djelal al-Din is therefore simply the result of confusion. Little is known of his life. He was a muderris, later on intimate terms with Ahmed III and his grand vizier Daud Ibrahim Pasha [see AL-DAMD]. He probably got his lakab Nedim from this friendship. Latterly he held the office of librarian in the library founded by his patron Daud Ibrahim Pasha. On hearing of the end of Ibrahim Pasha and the deposition of the sultan, Nadim lost his life at the beginning of Rabii II 1143/October 1730 in a horrible way; while escaping from the mob leaving the grand-vizier’s palace he fell from the roof and was killed. He was buried in Ayas Pasha in Pera beside the historian vizier’s palace he fell from the roof and was killed. He was generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas. He came to Kastamuni early and there began his poetic career, soon gaining a great reputation. His poems are said here and there to bear traces of the Kastamuni dialect. Coming to Istanbul, he at once gained the favour of Sultan Mehmed II by a kasida on winter; in 886/1481 he celebrated the accession of Bayezid II in a kasida and was rewarded by an appointment as secretary in the Divan. He gained such favour with the Sultan that he was appointed secretary to his eldest son ‘Abd Alllah and was given the title of bey when the prince went to Karaman as governor (müezzarrif). After the prince’s early death (888/1483), Nedjat returned to the capital with an elegy on the death of the prince which showed deep emotion. After a long interval in which he wrote a great deal but was in continual need, through the influence of Mu’ayyad-zade [q.v.] he became nishandji [q.v.] to Bayezid’s younger son Mahmod when the latter went to Sarukhan in 910/1504. Nedjatii wrote his finest verse while on the staff of this prince; this was the happiest period of his life. Mahmod also died prematurely in 913/1507 in Manisa, the capital of Sarukhan, and Nedjati again lost his patron. He returned with a beautiful elegy to Istanbul and finally retired from the service of the court on a modest pension. He took a house on the Wefâ Meydani, where many friends gathered round him, especially his pupils, the poet and tedvakkeri Edirneli Sehi and the poet Sun‘i. Nedjati died on 25 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 914/17
March 1509. He was buried near his own house, at the monastery of Seyyid Wefa and a tombstone was put up by Sehi for him.

He left a Divan which he had collected on the advice of Mu'ayyad-saleh and dedicated to prince Mahmud. There is also attributed to him a mathnewei, which is not otherwise known, entitled Munduzara-yi Guli u Khusrow, also quoted as Layla u Medemun and Miir u Makh. Even more uncertain seems to be the existence of the mathnewei mentioned by Sehi, Guli u Sahi. Nedjati is also mentioned as a translator of Persian works, but his pupil Sehi says nothing of this. He is said to have translated for prince Mahmud the Koming-ye s'edat of al-Ghazali (the Persian version of the Arabic Ihya), and the Da'miri al-hikaya (properly Da'swami al-hikaya usu-lauami) from the Persian of Djamal Din al-Awfi.

His Divan, of which there are 21 MSS. in Istanbul libraries has been edited by Ali Nihad Tarlan, Necati Bey divan, Istanbul 1965, and gives Nedjati a very prominent place in Ottoman literature, the Divan is regarded as one of the greatest for the 16th century, and others were still felt to be foreign, to adapt Turkish to Perso-Arabic metre, which he had collected on the origin of the pesef connect Hajijsji Bektash [see Bektashyya] with the early 8th/14th century popular mystical poet Yunus Emre [q.v.], recounting that the reluctant Yunus eventually received the pesef or inspiration of the saint, and poured forth hymns on the theme of divine love which themselves became known as pesefler "breaths". The pesef also expresses strongly love for the Prophet Muhammad, for Allah and for the Ahl al-Bayt [q.v.].

Legends on the origin of the pesef connect Hadjjji Bektash [see Bektashyya] with the early 8th/14th century popular mystical poet Yunus Emre [q.v.], recounting that the reluctant Yunus eventually received the pesef or inspiration of the saint, and poured forth hymns on the theme of divine love which themselves became known as pesefler "breaths". The pesef also expresses strongly love for the Prophet Muhammad, for Allah and for the Ahl al-Bayt [q.v.].

Most of the writers of the considerable corpus of pesefler which has come down to us are anonymous, probably reflecting the secrecy with which the Bektashis veiled their rituals; the words of a pesef might be written down but not generally made public, and almost none of the musical accompaniments was ever recorded in any kind of notation. We do, however, have some poems after Yunus Emre's time associated with such famous figures as Kavghusus Abâdil (d. 818/1415 [q.v.]), and the pesefler of Khâtâ'î (i.e. the Safawid Shah Ismâ'îl [q.v.]) are still sung by the Bektashis today; and by the 19th century, the names of several Bektashî sâz şairleri are known, such as Seyrânî (d. 1866), Turâbi (d. 1868), Derti (d. 1874). Miîrâtî (flor. in the 19th century) and Hilmi Dede Baba (d. 1907). The famous poet and philosopher Rûdâ Tewfîk (d. 1949) [see BOLUKBASIN RÜDA TEFIK, in Suppl.] also wrote several highly valued poems in the genre.

Bibliography: F.W. Hasluck, Bektashî tıtietsileri, tr. Raşîb Halbi, İstanbul 1928; Yusuf Ziya, Anadolu Bektasî ilkeleri ve tarihi, tr. Ibn-i Cevdet Mehmud, no. 58 (Istanbul 1928), 105-6; Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the sultans, Oxford 1929, i, 139-66; S.N. Ergun, Bektashi paierleri, İstanbul 1930; Türk musikisi klasiklerinden Bektashî nefesleri, in Istanbul Belediye Konservatuvarı neşriyatı, iv-v (Istanbul 1933); J.K. Birge, The Bektashi order of dervishes, London-Hartford 1937, 53-5, 81, 89 ff., 93-5, 150-24; V.L. Sales, Gizi Türk musiki ve Türk musikisi ve armonî meseleleri, Istanbul 1940; idem, Kızılpaşî paierleri 1-X, in Halk Bilgisi Haberleri, nos. 102-7 (Istanbul 1940-1); idem, Gizi Türk dini uyanlar, İstanbul 1941; M.E. Beşo, Anadolu Bektashi köylerinde muharem aynî, in Halk Bilgisi Haberleri, no. 115 (Istanbul 1941), 188-60; Ergun, Türk musikisi antolojisi, İstanbul 1942; H.B. Yönnetken, Bektasîlerde muzik ve uyan, in Ulka Gazetesi (December, Sivas 1945), 3; Sales, Gizi hatchukeri ve Halk Odaları, vi, (Ankara, April 1948), 113-23; Ergun, Bektashi paierleri ve nefesleri I-II [up to the 19th century], Ankara 1955; idem, Bektashi-Kızılpaşî-Alevî paierleri ve nefesleri III [since the 19th century], Ankara 1956; T. Oytan, Bektasîlîgî içâsî, İstanbul 1962; Yönnetken, Sirac ve nala Alevîlerinde in, in Türk Folklor Araştı-
It was not till the reign of Murad IV that he came from the village of Hasan Kalı, gained the imperial favour, but his malicious, satirical and indecent poems soon brought him into controversy, cost him his life. The brother-in-law and vizier, who had succeeded in being enemies. A satire on Bayram Pasha, the sultan's, defierddr[1], wrongly says (cf. on the other hand his work for a time as a book-keeper. He failed in an attempt to make him one of the greatest, although his mastery of technique and natural poetical talent was resorted to as a body of the Ottoman band [see MEHTER]. The person to which parts of his Persian divan were attributed, see also Gibb, Ottoman poems, 208, and HOP, iii, 252 ff.; the history of Naşım, i, 586, and Bur-sali Mehmed Tahir, Osmanlı müziği, ii, 441 (according to which parts of his Persian Divan were published in the Khazine-yi Funun); A. Karahan, Nefir-i kads, İstanbul 1954; A. Bombaci, La letteratura turca, Florence 1969, 370-3; Karahan, Nefir-i divanında semder, Ankara 1983; İstanbul 1986; M. Çavuşoğlu, Osmanlı üçüçücinli yılda Nefir, Ankara 1987; IA, art. s.v. (Abdulkadir Karahan). Examples of Nefir's poems are given in Fahir iz, Eski türk edebiyatında nazım, İstanbul 1966-7, i, 17-19, 70-86, 120-4, 519, 528-9. (F. BABINGER)

NEFİR (a.), a term alluding in Ottoman usage to a musical instrument similar to a horn that comprised a part of the Ottoman band [see mÜREKKEP]. The person playing the instrument was referred to as nefir, and, according to the 1755 and 1776 Ottoman salary registers, there were twelve such players in the sultan's band of approximately sixty members. This band, and similar ones like it belonging to high-level Ottoman officials, travelled with their owners wherever they went, and normally played during the day before three prayers, sc. the afternoon one, the one after sunset, and, in the morn-
NEGEV [see Al-Nakr].

NEMCE (NEMSE; a. al-Nimsd), a term (meaning 'mute') borrowed from the Slavonic used by the Ottomans to indicate the Germans. In a broader sense, they also used it for the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted until 1806, and in a restricted sense for the territories under Habsburg rule within the boundaries of modern Austria.

In more recent Arabic sources, Germany is indicated by two terms which occur simultaneously: Almānjā and Dīrgāmnīya. In Ottoman sources Alʕalma(m), and occasionally Dīrgāmnīya, also occur next to Nente, without further differentiation. It was only after the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in 1804 that the Ottomans, in the course of the 19th century, adopted Almanja and Nushtūra (Agustūra being the older form) as different concepts. In Arabic, on the other hand, al-Nimiā was accepted as indicating Austria.

1. In Arabic sources.

Already in the 10th century, al-Masʿuddi (Murāqūd, iii, 63 = § 906) mentions the Nāmjān as a tribe of the Shī‘a. Amongst the travellers and merchants who travelled through their territory (Germany), al-Masʿuddi's contemporary Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿkūb [q. v.] deserves particular mention, although the name of the territory cannot be established from his account. The most comprehensive mediaeval source in Arabic concerning Austria is al-Idrīsī's Nuzhat al-mushtadk where information about Austrian toponyms is found in the various climes and sections. The name al-Nimsd, however, does not appear. The only Austrian region named specifically is Carinthia (Karantina), whose territory stretches out over wide parts of Austria, Hungary and other adjoining states. Cities in Styria, like Graz (Irkīza), and in Carinthia, like Villach (Blīqā), are described in greater detail, but Vienna (Wīynā) appears only in an itinerary. The rivers Danube (Nahr Danu) and Drava (Nahr D-uu-uu) are given as boundaries of Carinthia, while the Alps (Mount Di-uu-uu – Monk [Mont] Jovis) are also attributed to other territories. Al-Idrīsī's criterion for including Austrian cities in his Geography apparently was their significance as trading places. He may have been informed by merchants.

Endeavours to identify an Austrian (Styrian) city from Abu 'l-Fida's Taqsim al-baladān (Reinnaud, Geographie d'Aboulfeda, ii/1, 311, quoted after Ibn Sa'd al-Masʿūdī) and Abu 'l-Maysd ki Fitzūrā of 1870, 194) have been unsuccessful.


2. In Ottoman sources and in Ottoman-Habsburg relations.

The hereditary princes of the Habsburgs had their first contacts with the Ottomans when Carniola, Styria and Carinthia were repeatedly attacked by Ottoman incursions. Sultan Bayezid II [q. v.] and the Emperor Maximilian I had sounded out diplomatic relations in 1497, 1504 and 1510-11, Ottomans and Habsburgs were brought into continuous, immediate and hostile contact through the political situation in Hungary after the battle of Mohács [q. v.] in 1526. Sultan Süleyman I [q. v.] undertook two campaigns against Habsburg territory in 1529 against Styria and Carniola, in 1532 across southern Lower Austria, Styria and Carniola. After part of Hungary had been put under direct Ottoman rule in 1541, it was only in 1547 that Ferdinand I succeeded in concluding a trea-ty, which compelled him to pay to the sultan a yearly tribute of 30,000 golden ducats. This liability of the Habsburgs to paying tribute, interrupted only by war, lasted until the treaty of Zsitvatorok in 1606. At the beginning, the open state of war was interrupted by truce treaties, which were fixed for several subjects and repeatedly renewed and extended. Only in 1747 did Habsburg diplomacy succeed in concluding an unrestricted treaty (… muṣāq-i shariʿī oldūgāt eddhihā muddet-i nemdūde …). The wars of the 16th and 17th centuries found their origin in the conflict of interests about political power in Hungary. The unsuccessful attack against Vienna in 1683 of Kara Muṣṭafā Paşa [q. v.] was for the Ottomans the climax of a protracted war, marked by great losses, which led to losing Hungary to the Habsburgs. In the 18th century the latter, due to their alliances with Venice and Russia, and to their political ambitions on the Balkan Peninsula, became involved in three further wars with the Ottoman Empire.

After 1547 the Habsburgs continuously kept ambassadors at the Porte and, during the period of tribute—only in times of war—sent yearly to deliver the tribute. After 1606 important embassies used to be sent on specific occasions like the ratification of a treaty or the access to the throne of a new sultan. At first, the Ottomans sent to Vienna īzāq [q. v.], dragomans [see TARQUMAN] and the like in emergency cases only; in the 17th century they also began to send important missions but only for specific purposes. A permanent diplomatic representation of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna began only in 1797 (with a vacancy between 1823 and 1832).

The Treaties of Vienna of 1615 and of Karlowitz [see karloča] of 1699 already contained articles on reciprocal trade. In 1718 a separate commercial treaty was concluded at Passarowitz (Požarevac) [see Passarowca], in which it was permitted for Habsburg subjects freely to establish consulates in the ports and on the islands of the Mediterranean, and to organise free shipping on the Danube (the Black Sea excepted). In the twenties of the 18th century, commercial and navigation treaties were also concluded with local leaders of the Barbarian states which were part of the Ottoman Empire. An agreement of 1783 with the Ottoman Empire aimed at protecting Habsburg subjects from piracy and settling questions of compensation. In the commercial treaty of 1784 Habsburg subjects were granted the privilege of free commercial navigation on the Black Sea, a right given to Russia already a year earlier.

Next to the Habsburg Emperors, the Dutch Republic and the Kings of Prussia were the only powers within the Holy Roman Empire to maintain independent diplomatic relations with the Ottomans before the 19th century. During the last war between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs (1786-91), Prussia, in the Convention of Reichenbach of 1790, forced the Emperor Leopold II to renounce any conquest of Ottoman territory.

Apart from the detailed description of the campaigns of Sultan Süleymān I in 1529 and 1532, of the siege of Vienna by Kara Muṣṭafā Paşa in 1683, and of the warfare in Hungary and later on in the Balkan Peninsula, Ottoman historiography contains, from the middle of the 17th century onwards, references to the political events in Europe, including the Holy Roman Empire. The data, at first sparse and sporadic (for instance in Kātīb Čelebi, Münțedji-Bahī Aḥmed, Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, Silāḥdār Findiklīlī Mehmēd [q. v.]), became increasingly extensive and ac-
curate in the course of the 18th century because diplomatic contacts intensified and interest in information grew. From the second half of the 17th century onwards, the official embassy reports (sefârî-nâmâ), the most important diplomatic, and individual treatises provided the Ottomans with a detailed and differentiated picture of the political situation in Europe. Among the travel accounts, a particular place is taken up by Ewliya Celebi’s description of his journey to Vienna while in the train of the Ottoman embassy of the campaign of 1683 against Vienna, and ʿOṯmān Ağa of Temesvár provides us with information about his stay in Styria and in Vienna during his captivity.

Samples of the German language are given by Ewliya Celebi, who put together a highly imaginative etymology of the term Nemèç (= nem Cen) Hungarian nem Cen “not Czech”).


Nepal, a Hindu kingdom with an area of 147,000 km² (80°-88° 15'E, 26° 20'-30° 10'N) rising up on the southern edge of the Himalayas between the Ganges plain (India) and Tibet (China). The southern plain and the central mountains, with a sub-tropical climate suitable for rice culture, nourish a dense population of Indian origin and who speak Indo-Aryan languages: the Hindus of the plain speak Hindi, and the Indo-Nepalese of the mountains speak the official language, Nepali, a branch of Pahâri; they dominate tribes speaking Mûndâ and Tibetoburmese languages [see hind. i.iii. Languages]. The high valleys shelter a thinly-scattered population of Tibetans. The total population was 19,360,000 according to the 1991 census. It is almost 90% Hindu, and Hinduism is the official religion. The main religious minorities, whose numbers fluctuate from one census to another, are the Buddhists (between 5 and 10%) and the Muslims (ca. 3%). The toponym Nepal, with no known etymology (written Naypâl or Nepâl, नेपाल), is attested from the 4th century AD in Sanskrit epigraphy, and was known to the Muslims of the 9th/11th century through al-Bûrûnî’s India (Eng. tr. Sachau, Alberuni’s India, London 1910, i, 98); it designated solely the valley of Katmandu (Kâthmândû). Hindu kings ruled there over an ethnically Tibeto-Burmese population, the Newâr (largely Hindu with a strong Buddhist minority) which prospered thanks to trade with India, Tibet and China. The valley recognized the suzerainty of the Dihli sultan (B. Mâr â l Sâhîd (695-715/1296-1316 [see kalâdhist]); it was raided by the Bengal sultan Shams al-Dîn Ilîyâs (746-59/1345-58) in 750/1349 (L. Petech, Medieval Nepal, Rome 1958, 103-4, 118-22, 177; Hommage à Sylvain Levi, Paris 1964, 23). According to the chronicles, the first Muslim merchants coming from Kâshmîr established themselves at Kâthmândû under Ratna Malla (1482-1513); then the palace is attested from the 17th century onwards by the Catholic missionaries then established in Tibet and Nepal, and, from 1738 onwards by official Nepali documents. The remainder of what is now modern Nepal was shared out amongst some fifty kingdoms; the land of the plain cultivated by the petty rulers of the mountains, came in the 14th century, under the control of the Dihli Sultans, those of Bengal and then the Mughal emperors; these petty rulers, like the kings of the Kâthmândû valley, paid tribute to them in the form of elephants. The population of the Nepal plain thus included some Muslims from that time; some of these, makers of glass bracelets above all, became established in the mountains during the 17th century.

With the decline of the Mughâls, whilst the English East India Co. secured a foothold in northern India, the present Indo-Nepalese dynasty of Gorkha created the modern state of Nepal. Prithwi Narâyândî (1742-74) conquered the Kâthmândû valley in 1768-9 (despite armed intervention by the Nawâwâb of Bengal and the British) and subdued the eastern districts, including Sikkim; his successors continued the policy of expansion towards the west until, in 1814, their lands became contiguous with those of the Sikhs. Prithwi Narâyândî secured British recognition and that of the puppet Mughâl emperors Shâh ‘Alâm II (1759-1806) in a formal treaty of 1771 (B. Lewis, Shâh ‘Alâm II: mahârâjadhirâj, Prithwi Narâyândî Shâh-ko sanâkîta dîñâvani, Katmandu 1967, iv, 713-18). Tribute was paid from that time onwards to the British until the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16 and the treaty of 1818 which blocked Gorkha expansion and set up the frontier between Nepalese and British territories. The Râñâs, mayors of the palace who directed affairs in the country from 1846 to 1951, put relations with Britain on a normal footing; they helped them in 1857-8 to recover Lucknow, but gave refuge to some Shâhî nobles from that city. The independence of Nepal was recognised in a treaty of 1923.

The evidence of travellers like Francis Hamilton and the British Residents in Nepal like Brian H. Hodgson, confirmed by the archives and by legal texts, has brought out the religious policy of the new dynasty. It strengthened the Hindu character of the kingdom. Faithful to the tradition already set forth by al-Bûrûnî (op. cit., i, 19-20), it insisted on the impurity of Muslims; they were considered as “barbarians” (mîleṭha) and severely punished if they caused the pollution of Hindus of pure caste. It introduced new measures in forbidding them to proselytise (allowed
until then), as also were forbidden Christian missionaries, who were definitively expelled, together with their converts. The Muslims were nevertheless (as far as the most temporary expansion works of Kâdimî traders at the end of the 18th century) able to stay, to engage in commerce and to enjoy freedom to practise their religion. They did not have any personal law of their own; in regard to marriage (except for prohibited degrees), divorce, inheritance and the administration of pious foundations, they were always subject to Hindu law and answerable to Hindu judges. The discriminatory clauses regarding them were initially included in the Code of 1620, but they remained in force until the Code of 1963. This last abolished the penalties to which Muslims were liable for breakages of the caste rules; but despite the suppression of the principle of religious discrimination in the 1962 Constitution, it retained the prohibition of proselytism, and this last was even inserted in the Constitution of 1990.

Moreover, with the fall of the Rânâs in 1951, the land was opened up to modernisation. Censuses and ethnological fieldwork allow us to construct an ethnohistory of the Muslims of Nepal. Amounting to some 570,000 persons, they are almost all living on the plain, where they make up an average of 10% of the population there. They are petty traders, artisans and peasants; also, some 2,000 petty traders (Kâhîmîris and Hindûstânîs) live in the Kâdmîndû valley, whilst the 10-15,000 manufacturers of bracelets in the mountains to the west of Kâdmîndû live by agriculture and the peddling of ornaments. All of these originate from the Ganges plain and speak dialects of Hindi; stemming mainly from Hindus converted to Islam, they form a very hierarchical society, an Islamic version of the Hindu caste system. They are almost all Hanâfî Sunnîs, with a few Twelver Shi'as attested in the plain. The religious life has an Indian character and is heavily impregnated with Sûfism and the cult of saints [see HIND. ii. Ethnography]. This fidelity to the cult of saints, current in the highest classes, amongst the Kâhîmîris of Kâdmîndû in particular, is under fire in the more popular circles from the reform doctrines (called "Wâhîhabîsm" by their opponents) of the Deoband [q. v.] and of the Ahl-i Hadîdî [q. v.] schools introduced as a last resort by missionaries who come back from the towns of India bearing cheap, edifying literature in Urdu; mosques and village Kurân schools have multiplied, and a few scores of Nepalis make the kadîfî each year.

The firm and constant policy of the monarchy has been to forbid all violence against religious minorities, so that, despite the legal discrimination under which they live, the Muslims have always felt themselves more secure in Nepal than in India. Facing an internal opposition more and more active since 1979, the monarchy has since then cultivated its Muslim subjects, whose vote is a valuable support.

Bibliography: For a general survey of Nepal, see M. Gaborieau, Le Népal et ses populations, Brussels–Paris 1978. On the history and position of the Muslims there, there are two outstandingly important pieces of evidence: F. Hamilton, An account of the kingdom of Nepal, in JFRAS, i/2 (1834), 258-79. The general body of sources (to be completed by the references given in the text of the article) are gathered together, and often edited for the first time, in Gaborieau, Récit d'un voyageur musulman au Tibet, Paris 1973; idem, Minorités musulmanes dans le royaume hindou du Népal, Paris 1977. For the ethnology and political evolution of these minorities, see also Gaborieau, Muslim minorities in Nepal, in R. Israel (ed.), The crescent in the East Islam in Asia Major, London 1982, 79-101; idem, Ni Brahmanes, ni Ancêtres: colporteurs musulmans du Népal, Paris 1992. (M. GABORIEAU)

NERGISI, NERGISI-ZADE MEHMEF EDENDI (d. 1044/1635), pre- eminent Ottoman prose stylist.

He was born in Sarajevo, probably around 994/1586, son of the kâdî Nergisi Ahmed Efendi, and completed his education in Istanbul, becoming a pro- fessor of the Kâzîs (Allah Efendi (d. 1020/1611), from whom (and not, as in some accounts, from his son Kâzî-zade Abd al-Hâyy Fâ'dî Efendi) he received his müezzetem [q. v.]. He may have served briefly as a müddere; but his principal employment was as kâdî in various posts in Rûmeli, mainly in Bosnia. Following early appointments (during the period ca. 1022-27/1613-18) to Gabela and Çayni, he was invited by Kâzî-zade Fâ'dî, then kâdî of Bursa, to act as his nâbi (early 1028/1619). On Kâzî-zade's dismissal in early 1029/1620, Nergisi again sought a käditik, and was appointed, successively but with intervals, to Mostar (1030/1620-1) and shortly afterwards to Ya'ni Pazar, to Elbasan (1034/1624-5), Banjaluka (1038/1628-9), and Monastir (1042/1632). In 1044/1634-5 he was appointed by Murâd IV as vez'î- nüviât for the Revan campaign, but died at its outset, near Gebze on the Gulf of Izmit, as the result of a fall from his horse (9 Şewwâl 1044/28 March 1635). (On Nergisi's career, see O.F. Akün, Nergisi, in İA, ix, 194-6.)

Though a minor figure as a kâdî, Nergisi was recognised as one of the leading prose writers of his day, aided by his friendship with the Kâzîs and with fellow litterateurs such as Weysî and Şeyêh al- İslâm Yabay among others. His principal works fall into three groups:

1. Khamsî, printed Bulûk 1255/1839 (once in ta'sîk script, once in nesîh, and Istanbul 1285/1868-9. In chronological order of composition, these five works are: (i) Qazwînî-es-i Meslemè (1030/1620-1), a brief account (attributed to Ibn al-ʿArâbi, Muḥîyî l-Dîn [q. v.], but generally considered spurious) of the campaign of the Umayyad general Muslâm b. ʿAbd al-Malîk (1023/1613-18) to Gabela and Caynice, he was invited by the Celebi [q. v.]. (ii) Qâsun al-reshûd, written 1033/1623-4 as an accession gift for Murâd IV. Initially a translation of a 16th-century Persian "mirror for princes" written for Şâh Muhammad Khudâbanda [q. v.], the work was considerably expanded with Nergisi's own observations on Ottoman history. (iii) Memsâh (1034/1624-5), an original collection of ten love stories, of contemporary origin and significance, apart from two tales taken from the teşbihâr of Âşık Cebeli [q. v.]. Nergisi later re-used six of the stories in the Nihrâstân. (iv) İksir-i se'da (or İksir-i dewlet, 1041/1632), a translation of part of al-Ghazzîlî's [q. v.] Kimsa2 al-sa-râda on ethics. Nergisi's text became a popular Ottoman version and was separately printed several times. (v) Nihrastân, (1042/1632-3, his last work), Containing 23 stories (nihrâstân "offshoots"), this was compiled as a collection of ethical, exemplary and cautionary tales intended as an Ottoman literary and cultural nûfûzve to Sâ'dî's Gûlistân and the Bahâristân of Dîwâni [q. v.]. Like Megâhî-k-üs-hâşâkî, it is too significant for the use of contemporary allusions.

2. Münşef-i. Nergisi's autograph collection of his
own letters (finally totalling 38) was first made for presentation to Sheykh al-Islam Yahya during the latter's first meşhur-ı xadıd (1031/1622-3) and later expanded to include letters down to 1036/1626-7 (published in J.R. Walsh, The Esabili ‘l-mekârîb (Müne‘ât) of Mehmed Nergis Efendi, in Archivium Ottomanicum, i [1969], 213-302). Manuscripts of a later collection, probably made by Sheykh Mehmed b. Mehmed Sheykhî, contain over 50 letters.

3. a-Wasif al-kâmîl fi ahûl al-awzîr al-sâdîl (1038/1628), an account of the exemplary character and deeds of Murtâfa Pasha as governor of Buda

With his father, the poet Ahmed Rafî Efendi, then in exile; the latter is known as Ashafî-pasha-zade’s history, to have been principally named in the text, but for the Ottoman period appear outside the Top Kapu.

His Terdjeme-i sharh-i i Predictor was printed Qulâm. His Tarbîyat-i ‘arât-i ‘l-bay‘î-yî Molla Qulâm was printed at Istanbul in 1263. A biography of him by Pertev Efendi which was continued by Emîn Efendi is said to exist.

Bibliography: Bursaîl Mehmed Tahir, ʿOğmânîlî ma‘ašîlî, ii, 461; Mu‘allim Nâdî, in Mîqâm, no. 7, 84-6; idem, ʿOğmânîlî ʿshirîyati, 64-70; Khâzîn-yi funun, Istanbul 1312, ii, 230 (Eşefî); Thüreyya, Sîdîlî-ı sâdînî, vi, 552; Sâmi, Kâmîs al-sâlâm, vi, 4576; Mehmed, ʿOğmânîlî, ʿDârîlî, ʿOğmânîlî edebiyatî nâmâleri, Istanbul 1312, 263; Flügel, Die arabischen ... Hs. ... zu Wien, i, 686; I.A, art. Ne‘îr (Fevziye Abdullah Tansel). Two of his MSS. are given in Fahsr II, Eski türk edebiyatîna nazm, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 435-6. (Th. Menzel)

NESHRI (d. before 926/1520), Ottoman historian.

Nergisi’s one, partially-surviving, historical work, the Dijân-nûmâ, marks a pivotal point in both the development and the study of Ottoman historiography. However, very little is known with certainty about its author, how he lived or died, and that his account of the subsequent Janissary riots in Istanbul is based on personal observation. The date of his death is also uncertain, though it is possible that, as stated by Laflè, he lived into the reign of Selim I (for biographical discussion, see F. Taeschner, ʿOğhânînâmî. Die allosmanische Chronik des Mevlûdî Cevâhi, Istanbul 1912, 267-8; I.A., vi, 514-15; M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindag, ʿOğlînâmî, in IA, ix, 214-15; V.L. Ménage, Nergî’s History of the Ottomans: the sources and development of the text, London 1964, 1-5).

Nergisi’s Dijân-nûmâ was originally conceived as a universal history in six parts, but only the last section is known to be extant. This consists of an introduction, and three ʿabâkas covering respectively the Oghuz Turks, the Saljuqs of Rum and the Ottomans; it chronicles events down to 890/1485 (Bayezid II’s conquest of Akkerman), and concludes with a list of the principal viziers and holy men of the Ottoman period, followed by the dedication to Bayezid II. The style is a relatively straightforward Ottoman prose. The work was probably completed between 892/1487 and Rabî I 898/February 1493 (Mênage, Nergî’s History, 9). Nergî’s sources are not known. He claims to have been principally ʿAshârî, a Ẓâhirî ‘alîm, a chronological list, takâtûm, of the mid-15th century, and an anonymous chronicle of the late 15th century (P. Wittek, Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Nesri), in MOG, i [1921-2], 77-150; Mênage, op. cit., 10-19). The Dijân-nûmâ
thus amalgamates the three principal Ottoman historiographical traditions then existing (H. Inalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 152-67; Ménage, *The beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *op. cit.*, 168-79). The *Dîhan-nâme* became a principal source for many later Ottoman historians (e.g. Idris Bigilisi, Sa'd al-Din, ‘Ali, Solak-zâde and Münedijdam-bashi [q.v.]), and thus had a major influence upon subsequent interpretations of early Ottoman history. It was also one of the main sources used in Leunclavius’s *Historiae Musulmanae Turcicae*, Turin 1591, and so entered into European writing on the Ottomans (Ménage, *Nesrî’s History*, 31-40, on the ‘Codex Hanivaldus’).

The *Dîhan-nâme* has been published twice, once in facsimile (F. Taeschner, *Ghânâmê ..., i* [Codex Menzel], 1951, ii [Codex Manisa], 1955), and once as an edition with modern Turkish transcription (F.R. Unat and M.A. Koymen (eds.), *Mehmed Nesri: Kitâbd-i Djhîd-nâmê*, Frankfurt 1962). The poet’s life; part of it fell in the reign of Murad I (761-79), and about 150 quatrains, but the existing mss. should not be derived from *lakab* name. As a place of this name no longer exists, it is possible that *NesÎmê* came from NesÎmî near Baghdad, whence his father moved. **

Nesîmî was of Turkoman origin seems to be fairly certain, although the ‘*Seyyid*’ before his name also points to Arab blood. Turkish was as familiar to him as Persian, for he wrote in both languages. Arabic poems are also ascribed to him. Little is known of his life; part of it fell in the reign of Murâd I (761-91/1360-89), as his biographers tell us. He was at first a pupil of the school of Şaykh Shibli (247-334/861-945), but about 804/1401 he became an enthusiastic follower of Fâdîllâh Hurûfî [q.v.], with whom he was undoubtedly personally acquainted. He championed the views of his master with ardour and at the risk of his life. The poet Refîl, author of *Beshât-nâmê*, met a cruel death in 820/1417-18 at Aleppo, where he was flayed for his heretical poems, on charges, he retired completely from public life and his prayers were made popular in Bektâshiyya. Nesîmî’s poems were made popular in earlier times, especially by the wandering Kalendr dervishes [see *Kalandaryya*] and were known to everyone.


(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

**NEWî, YAHYA b. Pîr. ALS. b. NASÎH, an Ottoman theologian and poet, with the nom de plume (*maklîa*) of Newî, was born in Malghara [see *Malkara*] (Rumelia), the son of Shaykh Pîr ‘Alî, in 940/1533. Up to his tenth year he was taught by his learned father and then became a pupil of Karamânî-zâde Mehmed Elendi. His fellow pupils were the poet Bâkî [q.v.] and Sa’d al-Din, the famous historian [q.v.]. He was an intimate friend of the former. He joined the ‘*sâmâ*’, became mûdîrsî of Gallipoli in 973/1565 and after filling several other offices became a teacher in the Medrese of Mîhr u Mâh Sultân [q.v.]. In 998/1598 he was appointed Kâdî of Baghdad, but before he could take up office, Sultan Murâd III appointed him tutor to his son Muştafâ and to the princes Bâyezîd, ‘Ogîmân and ‘Abd Allah. When after Murâd III’s death (1003/1595) the usual slaughter of the princes deprived him of all his charges, he retired from public life and lived on a pension granted him by the new sultan. He died at Istanbul in Dhû ‘l-Ka’dâ 1007/June 1599 and was buried in the court of the Şeyhâl Wezfî mosque. His son was Newî-zâde ‘Atâî [q.v.].

Newî was a man of great learning, and his encyclopaedic knowledge was most clearly revealed in the best-known of his works, the *Nawâ’î al-funun wa-madhâbîn al-mâlûkîn wa-madhâbîn al-motun*, in which he surveyed the twelve most important branches of learning; on it see [J. von Hammer] *Encyklopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, part i, Leipzig 1804, 22 ff., and the German translation of the story of Şhadân and Beshîr, *ibid.*, 24 ff., which forms the concluding section of this work. Bursâli Mehmed Tâhir gives a list of other prose works in his *Ogîmânî mu’dîlsfârî*, iii, 437-8, with references to the libraries in which they are. In poetry, Newî imitated the style of his contemporary Bâkî without however reaching his level. His poems which were collected in a scarce *Diwân* (ms. in Istanbul, Hamîdiyê library), lack ease and betray too readily the learned author who frequently makes his work difficult to understand with unusual words and obscure allusions. He tried his skill in different forms of verse, the *kâdîla*, *qâzelt* and *mehnawî*, without however
attaining popularity in any one of them. His fame as a poet was completely overshadowed by that of his contemporary and friend Bakl. New's high position as an author he owes to his learned work, particularly in the fields of kalâm, fikh, şâhid, mantık, tasawwuf, and males.

Othman Newres [see below], distinguished him from Tashkopruzade's full life of him (418-27 of the cod. reg. 44, Cat. no. 308 und F. Babinger, Nat., to Tashkopruzade's dhayl, Suleyman-ndme Bib. sala, Vienna). A copy entered upon a legal career. According to the Sidjill-i melâdî, it earned him banishment to Rethymno in 1456 and was buried in the cemetery opposite the entrance to the mosque of Plr staff of Hekim-Oghlu.

In 1302 there was published the names of two Ottoman poets. Newres composed a Divân in Persian and Turkish (printed in Istanbul 1290 and probably 1304), and also a history of the war with Nâdir Shâh in 1143/1730 in which he took part on the side of his stepson Othman Newres [see below], the author of the Order of the Djalwatiyya. Abd al-Razzaâk, known as Newres, or more accurately, Newres-i Kadim, “Newres the Elder”, to distinguish him from Othman Newres [see below], came from Kürkûk in northern İrâk and was probably of Kurdish origin. He seems, however, to have come to Istanbul at an early age to prosecute his studies. Here he became a mûderris but in the year 1159/1746 entered upon a legal career. According to the Sinâlî-i othmdînî, he held the office of kâfî in Sarajevo and Kütahya. His sharp tongue, which found particular expression in daring and malicious chronograms (tawdrikh), earned him banishment to Rethymno in 1456 and was buried in the cemetery opposite the entrance to the mosque of Plr staff of Hekim-Oghlu.

Great changes occurred in the interval 1454-1517, when Muslim civilians came to settle in the town, and Yürük Turks from Anatolia by way of the Aegean plains settled in the Bulgarian villages. The Tahrir T.D. 70, of which the actual census was taken in 1517, mentions Nevrokop as a town, containing 167 Muslim households and 319 Christian households, or roughly 1250 inhabitants. The settlement, which in 1454 was only 4% Muslim now had 34% Muslims. Further rapid expansion is shown by the register T.D. 167 from 1529. By then the Muslims had gone up to 281 households and the Christians to 385. This gives a town of almost 4000 households whilst the Christians had declined sharply, to 385 households. This suggests that besides conversion, immigration must have played an important role. The outcome of these movements was that the population of the town was now composed of 63% Muslims. The number of mahalles also show the reversal of the pattern: in 1529 5 Muslim mahalles and 13 Christian mahalles, in 1569 13 Muslim mahalles and 13 Christian mahalles, which gives the year 1172/1758 for its completion (cf., however, a similarly titled work in the Ottoman Tahrir of Istanbul under the title of the local population must have taken place. The Ne...
6 of Christians. The transformation of Nevrokop from a Christian village into a predominantly Muslim town was stimulated by the erection of a monumental mosque and a school, both of which are still extant. The mosque was constructed by the Beylerbey, Bajazet Bey, son of the Beylerbey of Rumeli, Dayi Karağa Paşa. The latter died in 1456 before Belgrade. His son Mehmed must have erected his buildings in Nevrokop in the 1480s or 1490s, to which the stylistic features point. Shortly before his death in 1512, the favourite of Sultan Bajazet II, Köçja Muşafar Paşa, founded another important mosque in Nevrokop, as well as a külliye. The 1529 Tahrir mentions both buildings, as well as the fact that their founders were both dead (merham), and adds a mesjid of Dâwûdîl. The register also mentions that Mehmed Bey had constructed a bridge over the Kara Su and had allotted the yearly rent of 10 watermills in Nevrokop and Drama, 50 shops and rooms in Selânik and some iron mines near the town. The official list of kâdis, janissaries, tekkes, khans, hamamâns, schools and coffee shops. In 1809-11 the Christian community of Nevrokop had constructed the small mosque of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. In 1833-41 they built the large and monumental church of the Holy Virgin, expression of the changed conditions under the Tanzimât. In the 1820s, the last great domed mosque of the town was built, of which only old photographs remain. The Sâhname of the vilâyât of Selânik of 1324/1906-7 mentions that the town had 20 makâllâs with 5,882 persons, 5 Friday mosques, four mesjîds, two churches and no less than eight tekkes, pointing to a well-developed Islamic life. Besides this, there were seven schools for Muslims and two for Christians. A Greek source from 1908 mentions that the town had 5,900 inhabitants: 3,865 Turks, 490 Muslim Gipsies, 595 Christians belonging to the Greek Orthodox church and 900 Christians belonging to the Bulgarian Exarchate. The same source mentions that the population of the kada of Nevrokop was in majority Muslim, sc. 51,000 of the 83,000 inhabitants (= 61%). The Sâhname of 1303/1885-6 gives slightly lower numbers but has the same percentage of Muslims. The statistics of Verković and Kânčev give 55% and 53% respectively, with slightly varying numbers.

The Christian community of the town numbered not a single Muslim. An isolated few are mentioned in 1453-4, but by 1529, 13% of the rural population was Muslim and some 28% in 1569-70. This process had the same two aspects as in the town: settlement of Turks, 490 Muslim Gipsies, 595 Christians belonging to the Greek Orthodox church and 900 Christians belonging to the Bulgarian Exarchate. The same source mentions that the population of the kada of Nevrokop was in majority Muslim, sc. 51,000 of the 83,000 inhabitants (= 61%). The Sâhname of 1303/1885-6 gives slightly lower numbers but has the same percentage of Muslims. The statistics of Verković and Kânčev give 55% and 53% respectively, with slightly varying numbers.

The Bulgarian conquest of 1912, during the Balkan Wars, led to a mass exodus of the Muslim population of the town and, to a lesser extent, of the villages. Their place was immediately taken by Bulgarian refugees from the kada’s of Drama and Serres, which had been conquered by the Greek army and were to remain part of the enlarged Greek state. The Bulgarian census of 1926 shows these changes clearly. By then the town numbered 1,057 Muslim inhabitants, but the number of Bulgarians stood as high as 5,882. The 1934 census show that the new trend continued: 824 Muslim and 7,726 Christian inhabitants. After 1912 the mosques, tekkes and hamamâns disappeared one after the other. The oldest mosque of the town, that of Mehmed Bey ben Karağa Paşa, was the last to be given up. It still stands as a ruin (1990). Apart from a few Muslim Gypsy families, Islam has disappeared from Nevrokop, which after 1912 was rebuilt in a new fashion. In the late 1960s, many of the Pomaks were deported to the Rhodope to which the 12th-13th century
Byzantine sources refer. This process is now in full swing. The restoration of Islamic life to the Nevrokop villages has been seen in the large-scale rebuilding during 1991-2 of the mosques of the district destroyed in the assimilation campaign of 1985.

Nevrokop, which in 1978 rose to 17,805 inhabitants, saw its name changed to Göce Deliçev (in 1950). Ottoman Nevrokop was the native town of some Ottoman men of letters. Among them is the very learned poet Ra'na Mustafa Efendi, a Nakshbendi dervish and for long in the service of Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt. He died in 1248/1832-3 in his native Nevrokop. The latter had constructed the last domed mosque in the town, showing close similarity with the buildings of Muhammad 'Ali in Kavalla (erected 1818-21). Of more importance is Zühri Ahmed Efendi, the founder of the Zuhriyye Tekke in Kavalla (erected 1818-21). It was very probably this man who constructed the Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom İbrahim Paşa also had the small Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom İbrahim Paşa also had the small Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom İbrahim Paşa also had the small Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom İbrahim Paşa also had the small Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored. The foundation inscriptions were composed by the major Istanbul poets of the time, among whom İbrahim Paşa also had the small Saldı̇k fortress on the hilltop overlooking the settlement restored.

Among the architects of the kültülye, we know a Sargis Khalfa, who supervised the construction process. İbrahim Paşa also involved the Chief Architect Mehmed Ağa, ordering him to send some of his junior colleagues to visit the Mustafa Pasha mosque in Gebze and other important vizierial mosques of western Anatolia. The architects were enjoined to study the aesthetic appearance of the buildings and also construction details, bringing back drawings for the Grand Vizier's inspection.

As 12th/18th century Anatolia was only sparsely inhabited, many of the measures designed to further Newșehir were to the detriment of nearby Ürgüb. The seat of the district küddi was moved from Ürgüb to Newșehir, and so was the market; in spite of the distances involved, Ürgüb residents were ordered to henceforth conduct their business in Newșehir. Wealthy people recently settled in Kayseri were ordered to move to Newșehir, and to ensure a stable urban population, well-to-do residents of the new town were forbidden to move their families to Istanbul; 800 families of central Anatolian nomads were also to settle in Newșehir. Scrub land was assigned to the townspeople which they could convert into gardens and vineyards, and they were also granted the land of certain abandoned villages for farming and pasture. In the early 12th/18th century, the urban population of Ürgüb was not a large one. In the 15th/19th century, Newșehir was a small town in the sangak of Niğde, in majority inhabited by Muslims, but with an active community of Turkophone Orthodox Christians. Out of 17,660 townsmen in 1316-17/1899, 10,972 were Muslims and 6,080 Orthodox. Grape cultivation and wine-making constituted one of the region's principal economic activities. The economic productivity of the town which followed the war between Greece and Turkey (1923) resulted in a decline of the vineyards, as the new settlers from Thrace were not familiar with viticulture. However as natural conditions (low rainfall, frosts in spring and fall) limited agricultural options, raisin and wine production soon resumed.

Down to the present day, the Newșehir district has remained an agricultural region. In 1978, 78.6% of the economically-active population was employed in agriculture (1965: 86.2%, 1955: 87.6%). The productivity of many agricultural enterprises is low, due to limited investment in erosion control, irrigation and seed selection. The employment of tractors and the cultivation of sugar beet and potatoes on irrigated land have, however, become sufficiently widespread to push down the demand for family labour. This
Mosque of Mehemed Bey ibn Karadja Pasha, ca. 1490. Only surviving Ottoman building in Nevrokop.
(Photo: Arch. Julii Farkov, 1992)
largely through community efforts, the building was deteriorate; but once a museum had been established, was donated by an 11th/17th century governor of Nevşehir. A silver door which an inscription identifies as a Janissary gift. A silver door was donated by an 11th/17th century governor of Kırşehir [q.v.]. After the abolition of all dervish orders in 1925, the complex (located in the town of Hacibektas) has again has a role to play. The complex (located in the town of Hacibektas, i.e. the Andaman Islands, to the north, whose i is not certain. The Andaman Islands appear in Arabic travel and geographical literature as early as the 13th century, when Ibn Juzayy al-Zaman Tahir Marvazi mentioned them. After an occupation by the Japanese in 1945, the Nicobars passed in 1947 to India and are now part of the Union Territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, with the seat of the Lieutenant-Governor at Port Blair in the Andamans. The population of the Nicobars (1961 census) is 14,563.


(C.E. BOSWORTH)
plain, it has proved to be one of the earliest cities to have developed in the region. Even before neighbouring Uruk and Akkad became political centres in the last centuries of the third millennium Nippur seems to have been a religious centre for the independent communities, no doubt because, according to the Sumerian version of the Flood Story, man was first created at Nippur. So it was here that Ur-Nammu, king of Ur built the temple for Enlil, the god of storms, with its great ziggurat. The associated library is one of the richest sources for Sumerian literature ever found, and many of the original documents have been lost; much of what remains was preserved accidentally since the clay documents were used as fill for the walls of later houses. A beautifully decorated chocolate vessel with a cat-like figure in conflict with a snake has been described as a representation of Inanna (Ishtar). When Layard visited the site in 1854 he was overcome by its appearance, and from 1889-1900 an American excavation under the supervision of J.P. Peters (University of Pennsylvania) carried out the first thorough study of the site. More recent excavations have been conducted by McGown (University of Chicago). It was being built on up to the Parthian period. But what Peters described as ‘Parthian columns’ still standing when he was at the site had disappeared by 1948 when the Chicago team were there. The site is particularly suited to new historical assessments, as evidenced by the work of Stone, who integrates linguistic, archaeological and anthropological material in her study. In an unusual Akkadian satirical poem a poor man from Nippur, who has been oppressed by the mayor of his town, is able by his guile to humiliate his oppressor; this may well reflect the attitude of contemporary society to the place, for Nippur is often mentioned in lists of places that are excused the taxation burdens imposed on other towns.

Nippur was also an inhabited place in Muslim times; for example, we find it mentioned in 38/659 on the occasion of a rising against the caliph 'Ali (al-Ṭabarî, i, 3423, 3424) as well as during the Khâridjî troubles (op. cit., ii, 929, 930); cf. also Yâkût, iv, 275, 798, and Ibn al-Fâkhi, 210. In the later Middle Ages we find Nîffar mentioned as a Nestorian bishopric in the chronicles of the Patriarchs (Al-Nâfîr Patrâkûs dus-ṣulmâ al-Maŭâlî, ed. Gismondi, Rome 1897-9), of 'Amr b. Mâṭa (83, 95), and of Maḥî b. Sulaymân, in the period 900-1058 A.D. (cf. also Sachau, in Archäolog. Zeitschrift, 1889, 256, 260-1, and idem, The lands of the eastern caliphate, Cambridge 1905, 72-4; Streek, Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen, i, Leiden 1900, 134-5; Hâshim al-Sa’dî, Dughrayfûsîyat al-mârût al-hadîthâ, Baghdad 1927, 34, 35.


(M. STRECK-[M.E.J. RICHARDSON])

AL-NIFFARI, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-DJABBAR, Sûfî mystic, whom the principal Sûfî biographers fail to mention, and who flourished in the 4th/10th century, and, according to Hadîj b. Mukhdâtab (ed. A.J. Arberry, London 1935), together with a number of fragments. It is improbable that Nîffar himself was responsible for the writing of his works and a passage to his principal commentator, 'Alî b. al-Dîn al-Tîlîmûnî (d. 690/1291), either his son or his grandson collected his scattered writings and published them according to his own ordering. The Mawâkihit consists of 77 sections of varying length, made up for the most part of brief apothegms touching on the main aspects of Sûfî teaching, and purporting to be inspired and dictated by God; the Mawâkihit is similar in content, and is divided into 56 sections of the same name. The most characteristic contribution to mysticism is his doctrine of wukfâ. This term, which would appear to be used by him in a peculiarly technical sense, implies a condition in the mystic which is accompanied by direct divine audition, and perhaps even automatic script. Mawâkihit is the name given to the state of the mystic in which wukfâ is classed higher than ma‘rîfâ, and ma‘rîfâ in its entirety; as in the Middle Ages, it starts from Babylon and flows a little above lat. 32°30’ N. in an almost straight line eastwards. The geographer Subhârî or Ibn Sarâbîyûn [q.v.], writing in the 4th/10th century, observes that this canal bears the name Nahr al-Nîl only after passing the town of al-Nîl (the modern ruins Nîllîyey). At the present day, it is called only Shâţî al-Nîl throughout its course. Some what east of Nîllîyey a side-canal, now dry, branches off to the south for which, not only in its lower part where it flows by the ruins of Nîffar but along its whole extent, the name Shâţî al-Nîl, the same as that of the main canal, is and was usual. Yâkût, however, says (iv, 77, 798) that Nîffar lay not on the Nahr al-Nîl but on the bank of the Nahr al-Nars, a canal dug, it is said, by the Sasanid king Narsîs b. Bahrain (293-303 A.D.) which leaves the Euphrates at al-Hilla a little below the Nahr al-Nîl and turns southeastward. It was presumably connected by a branch with the southern small canal of the same name which branches off from the Nahr al-Nîl, so that the occurences above referred to the names Nahr al-Nîl and Nahr al-Nars for the river in Nîffar is explained. It should be noted also that the nomenclature of the Babylonian canals changed several times already in the Middle Ages. On the Nahr al-Nîl or Shâţî al-Nîl and Nahr al-Nars, see W.K. Loftus, Travels and researches in Chaldæa and Susiana, London 1857, 238; G. Le Strage, in JRAIS (1895), 256, 260-1, and idem, The lands of the eastern caliphate, Cambridge 1905, 72-4; Streek, Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen, i, Leiden 1900, 134-5; Hâshim al-Sa’dî, Dughrayfûsîyat al-mârût al-hadîthâ, Baghdad 1927, 34, 35.

AL-NIFFAR — AL-NIFFARI 13

is above 'ilm. The wādīf is nearer to God than any other thing, and almost transcends the condition of bayāriyya, being alone separated from all limitation. Al-Niffari maintains the possibility of seeing God in this world; for he says that vision (na'īa) in this world is a preparation for vision in the world to come.

In several places, al-Niffari distinctly touches on the theory of the Mahdī [q.v.], and indeed appears to identify himself with the Mahdī, if these passages are genuine; and this claim is seemingly in the mind of al-Zabīdī, when he describes al-Niffari as sāhib al-da'wā wa-l-maṣmūd (a very large book, according to al-Askari) not a conventional kifīyya, but rather an eclectic who blended the two schools (kifāyā = istilhāfīyya)


is above Cz7m. The wādīf is nearer to God than any other thing, and almost transcends the condition of bayāriyya, being alone separated from all limitation. Al-Niffari maintains the possibility of seeing God in this world; for he says that vision (na'īa) in this world is a preparation for vision in the world to come.

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With the exception of the brief survey (8 folios) Mas'alat subhdn, and a work entitled al-Maksur wa 'l-mamadiw which is attributed to him but is mentioned in none of the biographies, all the other works have been lost. The Mas'alat has been edited by Y. Muh. al-Sawwas, in RAAD, lviv/3 (1989), 361-91, on the basis of the Zahiriyia ms., madm'za 79. In it Niftawayh examines 32 Kur'anic verses containing the words subhdn or tasbih and comments on them from a linguistic viewpoint, with the support of numerous examples drawn from ancient poetry, hadithi and other literary forms for al-Maksur wa 'l-mamadiw, H. Sh. Farhbd believes it to be the work of Niftawayh and as such has published it in Madgallat Kulliyyat al-Adhâb, Djami'at al-Riyad, iv (1973) (cf. U. Harman, in Studies Arabica et Islamica, Festchrift. for I. 'Abkhs, Beirut 1981, 169 n. 31).

The majority of the lost works were known, however, either by the title or by the quotations drawn from them. A.D. al-'Umari (Niftawayh wa-dawruh fi 'l-kitâba wa 'l-ta'arikh, in Madgailat Kulliyyat al-Adhâb, Baghdâd, xv (1972), 71-102) gives a list of the quotations which are to be found in literature, without any indication of title (cf. F. Sezgin, GAS, viii, 149). Certain of these works feature among the sources for the Lâzâr of al-Kâlî, for the Prâb al-Kurân of al-Nâhhas (ed. 'Âshârî, 15, 48), for the K. al-Murâwûd of al-Masûdî (§1, 3991), for the Siyar al-lâm-nuhâdî of al-Dhahabi (vi, 69, viii, 55, x, 281, 302 ff.) and for al-Khâzûn of 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Baghdâdi (ed. 'A. Muh. Hârûn, iv, 458, ix, 146, xiii, 26). Of his numerous recensions, it seems that only two have survived. In one, he edits the diwan of Suhaym 'Abd Bâni 'l-Hâshâd (ed. Maymânî, introd., 7) and in the other, that of al-Samawâl (ed. L. Cheikho, Beirut 1910).

The disappearance of almost all of his literary works cannot fail to raise questions. For, while it is generally accepted that the loss of a great many Arabic books is most often due to the natural or human scourges which have ravaged the Islamic metropolises, it is remarkable that all the works of a writer of Niftawayh's versatility should have suffered the same fate. It may be suspected that the loss of his work is to be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the eclecticism of this author, in questions of fiqh, his intransigence in the nature of language, his polemics against the murîdî or the absence of one or more disciples dedicated to passing on his teaching.

Furthermore, a point made by Ibn Khayr (Fahrasa, 395-6) may provide a partial explanation of the cause of this loss. In effect, he states that al-Kâlî brought with him from Baghdad to Spain (in 220/942) a large quantity of the recensions and works of al-Niftawayh, in addition to those which he had left behind and which have been taken from him in Kayrawân.


OMAR BENCHEIKH

NIGDE, modern Turkish name Nigde, a town of south-central Anatolia in a fertile plain in the Black Sea. It lies in lat. 37° 58' N. and long. 34° 42' E at an altitude of 1,250 m, 100 feet.

The town is first mentioned in the Turkish period; previously, the chief town of the district was Tyana (Ar. Tuwana), but it is probable that the striking hill which commands the important road from Cilicia across the Taurus to Kayseriye at its entrance to a pass over the mountains had a fortified settlement upon it in the pre-Turkish period. The old place-name may be the origin of the modern one, an older form of which was Nekte (Yâkût, iv, 811, Nakkâdî; Ibn Bîbî and others, also in inscriptions down to the 19th/18th century, Nakkâda; the modern form Nigde is already found in Hadm Allâh Mu'tamîfî, Nuzhat al-ja'âlîb, 99). In this particular district, some villages have retained their ancient names (Andaval-Andabalis, Melegopol-Malakopaias), and considerable numbers of descendants of the original Christian inhabitants survived until the early 20th century (R.M. Dawkins, Modern Greek in Asia Minor, Cambridge 1916, 16 ff).

Nigde is first mentioned in connection with the partition of Seldijik territory among the sons of Khâdîr Arslân II (685/1289), when it was allotted as an independent lordship to Arslân Şahî (Ibn Bîbî, ed. Housma, in Rec., i, 11). Nigde had perhaps previously belonged to the Danişmendids (q.v.), but Ewliya Celebi, i, 189, cannot be taken as evidence of this. Kay Kâwîs I granted Nigde to the Amîr-i 'Akhûr Zayn al-Dîn Baghîr (Ibn Bîbî, 44), who shortly before his death occupied the important mosque of 'Allâ al-Dîn here (620/1223). In the 7th/13th century Nigde was the headquarters (sar-i 'ashkar) of one of the great military districts of the Seldijiks. Under Khâdîr Arslân IV, Ibn al-Khaṭîr Masûdî held this office. At first an ally of the all-powerful Mu'in al-Dîn Parwâne (q.v.), with whom he killed the sultan in 662/1264, he endeavoured to remove the young Kay Khusrâw III out of the Parwâne's influence and brought him to Nigde (674/1276). But the help for which he had appealed to Egypt came too late, and he succumbed to the Parwâne, who was supported by the Mongols (Ibn Bîbî; Weil, Gesch. d. Chaliften, iv, 80-1). He built a wall in Nigde opposite the 'Allâ al-Dîn mosque (666/1268). Under the Ilkâns, there ruled in their name, or in the name of their Anatolian governor Eretma, Sunkdur Agha, who is known only from inscriptions and is, it is remarkable to note, not mentioned by any of the Christian historians of Nigde about 1353 (ii, 286-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 433); he may have been independent after the death of sultan Abî Sâ'îdî. He gave the town a large mosque, on the wall of which facing the Bezistân is a Persian inscription, in which he grants Christian foreigners exemption from dîrham and kharâdî (736/1335).

The Seldijik princess Khudâwûd Khâdîn, buried in 732/1332 in her splendid turbe built in 712/1312, on the other hand, probably did not rule
in Nigde although she resided there. She was, if the lady buried beside her in 745/1344 was her daughter, according to al-'Umarî (ed. Taeschner, 31), in the Bulghardagh, where a wilayet called Shudâ'î al-Dîn is still mentioned in Sa'd al-Dîn (i, 517, following Idrîsî) and where lies Ulûkîhîa, which, according to Hâджji Khâlîfî (Dîshân-numâ, 617), was also called Shudâ'î al-Dîn. After the period of Sunkur's rule, Nigde probably passed directly to the Karamañoğlu, who held it against the attacks of the Ertuğrul's Abâlîgûl (Abâ' al-samîr) (Bezm u rezm, 424, 523). After Timûr's invasion, the Karamanids, who defended it successfully against towns to the Ottomans, but was restored to the power of the Karamanids extended northwards as far Kacli Burhan al-Dîn, lord of Kaysariyye and Siwas lîd al-Dîn mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Kaysariyye itself. Nigde then ceased to be a frontier town. Apart from a temporary occupation by Mamlûk Egyptian troops in 822/1419 (We1, v, 146 ff.), it enjoyed peace and prosperity and the special care of the Karamanids, who had one of the bulwarks of their power there till the end of the dynasty. A series of buildings, the first of which not only in time but also in size and quality is the Âk Medrese of the general Isâh Pasha, who had the defences of the town restored. In 878/1473 the Ottoman sânâgk-bey of Nigde, Koçî Bey, forced Deweli Karâhîsârî, which still belonged to the Karamañoğlu, to surrender to prince Muştafa. The latter died on the way back at Nigde (Sa'd al-Dîn, i, 517, 550).

The sângîk of Nigde belonging to the beylerbeyîgî of Karamañoğlu, contained the kadad of Ürgûb, Bor, Dewelu, Deweli Karâhîsârî and Ulûkîhîa. In about 1132/1720 the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha transformed his birthplace of Mushkara in the kadad of Ürgûb into the imposing town of New-hîshîr (q.v.), of evidence of their interest in the town. Nigde surrendered in 875/1470 to the Ottoman general Isâh Pasha, who had the defences of the town restored. In 878/1473 the Ottoman sângîk-bey of Nigde, Koçî Bey, forced Deweli Karâhîsârî, which still belonged to the Karamañoğlu, to surrender to prince Muştafa. The latter died on the way back at Nigde (Sa'd al-Dîn, i, 517, 550).

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Nigde (now on the Kayseri-Ulûkîhîa railway) consists of an upper town running north and south, now largely uninhabited (Tepe Wirane), at the highest point of which in the north stands the imposing citadel, and the lower town (Şehir altî) which was once surrounded by a wall. In the upper town is the ʻAlâ'î al-Dîn mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Anatolia, with an architect's inscription in Persian. Before the gate of the upper town at its south end is the Gothic-influenced mosque of Sunkur (ca. 1330), showing influences from Little Armenia and Cyprus, and to which below it is the Karamañoğlu Âk Medrese of 812/1409. A little apart to the west of the town, separated by a broad road, running north and south is the modern quarter of Kayabağhi with a few remains of the old cemetery and a group of türbes, among which that of Khudâwând Khâtûn from the year 712/1312 is prominent.

Modern Nigde is also the chef-lieu of an il or province of the same name; in 1970 the town had a population of 84,427 and the il, which has good agricultural land where it can be irrigated, one of 408,684.

Bibliography: Cuinet, Turquie d'Asie, i, 839 ff.; Türkiyenin sihi-i ițihamât-ı devârîhî dâvâmâtı, no. 2, Nigde (1922); A. Gabriel, Monumenten turcs d'Anatolie, i, 1931, 105 (historical and Muslim monuments of Nigde, Bor and Ulûkîhîa). — Inscriptions: Khâlîfî Edhem, in TOEM, ii, 747 ff., iii, 821 ff., 873 ff., and A. Tevîhîd, in Gabriel, op. cit. — On the Christian monuments of the region see Rott, Kleinasiatische Denkmâler, 1908; and De Jerphanion, in Hâ'disüte Mustezestes (Cappadocia, 1925. See also Admiralty handbooks, Turkey, London 1942-3, ii, 575-6; IA art. s.v. (Besim Darkot).

(P. Witterk*)

NIGER, the great river of West Africa, with its source in the southwestern Féta Djallon (q.v.) at an altitude of 800 m/2,624 ft. It runs northeastwards to the Sahara Desert, and then it turns southeastwards before descending southwards and ending in its delta on the Gulf of Guinea, in present-day Nigeria (q.v.).

Under the name of al-Nîl, the Niger river appears early in Muslim geographical writing, perhaps first in Ibn al-Fakhî (q.v.), whose Kitâb al-Bulâtân was completed after 290/903. For many centuries, however, Muslim geographical analysis of the river was strait-jacketed by widespread deference to the Ptolemaic model linking the Niger to the Nile. The early geographers seem frequently also to have regarded the Niger and Senegal rivers as one and the same. This was the northernmost part of the Niger, the so-called Niger bend (boucle in French), flowing eastwards through the desert, which first became known to the outside world in some detail.

Two major centres of trade, political centralisation, and religious change here first attracted Muslim attention, Ghâna (q.v.) some distance west of the bend but with its sphere of influence extending to the river, and Gao (q.v.) (variously Kûkû, Kawakkaw, KîRîK, Kâhû, etc.) lying on the river after it has turned south at the eastern tip of the bend. Ghâna and Gao were known in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, even before the Niger. Al-Muhallabî (q.v.), who died in 380/990, was perhaps the first to associate Gao with the river; his own work is lost, but Yâkût quotes the following passage:

Kûkû, the name of a people and a country of the Südän ... Their king pretends before his subjects to be a Muslim (yuzâhî bi 'l-îslâm) and most of them pretend to be Muslim too. He has a town on the Nile, on the eastern bank, which is called Sarnâh, where there are markets and trading houses (maładî) and to which there is continuous traffic from all parts. He has another town to the west of the Nile where he and his men and those who have his confidence live. There is a mosque there where he prays but the communal prayer-ground (musâlâh [q.v.]) is between the two towns. In his own town he has a palace which nobody inhabits with him or has resort to except a eunuch slave (khâdîm makstu'). They are all Muslims ...

It seems unclear exactly how much of this is from al-Muhallabî; there is an internal inconsistency concerning the extent of local Islam. The passage, nonetheless, is interesting. The river here is a meeting-point, with markets and trading houses nearby, implying considerable trans-shipment between land and water transport. A religious meeting-point too: the reference to a pretended Islam may indicate "mixed" religion, with Muslim and traditional elements commingled; isolation within the royal palace may echo an earlier (and still surviving?)
To the staff of (divine) assistance, all its creatures obedient, its water creatures were turned on their backs, their teeth and their fangs broken. They became for us as food offered to a guest; like game animals they became tractable, and its water became like quails and manna—a limpid cup. Until we returned...


(H.J. Fisher)


The Niger Republic is, to quote Djibo Mallam Hamani (though specifically of the Abar Massif, which fills the north of it), a "carrefour du Soudan et de la Berbérie". Its geographical position on the map, and the multi-ethnic character of its societies, has had a profound effect on the Islamic life of the Nigeriens throughout their history.

1. Geography and peoples

The Niger Republic covers an area of some 1,267,000 km². However, 800,000 of these are within the Sahara, much of which is uninhabited or is uninhabitable. The bulk of the remainder of the country is Sahel. It is only along the banks of the Niger river (q.v.) where Niamey, the capital, is located that there is any intensive cultivation and continuous settlement. Within the Sahara area are found the mountains of Abar (Air [q.v.] or Azbin). This massif extends approximately 480 km north from the Abar river—sound advice turned down because men of religion were judged unfit for counsels of war. An estimated 2,000 boats were available to evacuate Gao, but again no full-scale withdrawal occurred. The Moroccans, having occupied Timbuktu, and desperate for boats, cut down every tree, even stripping houses of their doors. A branch of the legitimate *tana* dynasty retreated downstream from Gao, to the Dendi region, where, protected by rapids, forest, and the river barrier, an independent Songhay presence successfully survived. Comparable patterns of raiding and sanctuary-seeking, depopulation and repopulation, communication and conflict, recur at divers times and places: Samuel Crowther’s 1854 journal, for example, of travel on the lower Niger and the Benue, gives many instances in the aftermath of the Sokoto expedition in 1857.

The liminal experience of river crossing figures in many accounts of pilgrimage, *gihad*, etc. Abdullahi dan Fodio’s *Tazyn al-warad* mentions several cases, one of special interest. Describing a raid across the Niger early in the Sokoto *gihad*, the prose version recounts the plucky, and lucky, finding of a practicable ford. The verse rendition, coloured by the Qur’ān (VII, 160, XX, 77-80, XXVI, 63), elaborates:

When we came to the river it obeyed, parting

**divine kingship. The river is at the same time a barrier:** Sarnah, the trading town, is east of the Niger, outside the bend; in another town, on the western, inner bank, the king lives with his own people, with those in whom he has confidence—suggesting that there were some traders and other visitors whom the king mistrusted.

As well as a meeting-point, and a dividing line, the Niger was also a channel of communication. Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī [q.v.], writing in or before 460/1068, well described the route from Ghānā to Kawkaw, mentioned here, down the Nile through the desert, and locating pagan Sūdān south of the river, Muslim Berbers to its north. Al-Bakrī places the town of Kawkaw inside the bend, curiously not mentioning any settlement on the opposite bank here. Journeying north and west along the Niger, from Gao back towards Ghānā, al-Bakrī has the traveller encounter the cannibalistic Damdám, whose local religion is described; whether these details are correct or not, they do suggest that the traveller is inside the bend, while the described route from Ghānā to Gao follows the northern, desert bank. Al-Bakrī vividly pictures Gao, comprising two towns, one Muslim, the other the royal residence. During the royal meals, a drum is beaten, women dance, and all business in the town ceases; leftovers are then thrown into the Niger with the river. The king is Muslim, “for they entrust their lives to the king of Muslims”.

The celebrated geographer, al-Idrīsī [q.v.], in the mid-6th/12th century, refers often to the Niger, but with the river. The king is Muslim, “for they entrust their lives to the king of Muslims”.

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French West Africa. Even so, pockets of paganism survive. For example, the Wodaabe Fulani are still pagan in many of their beliefs and in their practices (see Carol Beckwith and Angela Fisher, Nomads of Niger, London 1984, and A. Malik Bonfigliori, Dudaal, Cambridge-Paris 1988), though belief in magic, in charms, in djinn and demonic forces is to be found amongst all the nigerien communities (see, for example, the keli telf among the Ayar Tuareg, in D. Casajus, La tente dans la solitude, Cambridge-Paris 1987). Throughout its Islamic history, Niger has witnessed the growth of Šufi [see ātābiy] movements and of various branches of Islamic thought and religious studies. They embody a position which has been sensitive to puritan reformist movements inspired by the works of 'Abd al-Karlm al-Maghlli [q.v.], by the teaching of Shaykh 'Umar Djiibril, by the Sokoto djihiyd of Shehu 'Uthmân dan (b. Fodi) (Füedi) [q.v.] and by reformers inspired by the Wahhabiyya [q.v.]. The Tuareg scholar community (inselaman) has played a major role in composing literary works in Arabic, or in religious verse in Arabic and Tamashegh, out of all proportion to their meagre numbers (see below).

When Niger became independent in 1960, it was established as a secular republic. In the 1970s it sought closer ties with the Arab World. On August 15, 1974, steps were taken to constitute a Niger Islamic association and plans were pursued to found an Islamic university. This has now been established at Say, south of Niamey. Students from all over Muslim West Africa are taught there. Nigersien students have been sent to study in the Arab East, and there is considerable encouragement to teach classical Arabic at all levels. According to J.-L. Triaud, Islam and state in the Republic of Niger (1974-81), in Islam and the state in the world today, ed. O. Carré, New Delhi 1987, 253, “The new regime has drawn from this Arabized group to fill certain fundamentalist tendencies”. O. Carre, New Delhi 1987, 253, “The Republic of Niger (1974-81), in Islam and the state in the world today, ed. O. Carré, New Delhi 1987, 253, “The new regime has drawn from this Arabized group to fill certain fundamentalist tendencies”.

Niger has become integrated into the life of the nigeriens over the centuries through a gradual process of Islamisation. It has produced a number of Arabic scholars and poets worthy of a place beside those from Timbuctoo in Mali, or from several towns in Mauritania and of the diversity of religious leaders, regions, cities and events, have played a key part in determining that Islamisation:

(a) The earliest encounters between the Arabs, led by the Companion, and commander 'Ukba b. Nafi' [q.v.] and the inhabitants of the oases of Kawar, on the Fazzân border. This was followed by commercial contacts between the communities of the Ibi'diyiya [q.v.] in the Fazzân and towards the region of Ayar (see, in particular, K. Viskar, The Oasis of Salt, the history of Al-Fazar, a story of economic development, Bergen 1979, 97-111). Viker furnishes a useful selection of passages from important Arab geographers (159-76 together with English translation) including Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 258/871-2), al-Ya'kubi (wrote 278/891), al-Bakri (wrote 460/1067-8), al-Idrisî (wrote 548-1154), Ya'qût (wrote 621/1224), Ibn al-

Athîr (d. 630/1233), Ibn Sa'id (wrote 638/1240) and al-Harrânî (wrote ca. 1330). (See also T. Lewicki, Eldjes habirines et soudanaises, i, Warsaw 1976, 59-60.)

(b) The establishment of Berber Massûfa Sanhadja (who originated in Mauritania and Mali) centres in the vicinity of Takaddâ (Tegdidan Tesem/Zelik), and later within the Ayar massif itself. The area was visited by Ibn But_liy [q.v.], in 754/1353, who mentions the names of two kāds. Two noted scholars from Takaddâ and its satellite Anû Şamman were al-'Abîb b. 'Abd Allâh, d. after 955/1548-9, and al-Nadîjî b. Muhammad d. after 1004/1695-6. Both of them wrote substantial works on the Muktasas as al-Khalîl and left other religious compositions (see J.O. Hunwick, The Central Sudan before 1800, biographies and bibliographies, in Arabic literature in Africa, no. 1, North-western University, Evanston 1985, 23-41). The Great Algerian reformer 'Abd al-Karlm al-Maghlli [q.v.] allegedly visited this area for a while on his way to GaO.

(c) The religious significance of the foundation of the Agâdes sultanate, recognised by the caliphate, in the 15th century, its supplanting of Takaddâ, its temporal subordination to the Askias and to Borno, its rôle as a clearing house for trans-Saharan commerce and its growth as a focus and haven for scholars who were in touch with Djâlâl al-Dîn al-Suyûtî [q.v.] by correspondence, and who visited the Arab East. Each and all made an impact on more southerly areas of Niger.

(d) The establishment of Kâdiriyiya lodges in Ayar, for example, at Agalal and in Agâdes city. Other Šufi orders followed. Prominent amongst them was the Shâdîliya. Evidence of a Shâdîli presence in the city of Agâdes in the mid-17th century may be found in the biography of Shaykh 'Uthmân b. al-Shâykh 'Ali al-Huḍâry whose compositions are cited in a manuscript (now being edited in Libya), of a work attributed to Ahmad al-Dârîdî al-Huḍâryî. It contains the biographies of leading Fazzânî scholars. A specifically Tuareg and Fulani order that was founded by a little-known Oriental darwîsh, Šîh Ṣâmîr al- Baghîdâdî, martyred in the early 16th century, has become the focal point of Ayar Šufism in general. He appears to have been an eclectic divine (the only Mahmuđîyya founded elsewhere is a sub-order of the Nukṭawîyya, dating from about the same period, though it is to be doubted whether there can be any connection). Later, both the local Suhrwâdiyya and the Khâlwaitiya adopted, adapted and possibly “sanitised” many of the teachings and practices (ddâb) that were handed down in the Mahmuđîyya.

Šufism spread from Ayar into adjacent Azawagh, and at a later date into the Imanan canton, in Zerma country, and to a Šûtî awzîya established, under Borno’s aegis, at Kalumbardo, near Lake Chad, though within Niger’s existing borders. In Agâdes city, the sultanate attracted scholars and sustained a number of ulamâ and fûkhâhs who were revered amongst the city’s mixed population.

(e) The reform movement of the Agadès-born Djiibril b. 'Umar (died after 1198/1784). He visited Egypt and Mecca and his pupils included Shaykh 'Uthmân b. Fudi. The latter at a later date criticized his master’s view that one who commits a grave sin (kabîra) becomes an unbeliever, a view that was akin to that used by earlier petty Tuareg mudžâhâdin from the Ibkorkaryan and Ait Awari in the region, in order to justify their razing of Šufi centres in villages of Azawagh and Ayar.

(f) The Sokoto djihiyd itself, during which the
Islamic movement embraced large Hausa areas of Southern Niger, especially Gobir, the Agadès sultanate, the Aïr Awari (where Muhammad al-Dawâlînî their leader tried to settle his followers) and other Tuareg groups such as the Kel Geres. The Hausa and Zarma river areas were subject to inroads from the IWWillemmeden Tuareg whose “chaplain”, the Keessu, were often adept of the Kunta Kâdiriya and who habitually fabricated charms and potions and who issued fatwas and composed sermons.

(g) Sanûsí [q.v.] penetration into northern Niger from 1870 onwards. The rebellion of Kaoussen against the French in Agades and Ayar, were backed by German-Turkish military sponsors based in the Fazzàn. The consequences of the French expedition, mounted from Zinder in 1906, and which achieved the defeat of Kaoussen’s mudjahîdîn in 1916, was to lead to a mass emigration of population from Ayar and major destruction of its Muslim centres (see Va., 1850-1960, Kaoussan ou la révolte sennoussiste, in Etudes Nigréennes, no. 33, Niamey 1973, and F. Fuglestad, A History of Niger, 1850-1980, Cambridge 1983).

(h) The current Islamic revival; this has included a Khalwatiyya headquarters in Ayar at Egandawel (accompanied by an agricultural settlement at Tabbelot-Akririb) inspired by a revivalist, Mûsâ Abâtûtî, a resurgence of Islamic practice in Agades (see Aboubacar Adamou, Agades et sa région, in Etudes Nigréennes, no. 44, 318-21), and growth of the Niassist Tidjânîyya amongst Hausa and Zerma, led by Shaykh al-Hâjîdî Abû Bakar, from Kouta, near Dosso, who married a daughter of the master, from Kaolack in Senegal. The Niassists, the madrasa at Say, neo-Wahhâbîm, fundamentalism, and the Niger Islamic Association, and the reformist movement, strong around Maradi, aiming at an increase of wealth, and the building of madrasas, known as tâlîîs (dîqamat tâlîîat al-bîdîa wa-iskâm al-suûna) to name the most important centres of power, all make a significant contribution or compete for the souls of the Muslims in Niger today.


NIGERIA, the largest of the West African coastal states.

i. Modern Nigeria

Nigeria was put together in 1914 from the former British protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria, to become the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. It is bounded in the south by the Gulf of Guinea, in the west by Benin, in the north by Niger, in the north-east by Chad [q.v. in Sudan and Chad] and to the east by Cameroon. The administrative capital is Abuja. The chief towns include Lagos, Ibadan, Ilorin, Kano and Sokoto. The population as at 1984 was 88,148,000 in an area of 923,768 km²/356,574 sq. mls. This comprises more than 250 tribal groups, of which the largest are the Hausas [see Hausa], the Fulani [see Fulani] and the Kanuri of Bornu [q.e.], in the north; the Yorubas in the south-west; and the Iboes in the east.

The terrain encompasses the sandy shoreline and mango swamps of the coast, behind which lies a belt of tropical rain forest. This gradually gives way to orchard savannah as one moves north, to the area of Zaria. From there on the country becomes progressively drier and more barren until one reaches the thin scrub savannah and the near-desert conditions of the immeasurably sub-Saharan north.

Nigeria has numerous rivers, of which the Niger [q.v.], the Benue and the Gongola have been historically important. The coastal area has two rainy seasons. The highest annual rainfall exceeds 2,500 mm/100 ins. This decreases the farther north one travels. The northern dry season extends from October to April and is the time of the harmattan, the hot, dust-laden wind from the Sahara.

The main religions of Nigeria are Islam (ca. 50%);
Christianity (ca. 34%) and a receding African animism.

A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, in his *The linguistic statistics of northern Nigeria: a tentative presentation*, in *African language review*, vi (1967), 75-101, lists some fifty-three "‘Other northern languages’" in addition to Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri (of Bornū), Tiv, Nupe and Yoruba that were still spoken in northern Nigeria ca. 1952. The total number of languages spoken in the whole of Nigeria has been put at 250. Hausa, Yoruba, Edo and Ibo are now the most widely used indigenous tongues. British English is the official language of the present Federal Republic of Nigeria, although there is strong pressure in the north for Hausa to be adopted as the national language. The minor northern vernaculars, some of which are confined to individual villages, are becoming extinct, replaced mainly by Hausa.

On 1 October 1954, the Federation of Nigeria was established under British tutelage. It consisted of an Eastern Region, a Western Region and a Northern Region, together with the Southern Cameroons and the Federal Territory of Lagos. The Federation was granted independence on 1 October 1960, within the British Commonwealth. It consisted of Northern Nigeria, Western Nigeria, Eastern Nigeria and the Federal Territory of Lagos. In 1963 it became the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Nigeria experienced widespread disturbances, a military coup and then a civil war during the period from 1966 to 1970. During this time the Republic of Biafra was declared in the former Eastern Region. It surrendered to the Federal Republic in 1970, at the end of the civil war. After a further period of military rule, a return to parliamentary government based on military coup and then a civil war during the period that followed is tenuous. It seems that Muslim-Hausa traders were settled in the kingdom. Under their influence the Yaurawa were won over to Islam by the end of the 11th/14th century. This is reflected in the Yoruba word for a Muslim—*imale*. Subsequent Yoruba history has included a tussle between the ancient cult of Ooduwa, centred on Ile-Ife, and an intrusive Islam from the north. A substantial Muslim community had developed among the Yorubas by ca. 1078/1667. As a result of political rivalries within the Yoruba empire of Oyo [q.v.], an Islamic party revolted against the traditional authority early in the 13th/19th century. Consequently, most Yorubas were drawn into the aftermath of the Islamic *ghādā* [q.v. and also *muqāহid*] in the north and were formally incorporated into the empire of Sokoto, as the emirate of Ilorin, in 1246/1831. But other Yorubas remained outside the emirate, in Lagos and elsewhere. They have continued to be subject to Islamic influences, none the less.

Islam is less complete among the Yorubas than it is among the northern Hausas and Fulani. Many are Christians, or adhere to the ancestral belief system. It is not uncommon to find Muslims and Christians in the same Yoruba extended family.

The Nupes, located within the northern angle of the Niger-Benue piedmont, resemble the Yorubas in their continuing attachment to an ancestral cult and language. They were in trading contact with the Muslim Hausas as early as the 9th/15th century, and have experienced Islam from that point on. Yet there is no firm evidence of the official adoption of Islam among them until early in the second half of the 12th/18th century. Thereafter, there is evidence of a swing back to the traditional belief system among some Nupes, later in the century. In modern times, Islam has become stronger among them; but not all Nupes are Muslims, even today.

The Kwararafas are a warlike people inhabiting the Gongola and Benue valleys. They have been traditional enemies of the Hausas to their north. A Muslim tradition among them cherishes a fantastic legend of origin in Yemen, which echoes the *Sūra* [q.v.] story of the Prophet's letters to erstwhile hostile neighbours, calling them to Islam. It is surely an importation of the Kwararafa early in the 13th/19th century. Its trading pre-eminence thereupon declined. It became absorbed into the Islamic empire of Sokoto [q.v.].

The ancient kingdom of Kebbi, located north-west of Zamfara, may have come under Islamic influences during the hegemony of the Songhay empire. Its ruling family had accepted Islam by 921/1515. Its inclusion among the *Banza Bakwai* is tenuous. For the Kebbaa appear to have used Hausa only as a trade language; while their claim to Islam is as ancient as that of the Hausas.

Yauri is the chief market of Kebbi, astride the route to the “Fulani” kingdom of Sokoto (q.v.). The “Bastard Seven” are a neglected note of Hausa history. They overtook Zamfara's territory at the gold-bearing regions of the Volta. By 1025/1616 it seems that Muslim-Hausa traders were settled in the kingdom. Under their influence the Yaurawa were won over to Islam by the end of the 11th/17th century.
committed to polytheism. However, more recent pressures for a uniform, Sunni, Maliki Islam throughout northern and riverain Nigeria now impinge upon them.

The Gwaris are scattered in the country of southern Zaria. Their Islam is of uncertain date and tenacious substance. Some venerate an Allah Bango, "Allah-of-the-book-boards", surely a reference to the presence of literate Hausa malams (Hausa = "ulamah") among them. Another of their deities is "Shehu" or "Shekohi", probably reflecting Hausa "Shehu" (shehka) "Ugmann" b. Fodi [q.e.]. Not another in "Mama", "Mabu", "Mewa", "Mubammad." While the origin of these Islamic fragments is uncertain, their most likely provenance is the Muslim drive south that followed the 13th/19th-century jihad in northern Nigeria. As is frequent among the Muslim Hausas' smaller neighbours, a reformist, SunnI Islam has won northern Nigeria. As is frequent among the Muslim Hausas' smaller neighbours, a reformist, SunnI Islam has won.

The development of Islam in Nigeria remains the Fulani [see FULBE], Borne and certain smaller, animist groups such as the Dakarkaris and the Plateau people.

iii. Recent trends in Islam in Nigeria

Lugard's amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria resulted in bundling the Ibo, Ibibios and other non-Muslim peoples of what, during the colonial period, was known as the Eastern Region, together with the Muslim northerners, in one federation. These people had remained untouched by Islam—except as potential slaves—up to the colonial occupations. Many had by this time become protégés of Christian missionaries from the Coast. They were mainly Roman Catholics. They continued under missionary tutelage until Nigerian independence, the civil war, the oil boom and a series of military coups, brought about sweeping changes.

During the colonial period these invertebrate petty traders from the east flocked north in the train of the British. Because of their missionary education many became minor civil servants. They set up Sabon Garis "New Towns", outside the northern Muslim cities. With Nigerian independence approaching, they became the victims of ethnic and religious hostility on the part of the Muslim northerners, which their own posturing prior to the declaration of Biafra did nothing to diminish. Immediately before the outbreak of the civil war, a mass exodus of Ibo from the north, back to the east, took place, against the background of an ugly blood bath.

After the civil war, and in the more congenial atmosphere of the Nigerian oil boom, Ibo and other easterners returned to the north, as traders and in certain professional capacities that ranged from bank clerk to lecturer in the new northern Nigerian universities. However, they faced different conditions from those that had obtained under the British colonial administration. For there was among radical northern Muslims a wide consensus that such returning easterners should subscribe to Islam, as a condition of their new acceptability in the Muslim north. This was not official, and was seldom openly expressed. It was, however, the unspoken extension of the policy of "Northernisation" that the old Northern Region had officially adopted during the terminal days of the colonial administration, and continued ever since. While Christian enclaves of eastern and Coastal Nigerians remain in northern townships, there are, nonetheless, an increasing number of "Musas", "Aliyus", "alii in northern Nigeria who, apart from such names and the Hausa-Muslim riga, display all the characteristics of a southern, Coastal Christian mission upbringing. How significant such conversions of convenience may be, is questionable. Nonetheless, they represent a widening of Islamic influence.

Such pressures have a precedent. From ca. 1380/1960 to his assassination in 1385/1966, the Sardauna of Sokoto, then Premier of the Northern Region, pursued a policy of "Islamisation", the purpose of which was to persuade—or coerce—all indigenous northern Nigerian peoples to accept Islam. It had the fervour of "Djihad of the Heart" behind it. It also involved some harassment, as well as bribery, of residual animist groups such as the Dakarkaris and the Plateau people. And it convinced, or allowed certain Ibo army officers to claim, that the Sardauna was preparing Holy War against all non-Muslims. This then became part of their justification for declaring an independent Biafra. In the event, the Sardauna's campaign resulted in widespread nominal conversions, in which chiefs, village heads, etc., adopted Islamic names in addition to their traditional ones. This was taken as sufficient to establish the Islam of their people as a whole. Once again, it is questionable how deep such mass "conversions" go. But certainly the Sardauna's essay after the hearts and minds of his non-Muslim countrymen has been a precedent after the renewal of which in a more thoroughgoing fashion, northern Muslim radicals now hanker. They enjoy some support in this among certain Yoruba Muslims.

The period from the end of the Second World War to the granting of northern independence in 1960, is known to the Hausas as Zamanin siyasa, "The Time of Politics". It saw the rise of Nigerian political parties, superficially resembling those of the British parliamentary system. In fact, the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) was identified with the interests of the aristocratic Fulani emirates and the "Native Authority" (NA) system that sustained them. It advocated a modified Islamic theocracy for independent northern Nigeria. This party was challenged in the north by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), ostensibly mimicking the European left but also representing the ancient antagonism of Hausa commoners towards their Fulani overlords; and pursuing a tradition of Islamic dissidence. It was closely associated with the Tijaniyya [q.e.] tarika, that had, hitherto, reflected this dissidence. Both parties vied with one another in their claims to represent the true Islam, and excoriated the other for betraying that Islam. By and large, the establishmentarian NPC had the better of the radical NEPU, a consequence, no doubt, of the prevailing ethos of Sunni, Maliki conservatism at that time. Their tussle produced a plethora of different Hausa political verse, admirably recorded by Haruna Abdullahi Birniwa and dissent; a comparative study of NPC/NPN and NEPU/PRP Hausa political verse from circa 1946 to 1983, PhD thesis, University of Sokoto, Nigeria 1987, unpubl.)

The Nigerian civil war, the oil boom and the military administrations shattered the old Islamic party lineaments and created new interests and alliances. While the People's Redemption Party
and contrast what they regard as the admirable stability of the Muslim extended family. But this greater freedom has led to Islamic theocracy. As the banners of radical-Ikhwan al-muslimin \[q.v.\] widely mimics the broad philosophy of the Saudi Wahhabiyya. For, while the conservative Sunn\'i malams still fight shy of such immoderation, a younger generation of Muslim academics to whom the growth of universities in the north has given considerable influence, many are among the most ardent advocates of polygyny, though once again with due regard for the law. They regard it as essential to defend an Islamic way of life, increasingly threatened by secularism. Whatever may be happening elsewhere in the Islamic umma, the decline of polygyny in northern Nigeria is not evident.


Much of the most valuable work on recent developments in Islam in Nigeria will be found in unpublished MA and PhD dissertations. Birnini's work on the Hausa drug trade, not only provides primary source material in the form of Hausa verse; it also includes an acute analysis of the history of the northern Nigerian political parties. Muhammad Sani Aliyu's *Shortcomings in Hausa society as seen by representative Hausa Islamic poets*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1983 unpubl., throws light on the malam's reactions to secularism; Samaila Mohammad's *Some aspects of the culture and institutions of the Dakarkarki people examined in the light of their consiguiety with the Hausa people*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1982 unpubl., is an admirable study of contacts between the Muslim Hausas and an animist society; Abdullahi Bayero Yahya's *A critical anthology of the verse of Aljaji Bella Gidausa*, MA thesis, Bayero University, Kano 1983 unpubl., enshrines valuable source material for studying the genesis of NPC. (M. Hiskett)

**NIGHT WATCHMAN** [*see *Asasu*] .

**NIHAL CAND LAHAWRI**, Indian man of letters, Hindī by religion, was born in Dihll, but left it for Calcutta. Here he was introduced to Dr. J.B. Gilchrist, who asked him to translate into Hindi by religion, was born in Dihll, but left it for Calcutta. Here he was introduced to Dr. J.B. Gilchrist, who asked him to translate into Hindi a Persian work, *Nuzhat al-kulub*. He consented, and thus became one of the famous band of Fort William translators. He made the translation from Gūl-i Bakāwālī, a Persian rendering by Shāykḩ ʿIzzāt Allāh, 1772, of an old Hindī story, which has been reproduced in Urdu verse by Dayā Shankar i Nasim. It is in Nihal Cand called his work Madhab-ī ṣīḥ. It is a very good prose work with verse. The title gives the date 1217/1802. Apart from the above-mentioned facts, nothing is known about the writer.


**NIHAWAND**, a town in the Zagros Mountains of western Persia, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Bahrādān (cf. al-Baladhurī, 303 n. e, Marquart, *Éranšahr*, i, 117) identifies him with the town of *Našīm*. It is in the same legend is reflected in the name of the river Gāmāsāb (*Gāw-māsāb* = "water of the bull and fish"); *mārī* is the Kurdish form of the Persian *mārī*.

In modern Persia, Nihawand is the chef-lieu of the district of Nihawand (formerly called Mah-Bahrādān or Māh-Dīnār) which was under Nihawand (cf. de Morgan, *Mission*, ii, 136: *Rūḍīdawīr*) and was famous for its abundance of water (cf. al-Īṣākhī, 199). For a list of the places more or less dependent on Nihawand, cf. Schwartz, *Iran*, 505-9. In the Mongol period, Hâmid Allâh Mustawfī's *Nauhat al-balûb* mentions three districts of Nihawand: Malâviẓ (now Dawlatabâd), Isbīdhān (*Isbīdhān*), see below) and Djiḥūk.

Near Nihawand was fought the famous battle which decide the fate of the Iranian plateau and in which the Kūfī commander al-Nu'mān b. Mukarrin defeated the Sāsānids generals. The commander-in-chief is given different names: Dhu l-Ḥādhibayn Marīndāshāh (cf. al-Baladhurī, 303 n. e, Marquart, *Éranšahr*, i, 117) identifies him with the Kufi commander al-Nu'mān b. Mukarrin Kāwī Nāṣīm (q. v.). The Kūfī commander al-Nu'mān b. Mukarrin was under Nihawand (cf. de Morgan, *Mission*, ii, 136; *Rūḍīdawīr*), and was famous for its abundance of water (cf. al-Īṣākhī, 199). For a list of the places more or less dependent on Nihawand, cf. Schwartz, *Iran*, 505-9. In the Mongol period, Hâmid Allâh Mustawfī's *Nauhat al-balûb* mentions three districts of Nihawand: Malâviẓ (now Dawlatabâd), Isbīdhān (*Isbīdhān*), see below) and Djiḥūk.

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The district of Nihawand (formerly called Māh-Bahrādān or Māh-Dīnār) was finally incorporated in the possessions of the Baṣraans and called Māh Baṣra ("the Media of Baṣra"); al-Baladhurī, *306*).

Nihawand is often mentioned in the period of the wars between the Saflawids and the Ottomans. In 998/1589 at the beginning of the reign of Abbās I, the Ottoman vizier Cīhāte-zāde (q.v.) built a fortress at Nihawand ("Sīmārā, 372"). After the death of Murād IV, a rebellion took place among the garrison of Nihawand; the Ottomans were driven out by the Shīfī inhabitants. As a result, in 1012/1603 war again broke out with Turkey (ibid., 440). In the spring of 1142/1730 Nādir Shāh (q. v.) took Nihawand again from the Turks.

In modern Persia, Nihawand is the chef-lieu (population in 1960, 26,452) of a district of the same name (population 70,000) in the fifth ustan of the province of Kūrdistān.

**Bibliography:** J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii, *Études géographiques*, 1895, 152 and passim, pl. ixvi (view of Nihawand); Marquart, *Éranšahr*, index; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern
Djulak near Nihawand
he served the Safawids administration. But then he fell from grace, and like a tax official and eventually became a wazir and entered the service of the Khan-i Khanan.

Ma^dthir-i Rahimi, biography of himself, the Indo-Muslim historian of the Mughal period (978-after 1046/1570-after 1637). Of Kurdish origin from Djulak near Nihawand [q.v.], he served the Safawids as a tax official and eventually became a vazir in the administration. But then he fell from grace, and like many Persians of his age, decided to migrate to India, subsequently holding official posts in the Deccan and entered the service of the Khan-i Khanan [q.v.].

Mirzâ ʿAbd al-Rahîm, q.v. subdues the principal nominal posts in the Deccan and Behr. The Khan-i Khanan asked him to write a biography of himself, the Maʿârif-i Râhîmî, completed by ʿAbd al-Bâki in 1025/1616 (ed. Hidâyat Husayn, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1910-31) an important source for the period, which also contains a history of Muslim India in his own and previous times, starting with the Ghazawids [q.v.].

Bibliography: Storey, i, 522-3, 1315.

C.E. Bosworth

NIHAYA (A.), a term of Islamic philosophy which (together with its negation mà la nihâya lâhu) is entirely governed by its lexical meaning. Ibn Manzûr, in L.A., defines it thus: "the extremity (nâhiya) and final limit (kabîr) of a thing; and this is because its final limit prevents it from being prolonged (qamâ-hu an al-amâdî), so that it is stopped (fa-yarattîd)." This definition of nihâya is based on its etymology, since the verb nahi means "to forbid". The nihâya is thus that which forbids access to something beyond a certain limit. Ibn Manzûr explains the Kûrânic phrase sidrat al-muntahâ (L.II, 14) by saying that it is the lotus "which one reaches by arriving at it and which one does not go beyond (wa-lâ yuâlîhâwâz)”.

This concept of not going beyond can apply to such realities as time, space and the division of bodies. Does time have a limit in the past (an original time) or in the future (a final time), limits before or beyond which there is no more time, or is there an extension of time into infinity, an eternity of time a parte ante (al-lam-yazål) which has never ceased to exist in the past, and a parte post (al-lâ-yazål) which will never end in the future? The same question can be put regarding space: does there exist an infinite space, or is it all existing space limited? Likewise, is there or is there not a limit to the division of bodies; is a body composed of an infinite number of parts, or is it built up from a finite assemblage of indivisible atoms? But the concept of not going beyond is also applicable to the operations of thought: does it reach as far as definitive conclusions, i.e. can it define final and "completed" truths, without being obliged to go back incessantly and infinitely in its reasonings, "until there is no nihâya", which is, in the eyes of logicians, the sign of a defect in a proof? One can thus discern that the concept of nihâya is involved in everything touching such problems as what is finite, the infinite and the undefined.

The question in regard to space and time was treated in the discussions of the opposing views of al-Ghazâlî and Ibn Rushd in the two Tahâfûs. Is there a parallelism between space and time in regard to their limits? Al-Ghazâlî, in an eristic form of augmentation against the philosophers, supports it. He remarks that the future and the past are relative to each other, since all future becomes a past, and all past is merely such in as far as it precedes the future.

But these are equally relative to the human soul which, in its present form, represents these two dimensions of time thanks to its faculty of imagination (wa'am, tasawabhum) which, itself, cannot come to a halt, neither to an initial term nor to a final one. Hence it has no nihâya. But the same is true in regard to space; so our imagination cannot be cut off, so that one can conceive of an undefined growth of the world in space (or, contrariwise, an undefined contraction), which raises the question of our knowing whether the world could have been created greater or smaller than it in fact is. Further, one can ask oneself if it could have been created earlier or later. In effect, if spatial dimension accompanies a body, then temporal dimension accompanies movement. If one thus admits, in turn, that the world is limited and that it does not exist beyond the created world as it actually is, neither open space nor empty space, as the philosophers, following Aristotle and his theory of place (tòmos, cf. Physics, book IV), then they must be compelled to recognise that, beyond the movement of the world, there exists no empty time nor filled time, and, as a result, that the world has a temporal nihâya just as it has a spatial one. If the philosophers refuse to grant that the world has a first beginning at which one must stop when one traces back the succession of movements which are characteristic of it, despite being carried away by the imagination, then they are not in conformity with their own beliefs, since they admit a nihâya for space but refuse it for time whilst the case of time is identical with that of space.

Ibn Rushd replies that, if the future and past are relative to our own imagination, they are not then "things which exist in themselves; they have no existence outside the soul and are only a creation of the soul (ghayr tafâlû l-nafs)". The fact that the imagination goes beyond all spatial limit as much as beyond all temporal limit does not imply that, in reality, the case of time is the same as that of space. Or, to be precise, there exists a parallelism between space and time in regard to their non-existence, a great difference: this is that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop. This is why, according to reason, and not this time according to the imagination, one can conceive of a spatial limit to the world, whilst one cannot conceive of a limit to movement and, consequently, to time, since time is made up of a enumerated number of movements, on which it depends. This is the explanation why, when there is a question of a reality which comes into existence (al-muhâdâ) after its non-existence, one must not trace back the anteriority (kahânîya) of its non-existence to an act of the imagination, since if one does that, one suppresses the reality of what comes into existence and establishes a higher limit of real existence, a fact that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop. This is why, according to reason, and not this time according to the imagination, one can conceive of a spatial limit to the world, whilst one cannot conceive of a limit to movement and, consequently, to time, since time is made up of a enumerated number of movements, on which it depends. This is the explanation why, when there is a question of a reality which comes into existence (al-muhâdâ) after its non-existence, one must not trace back the anteriority (kahânîya) of its non-existence to an act of the imagination, since if one does that, one suppresses the reality of what comes into existence and establishes a higher limit of real existence, a fact that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop. This is why, according to reason, and not this time according to the imagination, one can conceive of a spatial limit to the world, whilst one cannot conceive of a limit to movement and, consequently, to time, since time is made up of a enumerated number of movements, on which it depends. This is the explanation why, when there is a question of a reality which comes into existence (al-muhâdâ) after its non-existence, one must not trace back the anteriority (kahânîya) of its non-existence to an act of the imagination, since if one does that, one suppresses the reality of what comes into existence and establishes a higher limit of real existence, a fact that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop. This is why, according to reason, and not this time according to the imagination, one can conceive of a spatial limit to the world, whilst one cannot conceive of a limit to movement and, consequently, to time, since time is made up of a enumerated number of movements, on which it depends. This is the explanation why, when there is a question of a reality which comes into existence (al-muhâdâ) after its non-existence, one must not trace back the anteriority (kahânîya) of its non-existence to an act of the imagination, since if one does that, one suppresses the reality of what comes into existence and establishes a higher limit of real existence, a fact that every body, as such, forms a whole, an ensemble which can be added up into a totality, which is not the case with movement which, on the contrary, by its very nature flows along and cannot be halted in a total stop.

Another question regarding creation ab aeterno also brings in the concept of nihâya. The two Tahâfûts are clearly opposed on this point. How can one conceive of an eternal creation? asks al-Ghazâlî, when the eternity of the world is impossible. In effect, the revolution of the Sun takes place over a year and that of Saturn over 30 years. The Sun's revolution is thus
To one-thirtieth of the revolution of Saturn, or, putting it another way, for one revolution of Saturn, there are 30 revolutions of the Sun; for two revolutions of Saturn, there will be two times 30 revolutions of the Sun. When one takes a finite number of revolutions of Saturn, one will have a finite number 30n revolutions of the Sun. The relationship between the totality of the revolutions of Saturn and the totality of the revolutions of the Sun remains the same in relationship to the parts of these totalities, i.e. 1:30. Ibn Rushd replies, however, that if there are an infinite number of revolutions of Saturn and the Sun, this relationship disappears, since there is no conceivable relationship between an infinity “once” and “30 times” infinity. Hence infinites of revolutions are impossible, and the world cannot have been created ab aeterno. These considerations are already to be found in the Fisal of Ibn Hazm. Furthermore, is the infinite number of these revolutions an even or an odd number, or both at the same time, or is it neither? One must say that it is either one or the other. But if one says that it is an even number, it will become an odd number by the addition of a unity, and if one says that it is an odd number, it will become an even number by the subtraction of a unity. But how can one conceive adding a unity to or taking a unity away from what is infinite? One can only reply that the infinite number is neither odd nor even, which is contrary to the nature of the concept of number. Finally, Ibn Rushd’s reply rests on a completely Aristotelian principle: sc. that an infinite number of revolutions is only infinite in potentiality, and that there does not exist any act of any kind such that one can take it as a whole which is defined and genuinely capable of being totalised (cf. Tahafut al-Tahafut, 12-18).

Another question involving nihāya arises in regard to the division of bodies. Ibn Sinā discusses it, in particular in his Īkhārūt (ed. Sulaymān Dūnyā, Cairo 1957, ii, 130 ff.). Should one come to a stop at indivisible atoms, in finite number, or not? If division proceeds to the infinite, are the final parts of which bodies are made up bodies themselves or something else? This question raises numerous difficulties. It is a fact that, if one defines a body geometrically as that which has three dimensions in space, sc. length, breadth and depth, it is always possible for the imagination to divide up a line, surface or volume infinitely. But how can one put together again a body which is not divisible, unlike geometrical dimensionality but “corporeity” (djismiyya), a principle which is not divisible, unlike geometrical dimension. It should be observed that Ibn Sinā is raising here the important question of the continuous and the discontinuous.

The theologians also tackled this question of the constituting of bodies. Let us merely cite al-Nazzām [q.v.], a Mu'tazilī of the Baṣrān school, who denied the existence of the indivisible part or atom. The division of bodies can go on infinitely, which brings into consideration their continuity and, at the same time, the question of the nature of space and the possibility of movement. He resolved it by his doctrine of the “leap” (tafra), a moving body which cannot pass by means of an infinite number of positions from A to B “leaps” from one point to another. ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, in his Fīrāq bayān al-firāq, remarks that this idea of the possibility of divisibility as far as the infinite brings in the thesis of the simultaneous occupation of bodies of a single space (taddkhul al-adjamū fi hayyiz waḥid). In practice, as Ibn Sinā discerned clearly, one cannot explain the contact of parts thus infinitely divided up in order to take into account the composition of the body, except by considering that they have two distinct extremities (ṣarafān), so that contact with one is different from contact with the other; which is contrary to the hypothesis of division to infinity. Furthermore, one must freely admit that the elements which are supposed to be in contact become completely penetrated within each other, which cannot explain the constituting of the volume of bodies.

These are the main problems which the concept of nihāya raises.

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(R. Arnauld)

NIKĀBA (.), a term whose sense has been fixed in the 20th century for “trade union”, i.e. association for defending the interests of and promoting the rights of wage and salary earners, can also however denote the liberal professions and even those of employers. The term derives from the corporative function of the sukīb, with the adjective nikābi (in practice applied as a substantive only to wage and salary earners) and the abstract nikābiyya “syndicalism”; there is no verbal form in this sense.

The term’s usage became general after the First World War. Trade unionism, free from the theoretical non-differentiation between employers and employees of the guilds, is already attested in those countries in which capitalist enterprise was most advanced. In Algeria (1880 onwards) it referred primarily to the dominant Europeans, with some slight reference to the autochthonous peoples, and utilised the French term syndicalisme. In Egypt, where the corporative system was abolished in 1890, the first trade unions (1899 onwards), at first dominated by foreign or Ottoman-minority elements, but later mixed, became known as associations (djam’yya).

This term prevailed when Egyptian trade unionism was put on a nationalist basis (1908-11). Nikāba came into usage at the same time in the terminology of the Nationalist (Waṭanī) Party of Muhammad Farīd [q.v.], from 1908 onwards. It referred to an agricultural co-operative, in the Italian co-operative sense (nikāba zirā’yya) and at the same time to the Nikābāt al-Ṣanārat al-Yadayiyya (Union of Manual Workers), an educational and co-operative association under the patronage of Nationalist lawyers, with individual and collective membership, for a body of workers. Henceforth, the Egyptian press used the term to translate the titles of trade unions formed by foreign workers.

In the Ottoman empire, the corporative system, although in decay, remained longer in usage, with mutual insurance societies only permitted to foreigners and to members of the minorities employed in the foreign concessionary companies. The first trade unions arose at the time of the strikes during the 1908 Revolution, which however hardly touched the Arab provinces. Laws were passed (1908-12) to counter and to regulate the movement. Trade unions were forbidden and the old corporations dissolved. They were replaced by professional associations, comprising employers and employed, with representativeness reserved for the former. In the Arab version, for a long time after the War, nikāba denoted corporate groups (nikābāt al-aṣnāf, n. al-firāq wa’l-ṣanārat al-Yadayiyya), whilst djam’yya, pace the case in Egypt, referred to legal “associations”, not trade unions.
After the War, whilst modern Turkey adopted, in order to remove ambiguity, the loan form *sendika,* nikāba became the predominant term in the Arab-speaking lands.

The history of Arab trade unionism went, briefly speaking, through three phases. Until the 1940s, under colonial domination, it became firmly established in Egypt, spread through the British and French mandates of the Near East and became general in the three countries of French North Africa. In this context, it acquired a strong political tinge, within the framework of the combined stakes of class and nationalism. The first vehicle of diffusion of the form and the term was the current which claimed to belong to the Communist International and the International Red Trade Union Movement, i.e. within the organic link between the Communist Party and trade unionism till the middle of the 1930s. In the Near East, where these organisations were independent of those of the metropolises, the first Egyptian federation (*Ittihād Nikābat al-'Umādī*) was crushed by the Wafdist resistance, through the exertion of political patronage, by the nationalist-reformist currents, dominant since the 1930s, an International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (al-'Ittihād al-Duwali li-Nikābat al-'Umādī al-'Arab = I.C.A.T.U.), autonomous of the central world organisations but open to co-operation with them, was created in 1956. It assured inter-Arab trade union solidarity with repressed movements, at the same time getting involved politically in regional happenings (Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, etc.). It concerned itself with the harmonisation of Arab legislation on labour, in a first stage with the Arab Labour Organisation (Manazamat al-'Amal al-'Arabī) and the International Trade Union Federation, connected to the Second Socialist International. But the use of their capability of mobilising on the streets and in strikes served largely for these parties to embarrass their enemy in power. Once the power was taken over, repression began again. The presence of a colonial population in French North Africa allowed the securing of more rights. The lines of cleavage were those of the metropolis, opposing the reformist movement to the current class, until the reunification of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) in 1936. The second current, also anti-colonialist, was aimed, despite prohibitions and repression, at unionising the indigenous peoples and even supported, in Tunisia, a nationalist party failed (Tunisia, 1937-8). The creation of a five-worker union in Lebanon, opposition was strong and the trade union movement was slower in Syria, and more pluralist there. In ʿIrāk, it enjoyed periods of expansion and contraction. The tendency of the mandatory or tutelary authorities was to suppress this movement, considered as a prop of nationalism, or at most to oppose to it the Ottoman regulations regarding associations, for long maintained in force. The demands made were as much juridical as economic, and in view of the resistance encountered, nationalist. With its class current broken, Egyptian trade unionism was taken over, through the exertion of political patronage, by the nationalist parties, on reformist lines close to the International Trade Union Federation, connected with the Second Socialist International. But the use of their capability of mobilising on the streets and in strikes served largely for these parties to embarrass their enemy in power. Once the power was taken over, repression began again. The presence of a colonial population in French North Africa allowed the securing of more rights. The lines of cleavage were those of the metropolis, opposing the reformist movement to the current class, until the reunification of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) in 1936. The second current, also anti-colonialist, was aimed, despite prohibitions and repression, at unionising the indigenous peoples and even supported, in Tunisia, a first experience of trade union federation on national class bases (C.G.T.T., 1924: *Djamiṣʿat Umām al-'Umādī al-Tūnisīyya*). The sole attempt at a take-over by a nationalist party failed (Tunisia, 1937-8). The implanting of Zionist trade unionism in Palestine (from 1920 onwards) did not favour an ethnic mix of workers. The Communist Party envisaged it, but failed. Arab associations or trade unions formed but without avoiding the cleavages of the two main nationalist clans.

The second phase, beginning in 1942 during the Second World War, was one of an increase in struggles and the acquisition of legal rights. Class orientations prevailed, but in pluralist structures, either running parallel to or in alliance with a national movement which led up to the first manifestations of political independence. This was also true for Palestine before the partition in 1948. The creation of the World Trade Union Federation (W.F.T.U.) from 1945 onwards favoured the exchange of experiences. Extended coverage was made (Sudan, Libya, Somalia and Aden). The politics of economic development increased the numbers of salaried members. The new governments used, however, the split in the World Trade Union Movement (I.C.F.T.U. after 1949) to install here an official trade unionism, and to forbid there all syndicalist activity. The context favoured the swallowing up of Maghribi trade unionism by the dominant nationalist parties.

The last phase is thus characterised by the permanent introduction of democratic stakes, until then never permanently resolved: liberty to form trade unions, and their autonomy regarding the state and political parties. Under the influence of the nationalist-reformist currents, dominant since the 1950s, an International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (al-'Ittihād al-Duwali li-Nikābat al-'Umādī al-'Arab = I.C.A.T.U.), autonomous of the central world organisations but open to co-operation with them, was created in 1956. It assured inter-Arab trade union solidarity with repressed movements, at the same time getting involved politically in regional happenings (Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, etc.). It concerned itself with the harmonisation of Arab legislation on labour, at the same time getting involved politically in regional happenings (Arab-Israeli conflict, oil, etc.). It concerned itself with the harmonisation of Arab legislation on labour, and with the Arab Labour Organisation (Manazamat al-'Amal al-'Arabī) and the International Trade Union Federation, connected to the Second Socialist International. But the use of their capability of mobilising on the streets and in strikes served largely for these parties to embarrass their enemy in power. Once the power was taken over, repression began again. The presence of a colonial population in French North Africa allowed the securing of more rights. The lines of cleavage were those of the metropolis, opposing the reformist movement to the current class, until the reunification of the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) in 1936. The second current, also anti-colonialist, was aimed, despite prohibitions and repression, at unionising the indigenous peoples and even supported, in Tunisia, a first experience of trade union federation on national class bases (C.G.T.T., 1924: *Djamiṣʿat Umām al-'Umādī al-Tūnisīyya*). The sole attempt at a take-over by a nationalist party failed (Tunisia, 1937-8). The implanting of Zionist trade unionism in Palestine (from 1920 onwards) did not favour an ethnic mix of workers. The Communist Party envisaged it, but failed. Arab associations or trade unions formed but without avoiding the cleavages of the two main nationalist clans.

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bounds to which were consideration for her family. Dissolution of the marriage rested entirely on the man's opinion; and even after his death his relatives could enforce claims upon his widow.

2. Islam has abandoned some of these old marriage laws in far-reaching fashion, while retaining their essential features; here as in other fields of social legislation Muhammad's chief aim was the improvement of the woman's position. The regulations regarding marriage which are the most important in principle are laid down in the Kur'ân in sura IV (from the period shortly after the battle of Uhud): '13. If ye fear that ye cannot act justly to your wives, whether ye have or have not intercourse—these are revelations from Allah. Allah is all-knowing and wise.

29. If however any one of you has intercourse with her, let him give her her reward as their due, but it is no sin to make an agreement between you beyond the legal due. Allah is all-knowing and wise. 29. If however any one of you has intercourse with her, let him give her her reward as their due, but it is no sin to make an agreement between you beyond the legal due. Allah is all-knowing and wise.' Also sura II, 220 (uncertain date), the pro-
cliche of Shafi'i law: 'The part which they take is to pronounce the necessary formula to the parties or even to act as authorised agents (hakim) usually act under the supervision of the kadi. Everywhere find men whose profession this is and who forthwith purchase a licence which is valid in law, they can only be married at all by a wali mudjbir. According to the Hanafis, on the other hand, every blood relative acting as wali is entitled to give a maiden under age in marriage without her consent; but a woman married in this way by another than her ascendant is entitled on coming of age to demand that her marriage be declared void (jidd) by the kadi. A bridgroom who is a minor may also be married by his wali mudhib. As a kind of equivalent for the rights which the husband acquires over the wife, he is bound to give her a bridal gift (mahr, sadak) which is regarded as an essential part of the contract. The contracting parties are free to fix the mahr; it may consist of anything that has value in the eyes of the law, if it is not fixed at the conclusion of the contract and if the parties cannot agree upon it, we have a case for the mahr al-mithl, a bridgail gift fixed by the kadi according to the circumstances of the bridgroom. It is not necessary to pay the mahr at once; frequently a portion is paid before the consummation of the marriage and the remainder only at the dissolution of the marriage by divorce or death. The wife's claim to the full mahr or the full mahr al-mithl arises only when the marriage is terminated; if the marriage is previously dissolved by the man, the wife can only claim half the mahr or a present (mutil) fixed arbitrarily by the man; these regulations go back to sura II, 237-8 (cf. XXXIII, 48). In form, the marriage contract, which is usually prefaced by a solicitation (khutba), follows the usual scheme in Muslim contracts, with offer and acceptance; the wali of the bride is further recommended to deliver a pious address (khutba) on the occasion. The marriage must be concluded in the presence of at least two witnesses (gahid) who possess the legal qualifications for a witness; their presence is here not simply, as in other contracts, evidence of the marriage but an essential element in its validity. On the other hand, no collaboration by the authorities is prescribed. But since great importance is usually attached to fulfilling the formalities of the marriage contract, upon which the validity of the marriage depends, it is usual to carry through this important legal matter without the assistance of an experienced lawyer.

2. Muslim contracts, with offer and acceptance; the wali of the bride is further recommended to deliver a pious address (khutba) on the occasion. The marriage must be concluded in the presence of at least two witnesses (gahid) who possess the legal qualifications for a witness; their presence is here not simply, as in other contracts, evidence of the marriage but an essential element in its validity. On the other hand, no collaboration by the authorities is prescribed. But since great importance is usually attached to fulfilling the formalities of the marriage contract, upon which the validity of the marriage depends, it is usual to carry through this important legal matter without the assistance of an experienced lawyer. We therefore everywhere find men whose profession this is and who usually act under the supervision of the kadi. The part which they take is to pronounce the necessary formu-

27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, the daughters of your brother and sister, your foster-mothers and foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives and the stepdaughters who are in your care, born of your wives, with whom ye have had intercourse—but if ye have not had intercourse with them, it is not a sin for you—and the wives of the sons, who are your offspring, also that ye marry two sisters at the same time except what is already past; Allâh is gracious and merciful.

28. Further married women except (slaves) that were already past; Allah is gracious and merciful. 28. Further married women except (slaves) that

27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, the daughters of your brother and sister, your foster-mothers and foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives and the stepdaughters who are in your care, born of your wives, with whom ye have had intercourse—but if ye have not had intercourse with them, it is not a sin for you—and the wives of the sons, who are your offspring, also that ye marry two sisters at the same time except what is already past; Allâh is gracious and merciful.

28. Further married women except (slaves) that were already past; Allah is gracious and merciful. 28. Further married women except (slaves) that
of one of them, usually the 

wife of the bride. The most

is the marriage contract.

The actual position of the 

woman in marriage is a 

settled question.

1. blood relationship, 

between the man and 

his female descendants. 

2. foster-relationship, 

which, by extension of the 

Kur'anic law, by tradition 

is regarded as an impediment to 

marriage in the same 

degree as blood relationship;

3. relationship by mar-

riage, namely, between a 

man and his mother-in-law, 

daughter-in-law, step-daughter, etc., 

in the direct 

line; marriage with two sisters 

or with an aunt and 
niece at the same time is also 

forbidden; 4. the 

existence of a threefold 
talaq [q.v.] 

talk [q.v.]

right to dispute his paternity by 
faskh [q.v.].

Parentage can 

also be established by the 
husband's 

ikrān [q.v.], 

while 

its dissolution; it is presumed that such children 

are impossible.

4. The laws regarding the 

rights and duties of 

husband and wife cannot be 

modified by the parties at 

the drawing-up of the contract. This can, however, be 

effected by the man pronouncing a conditional talaq

[see talaq, vii.] immediately after the conclusion 
of the marriage contract; this shift to secure the 

position of the woman is particularly common among 

Indian Muslims. For the rest, the couple is left to 

private agreement, which is not mentioned in the 

marriage contract. The actual position of the woman 
in marriage is in all Muslim countries entirely 
dependent on local conditions and on many special 
circumstances. It is not a contradiction of this to say 

that the legal prescriptions regarding marriage are most 
carefully observed as a rule. In spite of certain ascetic 
tendencies, Islam as a whole has been decidedly 
in favour of marriage.—In modern Islam, the problem 
of the woman's position in marriage and polygamy is 
especially discussed between conservatives and 

adherents of modern social ideas. For the different 

views resulting from these conditions, see the works in 
the Bibliography cited below.

5. Alongside of the usual form of the old Arabian 

marriage, which in spite of its laxity aimed at the 
foundation of a household and the procreation of 

children, there existed the temporary marriage in 

which the husband's rights and obligations were 
previously fixed. Such temporary marriages were 

entered upon mainly by men who found themselves 
staying for a time abroad. It is by no means certain 

that these are referred to in sura IV, 28, although the 

Muslim name of this arrangement (mu'ā [q.v.], 

"marriage of pleasure") is based on the literal 

meaning of the verse; it is, however, certain from 

tradition that Muhammad really permitted 

mu'ā to his followers especially on the longer campaigns. But 

the caliph 'Umar strictly prohibited mu'ā and regarded it 
as fornication (zina) (a group of traditions already 
ascribes this prohibition to the Prophet). As a result, 

mu'ā is permitted only among the Shāfiis but 

prohibited by the Sunnis. The latter have, however, 

practically the same arrangement; those who wish to live 

counter to the law as husband and wife for a certain 

period simply agree to do so without stipulating it in 

the marriage contract.

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II. IN THE MODERN ISLAMIC WORLD

I. Impetus for reform

Increasing dissatisfaction in recent years with traditional marriage law, particularly the discord between legal norms adapted to the patrilineal, patriarchal structure and the demand for change, has spawned reforms motivated by a desire to adapt "modernistic" interpretation of shari'ah law to expedient changes in the social and economic environment. Impediments to marriage, such as the guardianship of minors (and below), below which no claim of sexual maturity may be made, have been raised: fifteen or sixteen for a boy, and seventeen for a girl. In Egypt (1923, 1931) no distinction is drawn between puberty and competence for marriage. Prescribed ages for marriage are eighteen for a boy and sixteen for a girl. Marriage below these ages is permissible, however, on proof of sexual maturity (see below). Simultaneously, traditional "shari'ah" (see MAHKAMA. 4. xiii, at VI, 40-1).

Relevant legislation:


ii. Impediments to marriage

"Shari'ah" impediments to marriage, excepting foster relationship, have been completely abandoned in Turkey. A reform unique to Kuwait to safeguard the family’s integrity prohibits a man’s marrying a woman he has deliberately and viciously turned against her former husband.

iii. Marriage guardian

The marriage guardian’s role has been virtually restricted to protecting the interests of wards physically mature but not of competence for marriage. Moreover, the court is empowered to permit marriage even against the guardian’s will. Under Ottoman family law concerning marriageable age, fifteen or sixteen for a boy, and seventeen for a girl, has directly affected the validity of marriage. Marriage in violation of the provisions pertaining to the age of competence to marry and the conditions concerning permission to marry is deemed irregular (fard) with no legal effects before consummation. In North Yemen, the marriage of a boy (not a girl) below fifteen is not valid. Laws in other Middle Eastern countries evade this issue. Courts, however, tend to validate such marriages retroactively once the parties reach puberty.

Other devices intended to enforce reformist restrictions on child-marriage are prohibition of registration of any union in which the parties have not reached the minimum age for marriage (see below, v). In the Sudan (1960), the traditional Mālikī rule that an adult woman must be given in marriage by her guardian still obtains, although the woman’s consent is now as a rule essential for its validity.

iv. Equality in marriage

Criteria for equality between spouses (kufla‘a), as well as the guardian’s right to demand annulment of the marriage on grounds of inequality, have been curtailed. Ottoman family law explicitly mentions as criteria on the guardianship and property (out of which the prompt dower can be paid and the wife’s maintenance provided). In Jordan the only remaining criterion is property. In Kuwait religious piety is the sole criterion. In Syria equality is a matter of local convention, not law. So far ‘Irāk alone totally ignores this institution, implying its complete abandonment. However, a new criterion has emerged: parity in age between the spouses (see below, vi).

v. Age of marriage

Restrictions on child-marriage are intended to prevent the harmful social implications of premature marriage. Distinction has been made to this end between an age of competence for marriage and a minimum age below which marriage is never possible, the parties being presumed to be under puberty. Most Middle Eastern countries have followed the precedent set by Ottoman family law in prescribing the age of competence for marriage: eighteen for a boy and seventeen for a girl. Marriage below these ages is permissible, however, on proof of sexual maturity (see below). Simultaneously, traditional "shari’ah" (and Ottoman family law) age limits (nine for girls, twelve for boys), below which no claim of sexual maturity will be heard (in effect, minimum ages for marriage), have been raised: fifteen or sixteen for a boy, and between thirteen and sixteen for a girl. In Egypt (1923, 1931) no distinction is drawn between puberty and competence for marriage. Prescribed ages for marriage are eighteen for a boy and sixteen for a girl. Marriage below these ages is not permissible (nor registered—see below, viii) even on proof of sexual maturity. In the Sudan (1960) a pre-pubescent girl at least ten years old may be given in marriage with the consent of the court where there are grounds for anxiety about her morals.

Adolescents having reached the prescribed ages of puberty but not of competence for marriage may marry in the interim period of two or three years (irrelevant under Hanafi law), subject usually to the marriage guardian’s consent and always to the court’s permission. In Israel the “good defences” (physical maturity and the guardian’s consent) against a charge of contravention of age-of-marriage legislation were abrogated (1950), but simultaneously a district judge was empowered to permit the marriage of a girl who was pregnant or had given birth or, since 1960, had reached the age of sixteen.

Ottoman family law concerning marriageable age has directly affected the validity of marriage. Marriage in violation of the provisions pertaining to the age of competence to marry and the conditions concerning permission to marry is deemed irregular (fard) with no legal effects before consummation. In North Yemen, the marriage of a boy (not a girl) below fifteen is not valid. Laws in other Middle Eastern countries evade this issue. Courts, however, tend to validate such marriages retroactively once the parties reach puberty.

Other devices intended to enforce reformist restrictions on child-marriage are prohibition of registration of any union in which the parties have not reached the
legal ages for marriage (Egypt, 1923; Kuwait; Israel, 1950), preclusion of courts from entertaining any matrimonial cause whatsoever in such marriages, i.e. the marriage is valid but not effective (nāfūdhiyya) (Egypt, 1923; Jordan, 1931) by rendering the parties liable to statutory penalties (Jordan, Iran, Lebanon, Israel).

vi. Disparity in age

Prohibition, by means of registration, of a marriage in which there is a gross disparity in age between the parties (unless there is some genuine benefit in the union) is intended to defend the wife’s interests. Jordan was the first to act on this issue: marriage of a woman under eighteen to a man under thirty-seven is prohibited if the husband-to-be is more than twenty years her senior, unless it is established in court that she consents of her own free will and that the marriage is in her interest. In Syria disparity in age may lead the court to withhold permission for marriage, taking into account the welfare of the parties. In South Yemen, marriage in which there is a twenty-year disparity in age is prohibited unless the wife has reached thirty-five.

vii. Stipulations in the marriage contract

Application of the mechanism of inserting stipulations benefiting the wife into the marriage contract (provided they do not conflict with marriage aims, affect the rights of others, or restrict the liberty of the husband), is intended mainly to improve the position of married women. Anchored in the Ḥanbali school, this mechanism rests on voluntary agreement between spouses. Non-observance of a stipulation is grounds for dissolving the marriage at the wife’s request without prejudice to her financial rights. Ottoman family law first introduced this mechanism. Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Kuwait followed suit. The stipulations pertaining to marriage are (1) that the wife should not be removed from a locality agreed upon between the parties; (2) that the husband should not marry a co-wife (see below, ix); (3) that the wife may work outside the matrimonial home; and (4) that the wife may complete her studies (Kuwait).

viii. Registration of marriage

Registration (performed by the ghara'a court or its authorised notary; in Syria, a district judge must review the marriage application), a wholly new departure from the traditional legal system, has become a necessary legal formality in most Muslim countries. Its purpose is to strengthen state control over marriage proceedings and to impose reforms relating to marriageable and co-marriageable marriage, (since 1976) to marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim. In Jordan this category applied also to the marriage of a Muslim man to an adherent of a non-revealed religion (ghayr kitābiyya). All other prohibited marriages are treated with equal justice (ṣahid).

x. Void and irregular marriages

Modern legislation in this respect aims to mitigate the harsh legal effects of prohibited marriages. Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan (1951) and Syria, reduced the category of void (bālīh) marriage, entailing no legal effects whatsoever, solely to marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim. In Jordan this category applied also to the marriage of a man to a woman related to him within the prohibited degrees (mahram) and (since 1976) to marriage of a Muslim man to an adherent of a non-revealed religion (ghayr kitābiyya). All other prohibited marriages are deemed irregular (fasīd) which, if consummated, entail some of the legal and financial effects of valid (ṣahīḥ) marriage.

Syria introduced an innovative reform (with no apparent basis in the ghara’a law) of divorcing the wife from her husband by court petition (see above, xii). Ottoman family law allows a woman to stipulate in her marriage contract that her husband shall not marry another wife and that should he do so, either she or the polygamous wife will be divorced. Jordan followed suit, though the first wife may dissolve only her own marriage, not that of the co-wife.

(2) Prohibition. Polygamy has been prohibited (in Iran this presumably applies to both permanent and temporary marriage) unless permitted by court (district court in South Yemen) on the basis of “good defences”, insane or (since 1963) that the husband is financially able to properly maintain multiple wives (Syria; Iran, 1967); that the co-wives will be treated with equal justice (‘Irāk, Iran, 1967); and that the first wife consents to the marriage, is unable or unwilling to co-habit, has been sentenced to imprisonment, is addicted to drink, drugs or gambling, has deserted the family or disappeared, or has become too poor or too barren, is afflicted with incurable disease (Iran, 1967, 1975).

In South Yemen a medical certificate to this effect is required. In ‘Irāk these defences are presumably implied by the phrase “some legal benefit in the polygamous marriage”. In Israel (1951) the defence available to Muslims qua Muslims against a charge of polygamy (prohibited by the Mandatory authorities) was abolished and replaced by two defences against such a charge: prolonged absence or mental ill-health of the male spouse.

Prohibition of polygamy, unlike abolition, does not in itself invalidate polygamous marriage, though those failing to obtain the court’s permission are liable to penal sanctions.

(3) Divorce. This obtains in circumstances where no stipulation barring co-marriage has been inserted in the marriage contract or where permission for polygamy has been granted by court. A woman finding the position of co-wife intolerable may dissolve her own marriage on grounds (anchored in the Matki school) of injury (extended to cover unequal treatment of co-wives), or disputes between the spouses (once again extended to cover cases of unequal treatment), in which case the marriage will be dissolved through the arbitration procedure. With slight variations this remedy obtains in the Sudan (1913), Lebanon and Israel (under Ottoman family law). Jordan, South Yemen, and ‘Irāk (1959). In Egypt (1979, 1985) the wife’s option to dissolve the marriage lapses one year after the conclusion of the polygamous marriage. The husband and the solemniser must inform the first wife when a co-wife is taken, failing which they are liable to penal sanction. In Iran (before 1979), a wife who had not consented to a polygamous marriage might petition the court on these grounds asking for a certificate of incapability of reconciliation and subsequent divorce.

x. Void and irregular marriages

Modern legislation in this respect aims to mitigate the harsh legal effects of prohibited marriages. Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan (1951) and Syria, reduced the category of void (bālīh) marriage, entailing no legal effects whatsoever, solely to marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim. In Jordan this category applied also to the marriage of a man to a woman related to him within the prohibited degrees (mahram) and (since 1976) to marriage of a Muslim man to an adherent of a non-revealed religion (ghayr kitābiyya). All other prohibited marriages are deemed irregular (fasīd) which, if consummated, entail some of the legal and financial effects of valid (ṣahīḥ) marriage.

Syria introduced an innovative reform (with no apparent basis in the ghara’a law) of divorcing the wife from her husband by court petition (see above, xii). Ottoman family law allows a woman to stipulate in her marriage contract that her husband shall not marry another wife and that should he do so, either she or the polygamous wife will be divorced. Jordan followed suit, though the first wife may dissolve only her own marriage, not that of the co-wife.
to temporary marriage (mut'a) is the curtailment of some of its legal effects to the point of complete abolishment of the institution. Temporary marriage is no longer valid in 'Irak (1959), although a child born of such a liaison is considered legitimate with all attendant consequences. In Iran (before 1979) temporary marriages were valid, though it seems that mutual rights of inheritance between partners might no longer be created. Traditional mut'a was reintroduced after the 1979 revolution. Under Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan, temporary marriage is deemed invalid.

With the abolition of slavery in Saudi Arabia (1962), concubinage, i.e. a man's ghari' right to have sexual relations with an unlimited number of his female slaves, ceased to exist.

x. Dowry

In Ottoman family law, and in its wake Jordan, Syria, and 'Irak (1959), no mention is made regarding minimum dower, implying abandonment of ghari' doctrine in this respect. In South Yemen, dower (prompt and deferred combined) must not exceed one hundred dinars, contrary to traditional doctrine which does not acknowledge a maximum dower.

Egypt (1929) and the Sudan (1933) introduced, via takhayyur with the Hanafi school, that where a married couple or their respective heirs dispute the amount of dower stipulated, the burden of proof falls on the wife. Syria, Kuwait, and Jordan (1976) followed suit.

Non-payment of the prompt dower before consummation has become (since 1951), contrary to the Hanafi view, grounds for dissolution [see talaq].

xii. Maintenance between the spouses

General trends in this respect favour either one spouse or the other, depending on the circumstances.

(1) Definition of maintenance. In Jordan, and in its wake Syria, 'Irak, Egypt (1979, 1985) and Kuwait, the definition of maintenance has been extended to cover winding-up (takhir) and additional traditional components. In Egypt (1979) maintenance also includes "everything that is requisite by custom," "custom" being replaced in 1985 by "ghari'a".

(2) Criteria for fixing maintenance. Egypt (1929) and the Sudan (1936) and, with some variation, Kuwait, innovated via takhayyur that a wife's maintenance shall be calculated by exclusive reference to her husband's means, regardless of her own condition. Jordan, Syria, and Egypt (1979, 1985) followed suit with the proviso that the rate of maintenance must not be below minimum sufficiency.

Though maintenance may be increased or decreased depending on the husband's condition and the cost of living (as in traditional law) no application shall be heard before the expiration of a certain time period (six months in Syria and Jordan, one year in Kuwait, but no time period in 'Irak) from the date of the court order, save in exceptional emergencies.

South Yemen introduced an unprecedented innovation—in glaring contradiction to the ghari'a—according to which spouses bear the expenses of their common life as well as the maintenance of their children according to their respective means and abilities. This reflects a radical concept, anchored in 1974 law, according to which a marriage is a contract between two parties equal in rights and duties.

(3) Arrears of maintenance. Egypt (1920), and 'Irak (1959) in its wake, acknowledged via takhayyur the principle of arrears of maintenance: maintenance of a wife who has submitted herself, even putatively, to her husband is deemed a debt owed by him from the time when he fails to support her, not (as in Hanafi law) from the time when she sues him in court. The Sudan (1927) adopted a less radical approach: arrears of maintenance still lapse on the death of either party unless the wife has been given judicial permission to raise maintenance on credit. In Jordan and Syria, as in Ottoman family law, arrears of maintenance are created solely by mutual agreement or by judicial judgment (in conformity with traditional law), however—contrary to the Hanafi school—they lapse only by payment or renouncement, not on the death of either party or on dissolution.

In Egypt (1931), and the Sudan (1936) in its wake, as a precaution against dubious claims for maintenance alleged to have been due many years, courts were forbidden by the procedural expedient of denial of judicial relief from entertaining claims of arrears of maintenance in regard to any period more than three years (one year in Egypt since 1979) prior to the suit. In Syria the court will not allow the wife more than four months' arrears of maintenance.

(4) Provisional maintenance. In Syria, 'Irak, Kuwait and Egypt (1979, 1985) the court may order payment of provisional maintenance before handing down its final decision.

(5) Collection of maintenance. The Sudan (1915), and Egypt (1920) in its wake, decreed that if a husband has property out of which his wife's legally entitled maintenance can be obtained, a decree to this effect will be executed. In Lebanon, Israel (both under Ottoman family law), Jordan, and 'Irak, such a judicial decree is possible only if the husband is absent.

In 'Irak, where maintenance cannot be collected from the husband and in the absence of any person willing to lend money to the wife who, in her turn, is incapable of earning a living, maintenance shall be provided by the state. Egypt (1976) and Israel (1972) transferred the burden of maintenance payment fixed by judicial decree to governmental authority, which in turn recoups itself from the judgment debtor.

(6) Non-provision of maintenance as grounds for divorce. In Egypt (1920), Jordan, Syria, 'Irak, Iran (before 1979), and South Yemen, failure to provide the wife with maintenance due to unwillingness or hardship on the part of the husband (provided, in some of the countries, that he has no property out of which maintenance may be obtained, and that a period of delay has been exhausted) is deemed, via takhayyur, legal grounds for judicial divorce [see talaq].

(7) Maintenance of a working wife. Syria, 'Irak and Jordan (1976) explicitly deny the right to maintenance to a wife who works away from home without her husband's consent. In Egypt (1979, 1985) and Kuwait, however, the husband's permission for that purpose is not required, provided the wife's exercise of her right to a lawful job is not abused or in conflict with the family's interest, and that she was not forbidden by the husband to attend her work. This, with some variation, applied also in Iran (before 1979).

xiii. Inheritance rights between the spouses (see mirath. 2. In modern Islamic countries, at VII, 111-13).

xiv. Obedience

Reform in this respect was aimed at correcting...
ceremonial modesty requires some delay in accepting, which precedes the final ceremony.

(nisbat), by both boys and girls, the formal expressing preference for selecting marriage partner. Among Indian Muslims, however, nikah in Indian Islam comprises the male relatives and friends of the families of the bride and the groom, which is reflected to be the establishment of relationship between the


2. In Muslim India up to 1930 [see 'urs].

3. In Muslim India after 1930, marriage thus became a contract between husband and wife, but a marriage as a sacrament but a contract between husband and wife, is literally termed in Indian Islam 'akd-e-nikah ("marriage contract"). Among Indian Muslims, however, nikah is considered to be the establishment of relationship between the families of the bride and the groom, which is reflected in the formal procedure and series of ceremonies which precede the final nikah ceremony.

In spite of the impact of modern education among Indian Muslims, allowing some degree of freedom in expressing preference for selecting marriage partner by both boys and girls, the formal nikah proposal (nikah ka pooyeham) is sent—or conveyed—by the elders of the boy to the elder family members of the girl. The ceremonial modesty requires some delay in accepting the proposal (pooyeham). After the formal declaration of engagement (nikahat), an auspicious date is fixed for the nikah. Generally, the month of Muharram and the following thirteen days of Sawan are avoided for nika*ah ceremonies by both Sunni and Shī'a in commemoration of martyrdom of Imām Husayn.

On the appointed day, the marriage party (nikah ki bārā), comprising the male relatives and friends of the groom's family, proceeds to the house of the bride, where they are received by the male members of that household. Soon afterwards, the preparations for the main ceremony begin, which includes changing of the
groom's clothes into a completely new set prepared and provided by the bride's family. For the 'akd ceremony, besides the kadi (usually a Mawlawi or Muslim religious scholar) and a wakil (representing the bride), two witnesses are required. It is the privilege of the bride's family to choose a Mawlawi to act as kadi; whereas the wakil (to be a neutral person in any unforeseen future dispute) is usually the bride's maternal uncle or her paternal or maternal aunt's husband. The two witnesses are selected from among the relatives of the bride. In order to obtain advance consent of the bride, the wakil and the two witnesses proceed to the women's quarter, where the wakil in a loud voice asks the bride three times her consent for her 'akd-e-nikah (specifying the name of the groom and the amount of her mahr), to which she is expected to respond in her modest and subdued voice. Thereafter, the wakil's party returns to the male gathering and informs the kadi that the bride's consent has been obtained for her nikah. It is followed by a brief religious ceremony in which the kadi loudly recites in Arabic the marriage sermon (nikah ka khutba), which consists of some Qur'ānic verses and a history of successful marriages in an Islamic context, citing those of Adam and Eve, Abraham and Hagar, Muhammad and his four prominent wives, and 'Ali and Fāṭima. After this recital, the kadi sits in front of the groom, facing towards him; the wakil and both the witnesses, already sitting close to the groom, lean slightly towards him, so that the couple can hear his consent clearly. The kadi, in a low voice as if maintaining secrecy, asks the groom three times in the following words (in the native language): "I marry you to such-and-such girl, daughter of so-and-so person against so much amount of mahr. Do you accept?" Each time the groom is expected to reply in clear voice. "I accept." After the acceptance, the kadi recites in Arabic a long prayer, again in a loud voice; blessing the newly-married couple with a future happiness like those of all the early marriages cited in Islamic history. This brings the 'akd-e-nikah to its conclusion, which is followed by a feast prepared by the bride's household. Finally, the rukhsait (departure of the bride) with the groom's party back to the groom's house takes place.


4. In Indonesia

In Bahasa Indonesian, the country's national language, there are two words for marriage: nikah and perkawinan. Nikah generally refers to the conclusion of a marriage between Muslims. Perkawinan is a broader concept which prevails nowadays in national legislation, in popular use and even in Islamic writings. *Hukum perkawinan*, marriage law, includes the rules concerning polygamy, divorce and alimony (nafkah).

The sources of Indonesian marriage law include those of national law, Islamic law, custom and colonial law. Over the past forty years, the relevance of colonial law and adat law has significantly decreased. Since Independence, efforts have been made to enact a national marriage law for all citizens. This goal was reached with Law no. 1 of 1974 concerning marriage and its executive regulations, which will be referred to as the "national law".

Historically speaking, customary or adat law came
first. Within Indonesian society, the relationship between adat law and Islamic law has been debated for centuries. The debate carried over to the Dutch when L.W.C. van den Berg claimed in the 1870s that Islamic law should be applied in its integrity to Muslims in Indonesia. Van den Berg was opposed by Snouck Hurgronje, who held the view that Islamic law should only be applied insofar as accepted by society through its customary law. This so-called “reception theory” came to prevail in the colonial government, and it was eventually incorporated in the colonial constitution of 1925. After independence, this theory lost favour in Indonesia, and the political appeal of the adat law has considerably weakened. As a result, recent debates on marriage have mainly focussed on national law and Islamic law and the relationship between the two.

Law no. 1 of 1974 says that in order to be valid, a marriage has to be concluded according to religion and belief. For most Indonesians this means Islamic marriage law. Some provisions of the law seem to contravene codified Islamic law. For example, according to the law the marriage is not the same as the “bride price” of customary law. In many ways, Islam requires few changes for a convert. It has been estimated that 20% of the total population, or 10% is more realistic. That is still more than six million persons. The few hundred thousand live in Uganda, more than five million in Tanzania, and over a million in Kenya. They all follow the Shafi school, except the Indian Muslims, who are Hanafis, or Isma'lis, Bohoràs [q. v.], Twelver Shāis and a few others. Of the African Muslims, only the Somalis retain their own language, except when they settle in the towns. All other Muslims in East Africa are Swahili-speaking, or adopt Swahili when converting to Islam. Marriage is probably the commonest reason for conversion for either sex.

In many ways, Islam requires few changes for a convert. The proposal for a marriage is made by a senior member of the family, usually but not necessarily, the groom’s family. This is the mappa, has to make numerous journeys between the two family homes until all the details of presents have been settled. The “bride price” is called mahar in many East African languages; it is an ancient custom, although strictly speaking mahar [q. v.] is not the same as the “bride price” of customary law. Some Swahili scholars insist that mahar should be only a token sum, others that it is payment to the bride’s father for the trousseau, including furniture. On the Coast, some marriages are uxorio: the bridegroom moves in marriage, generally called talak, has been embedded in a court procedure as well. The judge first has to check whether there is a valid motive as specified by national law in a limitative list of divorce grounds. If this is the case, he functions as an official witness to the talak. The old custom of concluding taknik talak upon marriage has been continued through the uniform model contract that reiterates the same divorce grounds as those mentioned in national law. In colonial times, the government had found various types of Islamic courts deciding marriage disputes among Muslims, in what was regarded to often be an unfavourable position. In 1870s, L.W.C. van den Berg was commissioned to draft a law on Islamic courts. This became the Law on Priest Courts of 1882, which remained the basic law on Islamic jurisdiction until its replacement by Law no. 7 of 1989 concerning religious jurisdiction. This law has made the religious courts competent not only in marriage and divorce cases between Muslims but also in matters of inheritance. The decisions of the religious courts, however, can be subject to final appeal to the Supreme Court, the Mahkamah Agung. Religious courts, K.U.A.s and institutes of higher Islamic learning (I.A.I.N.) where the Islamic law is taught, are all under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion. Interpretations of Sunni schools other than the Shāfī school have one gained currency, contributing to flexibility of reasoning. In this respect mention has even been made of a fifth mazhab, the mazhab Indonesia. Nevertheless, Juyntboel's Inleiding is still held in high esteem among Islamic scholars.

There are indications that the religious courts, the K.U.A.s and the local functionaries, do not always apply the law as it appears to have been intended by the national legislator. This happens notably when the national and the shari'as norms seem to be incongruent. Consequently, the protection of women as intended in the national law can be undermined. Also, marriages between partners of different religions, which have since long been allowed in national law, are becoming increasingly difficult in practice.


J.M. Otto and S. Pompe

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with his wife. Elsewhere, almost always the bride is taken ceremoniously to the bridegroom's home. Traditional songs accompany every stage of the proceedings.

The preferred marriage partners are parallel cousins, in the paternal lineage; since many houses are the family homes of brothers living together, the bride and groom will have known each other since childhood. Since everyone has to obey his father, the latter can and does decide on the choice of partner for both his sons and his daughters.

The Kurʾānic impediments are not always enforced. In the dry eastern part of Africa it is customary for a man in certain circumstances to marry two sisters; often it is obligatory for a man to marry his father's widows, his brother's widows (this is not forbidden in the Kurʾān), and even his father's brother's widows. The preferred marriage partners are parallel cousins; often it is obligatory for a man to marry his sisters; sometimes it is obligatory for a man to marry his own mother. A Muslim scholar's objections are shrugged off. As a result, two persons may marry who have sucked the same breast.

In Africa, many women cultivate their own plot of land within the area of land belonging to their husband's clan. They can sell their produce and cook for the family when it is their turn. As a result, they will not be so much affected by their husband's neglect as the family when it is their turn. As a result, they will have sucked the same breast.

Place marriage beyond the reach of every husband. Even those that wish to add another wife must certainly suffer financially as a result of this. Once you enter into the marriage contract it is with difficulties that you get out of it. (Muhammad Sani Aliyu, Shortcomings in Hausa society as seen by representative poets from ca. 1950 to ca. 1982, M.A. diss. Bayero University, Kano 1983, unpubl.)

The Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar III, on realising the extent of the problem, set up a committee in 1967 to examine alcohol and drug abuse and extravagant wedding customs. The committee’s findings were largely ignored because it proved impossible to pass legislation to enforce compliance with the suggested regulations, including those relating to wedding gifts. The same fate met the recommendations of a second committee convened in 1969. Undeterred, and prompted by increased concern over drunkenness, prostitution and deviant marriage customs, the Sultan established a third committee, this time under the chairmanship of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the first executive President of Nigeria from 1979 to 1983. This committee received 1,200 letters and conducted 600 interviews; its findings were summarised in a booklet Naiṣha ga Musulmi kanyaki da shashanci da almubazzanci da, tr. from Al-Hakir Mzee Bin Ali Muhammad, Naiṣha ga Musulmi kanyaki da shashanci da almubazzanci da, tr. from Al-Hakir Mzee Bin Ali Muhammad, M.A. diss. Bayero University, Kano 1983, unpubl.)

With the family's permission, a man can still obtain a girl by paying her father mahari, which in this case acquires a new meaning.

There is no minimum age for girls to marry, but the majority of the men will be in their twenties when marrying. Kurf, a husband of equal socio-economic class [see kafa], is essential for a girl born of the kafa, the established clans on the East Coast. If a virgin takes a lover of a lower class, this is considered a scandal that affects the whole family, to the extent that girls known to have been executed for it. The Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakar III, on realising the extent of the problem, set up a committee in 1967 to examine alcohol and drug abuse and extravagant wedding customs. The committee's findings were summarised in a booklet Naiṣha ga Musulmi kanyaki da shashanci da almubazzanci da, tr. from Al-Hakir Mzee Bin Ali Muhammad, Naiṣha ga Musulmi kanyaki da shashanci da almubazzanci da, tr. from Al-Hakir Mzee Bin Ali Muhammad, M.A. diss. Bayero University, Kano 1983, unpubl.)

The Sultan said he wished Naiṣha ga Musulmi to be a public record of the endeavours of the aluma to stem the tide; its tone was uncompromising. The following is an example:

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ed to recognise religious and cultural sensibilities and was therefore dropped. However criticisms continued to surface and women's groups, notably FOMWAN (the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria) aroused awareness of the issues through its nationwide organisation which had attracted university-trained Muslim women. In 1991 a four-day seminar, Better Protection for Women and Children under the Law, was organised by the Federal Ministry of Justice. Aisha Lemu, a FOMWAN executive member and the wife of the Grand Kadi of Niger State, addressed the seminar on the subject "Muslim women and marriage under the Shari'a." Her remarks on the financial and marital rights of Muslim women echoed some of the earlier views expressed in Naiha ga Musulmi, but went further and blamed the courts for not implementing the law in respect of divorce and the custody of children. She said:

The main problems faced by Muslim women in Nigeria are caused by pre-Islamic customs. In the North women who are ready to take their cases to the Shari'a courts can sometimes still fail to get their rights in the lower courts because of either ignorance of the Shari'a or corruption. However, if they are patient and persistent enough to appeal to the higher Shari'a courts their rights will be upheld. In the multi-cultural context of Nigeria, which is a secular state, it is difficult to see how the Federal Law Reform Commission will be able to effect change without causing deep resentment in one section of the country or the other. Gradual shifts in attitude may, however, be engineered by women's pressure groups characterised by FOMWAN and others, notably The Women's Commission in Kano, which are backed by Muslim intellectuals predominantly based in Northern Nigerian universities.


This Nikopol, founded by Heraclius (ca. 575-642), has often been confused with the Byzantine town of NIKOPOLIS, modern Bulgarian Nikopol, a town on the southern bank of the Danube in lat. 43° 43' N. and long. 24° 54' E., famed as the scene of a battle between the Ottomans and the European Crusaders in 1396. This Nikopolis, founded by Heraclius (ca. 575-642), has often been confused with the Byzantine town of NIKOPOLIS, modern Bulgarian Nikopol, a town on the southern bank of the Danube in lat. 43° 43' N. and long. 24° 54' E., famed as the scene of a battle between the Ottomans and the European Crusaders in 1396.

The importance of Nikopol as a trade centre and military post is due chiefly to the command which it holds over the Osman and the Aluta, the two Danubian arteries reaching into the heart of Bulgaria and Rumelia respectively. Situated on a naturally fortified plateau, it dominates the plains to the south, the Danube to the north, and the eastern gorge connect-ting the interior of Bulgaria with the river. The medieval double walls and strong towers surrounding Nikopol were destroyed by the Russians during their occupation of the city in 1913 and 1918.

Nikopolis was first captured from the Bulgarians in 791/1389 by 'Ali Pasha Çandarlı [see 'Ali Pasha Çandarlı]. Seven years later, it was the scene of the famous battle in the Crusade which is called by its name. The acquisition of Bulgaria by the Turks and their continual interventions north of the Danube into territories claimed by Hungary, together with a state of comparative peace in Western Europe in the last decade of the 14th century, made it both necessary and possible for most Catholic countries to participate in the expedition. An army of about 100,000 Crusaders (according to the most reliable estimates) from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia and Transylvania marched along the Danube, seized Vidin and Rakova, and finally set siege to Nikopol while an allied Veneto-Genoese fleet blockaded the city from the river. The siege lasted about fifteen days, during which Bayezid I [q.v.] abandoned the siege of Constantinople, burnt the siege machinery, and summoned his Asiatic and European contingents to arms. A Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shkipa Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopol plain.

The battle took place on Monday 21 Dhu 'l-Hijja 798/25 September 1396, and the Crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bayezid divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the infantry rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bayezid with his Sipahis and Stephen Lazarević with his Serbs, watched for the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Lacižković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries defeated, the Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shkipa Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopol plain. The battle took place on Monday 21 Dhu 'l-Hijja 798/25 September 1396. The Crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bayezid divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the infantry rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bayezid with his Sipahis and Stephen Lazarević with his Serbs, watched for the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Lacižković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries defeated, the Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shkipa Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopol plain. The battle took place on Monday 21 Dhu 'l-Hijja 798/25 September 1396. The Crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bayezid divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the infantry rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bayezid with his Sipahis and Stephen Lazarević with his Serbs, watched for the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Lacižković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries defeated, the Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shkipa Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopol plain. The battle took place on Monday 21 Dhu 'l-Hijja 798/25 September 1396. The Crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bayezid divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the infantry rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bayezid with his Sipahis and Stephen Lazarević with his Serbs, watched for the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Lacižković, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries defeated, the Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shkipa Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopol plain.
vive the critical struggles of the next decades. In later history, Nikopolis plays only a minor part. During the wars of the 19th century it was thrice captured by Russian armies (September 1810; July 1829; July 1877), and by the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878) was included in the tributary principality of Bulgaria. The modern town of Nikopol (estimated population 1970, 3,715) lies in the province (ćeşme) of Pleven (Ottoman Turkish Plewne [q.v.]).

Bibliography: See the standard histories of the Ottoman Empire. For the Crusade, a full and classified bibliography of the extensive ms. and printed sources, both Eastern and Western, is contained in A.S. Atiya, The Crusade of Nicaeopolis, London 1934. See also the following older monographs: A. Brauner, Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis, 1396, Breslau 1876; J. Delaville le Roulx, La France en Orient au XIVe siècle, Paris 1886; H. Kiss, A Nicaopolye ukozet, Magyark Akademiai ertesito, 1896; I. Köhler, Die Schlachten bei Nikopolis und Warna, Breslau 1882; F. Site, Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis, Vienna 1893. Of recent works see I.A. Nikbola (M.C. Schabedden Tekindag), Halil Inalcik, The Ottoman empire, The classical age 1300-1600, London 1973, 15-16; H.W. Hazard (ed.), A history of the Crusades, i, The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Madison 1975, 21-6, 82-5; S.J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, i, Cambridge 1976, 33-4. (A.S. Atiya)

NIKSAR, the classical Neo-Caesarea in Bithynia, a town lying on the southern rim of the Pontic mountain chain of Asia Minor (the modern Turkish Kuzey Anadolu Dağları) on the right bank of the Kelkit river. It is situated at an altitude of 350 m/1,150 feet in lat. 40°35' N. and long. 36°59' E. The nucleus of the town is picturesquely situated at the foot of a hill, crowned by the ruins of a mediaeval castle which was erected from the material provided by the numerous buildings of antiquity there. Here in remote antiquity was Cabira and after its decline Diospolis founded by Pompey, later called Sebaste. In Church history Niksar is famous as the scene of the Council (314 A.D.) and as the birthplace of Gregory the miracle-worker. In the Muslim period it became important under the Seljuk sultans, of whom numerous important buildings have survived to the present day. It became more important under the Dānishmandids, whose founder Malik Dānishmand took Niksar among other places. His grandson Muhammad successfully resisted a siege by the emperor Manuel in Niksar. His son Yaghıbasan (537-62/1142-66), of whom there survives an inscription of the year 552/1157, died in 562/1166, but Syriac and Arabic translations of his philosophical works have recently come to light.

1. The Book on Plants: K. Anstüdtli fi 'l-nabdt, ta'fsir Nikûlû'ûs is probably an adaptation of Aristotle's lost work Πεποιημένα. The Arabic translation was discovered in 1923, edited by Arberry (1933) and Badawi (1954). See now Drossartul Luloful and Poortman, Nicolaus De plantis, five translations, in Verh. Ak. Amt. (1969) (= DLP). Because in the Latin version by Alfred of Sareshel (1200 A.D.) the words ta'fsir are omitted in some passages, our edition of Aristotle himself. Some 160 ms. testify to its popularity in the Middle Ages, and yet it was eclipsed by the Greek retroversion from Alfred's text (13th cent.), which from 1539 onwards figured as an appendix to all Greek editions of Aristotle. However, it was generally considered spurious. In 1841 Alfred's Latin version was edited by J.H.F. Meyer, who knew the title in a later Arabic hand. His edition was published by E.H.F. Meyer, who knew the title in Arabic from Hadji Khalifa (ed. Flügel v., 162, no. 10564). In his commentary, Meyer marked off a long digression (§§ 66-70) on the parts of plants that was borrowed from the History of Plants by Theophrastus, whose name was not mentioned. Apparently, Nicolaus inserted this detailed account because Aristotle used to maintain that the parts of plants were few and simple. A comparison with Theophrastus' Greek text shows that Nicolaus, in compiling, sometimes left out important words, e.g. restrictive particles, and had the habit of omitting parallel passages. Consequently, the tenor of the original work was often distorted and obscured. Obviously, he did the same to the Aristotelian part. Glossators swamped the text with enigmatic glosses and digressions on alien matters. Hence the rambling character of the book.
In the Orient, many authors have used the K. al-Nabdt, and though some of them (e.g. Ibn al-Tayyib) had a poor opinion of it, Ibn Rushd appears to have written an epitome (DLP, 363 ff.). The fragment of a long commentary in Hebrew (Oxford Hunt. 576) is a clever imitation. Ullmann, Die Natur- und Geheim- wissenschaften im Islam, Leiden 1972, 73 ff., rightly asserts that the book has primarily been one of the few sources for the knowledge of Theophrastean botany among the Arabs. And indeed, Ibn Sinâ and Ibn al-Ṭayyib, for instance, had a strong preference for the relevant part which, of course, they attributed to Aristotle.

2. On the Philosophy of Aristotle in at least 13 books. This extensive compendium of Aristotle’s physical treatises, Nicolaus acted as a pioneer; at the time when commentators used to begin with Logic, he turned to the philosophy of nature. The remnants in Europe are very scarce, but a curtailed Syriac version in the mutilated Cambridge ms. Syr. Gg. 2.14 was discovered in 1901. Drossaart Lulofs edited the first five books in 1963 (= Nicol. Philos., ii, 27–34); and (d) abridged excerpts of Aristotle’s work had a lacuna, see Ibn Rushd, Tafsir iii) with Meteor., 17–49). On the reference of the Damascene (see Drossaart Lulofs, Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philoso-

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Edessa and in the Arabic-Christian author Agapius (Patrologia Orientalis, v, 596), is not followed by the Muslims who know only the Oxus under this name. Al-Axandria, because there would be then another name al-Fayyum, 127) mentions as another name al-Kasr (al-MasudT, a locality on Nubian territory, where tribute was paid, and the canals or Bahr al-Ghazal. In the Delta, the different rivers which go back to local beliefs or to classical sources, is based partly on direct observation, but for the most part on legendary or pseudo-scientific traditions which go back to local beliefs or to classical knowledge. For a long time during the Middle Ages the limit of Islamic territory on the Nile was well fixed; it ended at the first cataract near the island of Bilaik (Philae) to the south of Usowan (Assouan); here began, since the treaty (bakt [q.v.]) concluded by 'Abd Allah b. Abi Sarh with the Nubians, the Nubian territory (see nuna), where for long centuries Christianity prevailed (al-Baladhuri, 236; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futu3 Misr, ed. Torrey, 188). The first locality on Nubian territory, where tribute was paid, was called al-Kasar (al-Masu'di, Muradi, iii, 40-1 = § 883).

Historical tradition has preserved parts of the alleged correspondence between 'Amr b. al-'As and the caliph 'Umar on the subject of Egypt, then newly-conquered; here the Nile is described as a river 'whose course is blessed', while the flood and the inundations are praised in poetical terms ('Umar b. Muhammad al-Kindi, Fada'il Misr, ed. Ostrup, 204; al-Dimaqj, ed. Mehren, 109). The same correspondence reveals the perhaps historical fact that 'Umar did not wish to see the Arab army established in Alexandria because there would be a great river between the army and the caliph (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 91; cf. also what is said on p. 128 about those who went to live in al-Djiza).

The principal towns by which the Nile passed in mediaeval Egypt in Upper Egypt, between Usowan and al-Fustat, were Adfu (Edfu, on the left), Isna (Esna, l), Arman (l), Kus (r), 'Al-Aksar (Luxor, r), Kift (r), Al-Kindi, Ashmunin (r), Usyuy (Assuit, Sudan), Al-Ushmunin (l), Al-Fayyum (r), Dalas (l), Al-Ashmunin (l), and Ifakhir (Al-fih, r). This succession of towns is given for the first time by al-Yakutib (331-4), while Ibn Hawkal (ed. de Goeye, 95) is the first to give a table of the distance between these towns, expressed in barsid, the entire distance being 21 days' journey (al-ldrisi, ed. Dozy and de Goeye, 52, gives 25 days' journey for the same distance). Shortly before al-Ushmunin, there branches off on the left the canal that carried the water to Fayyum, which is known to Ibn al-Fakh (74) as Nahr al-Lahman and to al-Idrisi (50) as Khalid b. al-Manhi: this canal, which according to unanimous tradition was dug by Joseph, occurs already on the ms. map from the year 479/1086, of Ibn Hawkal in Istanbul, Top Kapu Saray ms. no. 3346 (reproduction on fol. 658 of Monumenta Africae et Aegypti by Youssouf Kamal). It is the Bahr Yusuf of our days; on it was situated al-Bahnaa. The banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt are not very well known to the geographers; one finds repeated everywhere the assertion that the borders were cultivated without interruption between Usowan and al-Fustat (cf. al-ldsakhi, 50), but that the width of the cultivated territory varied during the river's course, dependent on the greater or lesser distance of the two mountain ranges that border the stream. Ibn Hawkal (Istanbul ms., see above) describes two extremely narrow strips, one between Usowan and al-Fustat, the other between Isna and Arman (now called Gebel Silsile). The curves in the course of the Nile, especially in the upper part of the Sa'id, are not indicated on the maps of al-Iddakhi and Ibn Hawkal. The oldest extant Arab map of the Nile, however—which is at the same time the oldest Arab map that we know of—gives clear indications that its sinuous course was a known fact. This map, reproduced in the edition of that text by H. v. Mziik (BAHUG, iii, Leipzig 1926). The representation of the Nile here is connected with the classical tradition of astronomical geography; al-Khazari himself, and after him Suhraab (Ibn Serapion) and Ibn Yunus (ms. 143. Col. of the University Library at Leiden, where on p. 136 a special table is given of the towns lying on the banks of the Nile), give exact indications as to the longitudes and latitudes of the Nile towns, but these indications need many very uncertain corrections to allow of the reconstruction of a map, as von Mziik has tried to do for al-Khazari in Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien, lix, Vienna 1916, and J. Lelewel for Ibn Yunus in pl. ii of the Atlas annexed to his Geographie du Mouyen-age, Paris 1830. But the fact that the course of the Nile runs from south to north was well known to all the Arabic sources, which often repeat the assertion that the Nile is the only river in the world for which this is the case. Only the text of Ibn Hawkal seems to imply that the Nile reached al-Fustat from the south-east (96).

The Delta of the Nile begins to the north of al-Fustat, where the distance between the two mountain ranges widens, while these hills themselves become lower and pass away delving into the desert. Immediately below al-Fustat began the canal that was dug by 'Amr b. al-'As to link up the Nile with the Red Sea; this canal (Khalid Misr or Khalid Amir al-Mu'minin) was made in 23/644 according to Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Kindi (cited by al-Makrizi, Khiaut, ii, 143; cf. Yakit, ii, 466) and served for the conveyance of provisions to the Hijaz until the reign of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz; afterwards it was neglected and even obstructed by the order of the caliph al-Imar, so that, in the 4th/10th century, it ended at Dhanab al-Timsah in the lakes to the north of al-Kulzum (cf. al-Ma'di, Muradi, iv, 97 = § 1426).

The two principal arms of the Nile in the Delta began about 12 miles to the north of al-Fustat (a little further than nowadays, according to Guest) and had, as now, a great number of ramifications which communicated with one another and ended for the greater part in the big lakes or lagoons stretching behind the sea coast from west to east; these lakes were called in the Middle Ages: Buahrayr Maryuy (behind Alexandria), B. Idkii, B. al-Burullus or B. al-Bughitim and the very large B. Tinnis, which last contained a large number of islands with Tinnis as the most important. On the land tongue, where the two main arms
The Nile arms went as now to the town of Rashid (Rosetta), after which it reached the sea; near the direction of Alexandria, ending in the Buhayrat Maryût; this branch was only filled with water in the time of the flood (see a very complete survey of the different "canals" of Alexandria by P. Kahle, in *Isl.,* xii, 83 ff.). The eastern arm ran, as is still the case, past Dimyáit (Damietta) and reached the sea shortly afterwards; it had several branches that went to the Buhayrat Tinnís, one of which continued one of the Nile mouths of antiquity. Though many sources, based on a pseudo-historical tradition, repeat after each other that there are seven Nile arms (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, 6; further, al-Khārazmī, Kudáma, Suhrāb, al-Masʿūdi, Ibn Zulāk), the more realistic authors (Ibn Khurradadhbih, al-Yâkubī, Ibn Rusta, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal, al-Idrīsī) only know of the two main arms. These were linked up by a canal dug by Haman (Ibn Mīzik, *BAHUG,* vol. 36, p. 159); this branch was only filled with water in the time of al-Abd al-Hakam, 6; cf. Guest, *op. cit.,* 944, and Maspéro and Wiet, *Maîtres, in MIFAO,* xxxvi, 104). Al-Maḳrizī has preserved a detailed description of the canal system in the province of al-Buhayra, to the east of Alexandria, from the Kītāb al-Mınāḥîd of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Makḳūzī, who wrote in the 6th/12th century (*MIFAO,* xlvi, 167 ff.). It seems possible that a study of the ancient maps (especially the Delta map of the Istanbul ms. of Ibn Hawkal and the maps of al-Idrīsī) may be useful for a more complete reconstruction of the mediaeval situation.

The Nile arms have always been decisive for the administrative division of the Delta, which the sources call by the name of Asfal al-ʿArd or Asfal Ard Miṣr. The region to the east of the eastern branch was called al-Ḥawf; the texts of al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal place al-Hawf to the north of the Nile, which may be understood in connection with the view from S.E. to N.W. The region between the two main arms was called al-Rif (a name, sometimes used for the entire Delta as well) or Ṣaḥn al-ʾRif, while the country to the west of the western arm was called al-Buhayra and later al-Ḥawf al-Ḡarbi, the original Hawf being called then al-Ḥawf al-Šarḳī. The three sections were divided into kénars, the limits of which were determined by the more important branches; the bigger administrative units of later times [see *Miṣr*] depended likewise on the river system. The original Hawf, which links up the Nile with the Suez canal.

As to the knowledge of the course of the Nile to the south of Egypt, the Islamic geographical literature begins rather late to give information based on direct observation. At first, these sources themselves contribute with saying that the Nile comes from the country of the Nūba; for the rest, there were ancient sources of a different kind that helped to complete the geographical conception of the course of the great river. This conception involved also the origin of the Nile, covered since antiquity by a veil of mystery. The real origin of the Nile always remained unknown to Muslim scholars and travellers. It is a curious fact, however, that the information on this subject which we find uniformly repeated in the Islamic sources from the treatise of al-Khārazmī (ca. 215/830) onwards gives an idea of the origin of the Nile which does not correspond entirely to the data furnished by the classical sources. This conception makes the Nile emerge from the Mountains of the Moon (Djabal al-Kamar) to the south of the equator; from this mountain come ten rivers, of which the first five and the second five reach respectively two lakes lying on the same latitude; from each lake one or more rivers flow to the north where they fall into a third lake and it is from this lake that the Nile of Egypt begins. This conception is largely schematised and corresponds only partly to Ptolemy's description of the Nile sources; Ptolemy knows only of two lakes, not lying on the same latitude and does not speak of a great number of rivers coming from the Mountains of the Moon. The third lake especially is an innovation (cf. von Mīzik, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien,* bxviii, 44); in later authors such as Ibn Sāʿīd and al-Dimāḥqī this third lake is called Kūrā and may be connected with some notion of Lake Chad (the same authors change the name of Djabal al-Kamar to Djabal al-Kumr, which pronunciation is commented on by al-Maḳrizī, ed. Wiet, i, 219), but this is not probable for the time of al-Khārazmī; the knowledge of more equatorial lakes, however, may perhaps be traced to the experiences of the two centuries despatched by Nero to explore the Nile and who reached, according to Seneca, a marshy impassable region, which has been identified with the Bahr al-Ghazal. The system described by al-Khārazmī of the origin of the Nile is represented on the map in the Strasbourg ms. and is repeated many times after him (Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn al-Fakīh, Kudáma, Suhrāb, al-Idrīsī and others). Al-Masʿūdi, in describing a map he has seen, does not speak of the third lake (*Munadi,* i, 205-6; § 215) and Ibn Rusta (90) says that the Nile comes from a mountain called B.b.n and also knows only two lakes. Al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawkal, on the contrary, frankly admit that the origin of the Nile is unknown, which is also illustrated by their maps. Still the system of al-Khārazmī continued to be a geographical dogma and is found as late as al-Suyufī. Al-Khārazmī also took over from Ptolemy a western tributary of the Nile, which comes from a lake on the equator; this river is called by Ptolemy Astapos and may perhaps be identified with the Astbara. A later development, which connects with the Nile system a river that flows to the east in the Indian Ocean, is found for the first time in al-Masʿūdi (*Munadi,* i, 205-6, ii, 383-4; §§ 215, 796); this view is later taken up again by Ibn Sāʿīd and al-Dimāḥqī.

Another category of notions about the origins of the Nile is connected with the Jewish and Christian traditions which make the Nile come from Paradise. Mediaeval cosmographical theory places Paradise in the extreme East, on the other side of the sea (cf. the maps of Beatus), so that the Nile, like the other rivers
of Paradise would have to cross the sea. This state of things is actually described in an old tradition, ... expeditions went up the White Nile, and during the reign of Isma'il Pasha b. Ibrahim [q.v.] the Egyptian government opened the way for further scientific exploration. The exploration of the upper Nile and its sources since the end of the 18th century was the work of European travellers. They discovered, or perhaps re-discovered, the really large Nile lakes and identified the Ruwenzori mountain range with the Moon Mountains, the name of which was found again by the explorer Speke in the name of the Unyamwezi country, the "country of the moon". A part of the exploration of the Nile was due, however, also to Egyptian initiative. The Nile valley was occupied as early as 1820-2 under Muhammad 'Ali's son Isma'il Paşa, during which the city of Khartum was founded, established Egyptian domination in the Egyptian Soudan and opened the way for further scientific exploration. In the years 1839-42 three Egyptian expeditions went up the White Nile, and during the reign of Isma'il Paşa b. Ibrahim [q.v.] the Egyptian government
repeatedly tried to cleanse the swamps of the White Nile above Sobat from the masses of vegetation (sudd) which hindered navigation.

The yearly flood of the Nile (ziyāda, fayd, foqadan) is the phenomenon to which Egypt has been at all times indebted for its fertility and prosperity, as it provides, in compensation for the almost completely lack of rain in the country, a natural and almost regular irrigation for the lands on its borders and in the delta. It is the foundation of all cultural life and justifies entirely the attribute mudārak so often given to the river. On the same account, the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks, looked upon it as a "believing" river (al-Makrīzī, ed. Wiet, MIFAO, xxx, 218). The flood deeply influences the private and public life of villagers and townsfolk alike, and already the oldest Islamic traditions about Egypt reflect the feelings of wonder and thankfulness that animated the people of Egypt before them (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 109, 205). Having reached its lowest level towards the end of May at Aswan and in the middle of June at Cairo, the Nile begins to rise again, reaching its highest level in the beginning of September at Aswan and in the beginning of October at Cairo. This regularity brings about a similar regularity in the methods of irrigation in the several parts of Egypt, in the times of the sowing and reaping of the different crops and consequently in the modes of levying the land taxes (e.g. al-Makrīzī, ed. Bulāk, i, 270, which text comes from Ibn Hawkāl; all the dates referring to these occupations have always continued to be fixed according to the Coptic solar calendar.

There is much discussion in the literary sources about the causes of the flood. The most ancient belief, which at the same time corresponds best with reality, was that the flood is caused by heavy rainfalls in the countries where the Nile and its tributaries have their origin. This is expressed in a somewhat exaggerated way in a tradition that goes back to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Šāhī, according to which all the rivers of the world contribute, by divine order, with their waters to the flood of the Nile (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, loc. cit., and 149). This implies the belief that all other rivers fall while the Nile rises, but, on the other hand, it is sometimes observed that other rivers also show the same phenomenon of rising and falling, especially the Indus, and this again is considered as a proof of the common origin of the two rivers (al-Makrīzī, ed. Wiet, MIFAO, xxx, 227). There are, however, other views, which attribute the cause of the flood to the movement of the sea, or to the effect of the winds; these views have been inherited from sources of the pre-Islamic period, among others from the treatise on the flood of the Nile attributed to Aristotle, and they are discussed and refuted at length in a special chapter of al-Makrīzī's Khitaq (MIFAO, xxx, 236 ff.).

Up to the 19th century, the irrigation system of Egypt continued along the same lines. When the flood began, all the outlets on both sides of the main stream and its principal arms in the Delta were closed, to be opened again about the time of the highest flood, when the water level had reached the necessary height according to the different places. The most important of these yearly "openings" was that of the canal (Khalīṣ) of Cairo, which, until recent times, remained a public festival. In Cairo the flood is complete (waḥiū al-Nil) when it has reached 26 dhūr’s above the capital the average level had to be 16 dhūr’s above the lowest level of the Nile; if the flood surpassed 18 dhūr’s it became dangerous, while a flood not exceeding 12 dhūr’s meant famine (cf. e.g. al-Idrīsī, 145, 146). In the history of Egypt, the years after 1441/1059 and especially the year 1451/1059 were notorious for the famine and disaster caused by the failure or practical failure of the flood. A historical account of the flood from the years 152-1296/769-1879 is given in Omar Toussoun, Mémoire sur l’Histoire du Nil, ii, 434 ff.

The regulation of the main stream and its branches are ascribed to the ancient Egyptian kings (al-Makrīzī, on the authority of Ibn Wāṣīl Shāh), and no real irrigation work of a wider scope existed in the Middle Ages and later except the famous canal system of al-Fayyūm [q.v.], which all the sources ascribe to the prophet Yusuf. In the rest of Egypt the water was allowed to flow freely over the lands after the piercing of the dams, so that large areas were completely inundated for some time; the Arabic sources contain some vivid descriptions of the large stretches of water, above which rose the villages, communication between the villages being only possible by means of boats during that time of the year (al-Masūdī, Mūridī, i, 162-3 = § 778; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, 205). From the reign of Muhammad ʿAli [q.v.] new irrigation works were planned with the aim of making the country more productive, a possibility at which already the mediaeval authors hinted more than once. The first efforts, however, failed. About 1840 was begun the construction of a great barrier across the two arms of the Nile at the apex of the Delta, according to the plans of the French engineer Mouget, but this enterprise began to bear fruit only fifty years later when this barrage project, including the Tawfikiyya, Manūfiyya and Buhayriyya canals, had been completed in 1890. The later great irrigation works were executed higher up the river, such as the great dam and locks built in the head of the cataracts near Aswan in 1902, which was raised again in 1912 and again in 1933. While allowing, on one side, a better regulation of the distribution of Nile water in Egypt, these barrages higher up enabled at the same time a better irrigation of the borders to the south of Egypt. Herewith is connected the enormous barrage of Makwar, near Sennâr on the Blue Nile above Khartum, which permits the irrigation of the region called al-Ṭājirāt, between the Blue and the White Nile. This work was finished in 1925 and was completed by a similar barrage on the White Nile (1937), on the Arthara (1964) and on the Blue Nile (1966). In this way, the control of the Nile waters passed to a certain extent out of Egypt itself; it recalls the days of the great famine in 431/1059, when the Egyptians thought that the Nubians were holding up...
the flood of the Nile. The same problem came up in the 1930s with regard to the new project of constructing a dam on the frontier of the Sudán and the Belgian Congo, and the question was raised whether this dam would prove a fāʾīda ʿadīla or a fāʾīda ʿadīla for Egypt (cf. the newspaper al-Balāgh of 17 March 1934). Since the establishment of the Egyptian Republic in 1953, the most notable change in the Egyptian part of the Nile's course has been the construction (1959-71) of the High Dam (al-Saddāl al-ʿĀdīl) at Aswān, ca. 965 km/600 miles upstream from Cairo, with the aim of providing controlled water for irrigation in the lower Nile valley, protection against unusually high floods and the generation of hydroelectric power. The reservoir formed behind the barrage, Lake Nasser, stretches 480 km/300 miles upstream well into the Sudan. Whilst there have been great benefits for land reclamation and increased power generation in Egypt, there have on the other hand been indications of some deleterious effects also for the ecology of the Nile valley with increased salinisation of the river valley in Lower Egypt and alterations to the water flow in the Sudd region of southern Sudan.

It has already been shown how the flood of the Nile was the occasion of popular festivals such as the opening of the canal of Cairo. But in other respects also, the Nile is connected with traditional customs of a religious character, which are to be traced back in the Greco-Christian period into very ancient times. When the Arabs conquered Egypt, the sacrifice of the "Nile Bride" was still in use; every year a richly apparelled young virgin was thrown into the Nile to obtain a plentiful inundation. According to a tradition first recorded by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam (150), this custom was abolished by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs and the Nile resumed its flood after a note of the caliph Amr b. al-ʿĀs of the canal of Cairo, which pillar was called (Manners and customs, ch. 16, 42).

The cataracts above Aswan for a long time continued to form a barrier to the spread of Islam towards the countries bordering the Nile to the south of Egypt, which forms a curious contrast with the part played by the Nile in the introduction of Christianity into Nubia (cf. J. Kraus, Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien, diss. Münster 1930). Islam penetrated only slowly into Nubia and became more generally disseminated in the Sudán only in the 19th century [see NUBA; SUDAN].

Something has been said already about the praises of the Nile and its descriptions in poetical terms, by which this river has contributed to Arabic literature. Al-Makrizī (loc. cit., 270 ff.) cites some fragments of poems in praise of the Nile and its flood; among the poets whom he names are Tamīm b. al-Muḥīz (q. v.) (d. 375/985) and Ibn Kalākī (d. 567/1172). Further, ʿYākūt (i, 592, iv, 865) cites some poems which he attributes to Umayyā b. ʿAbī ʿl-Ṣāḥib. This poet is probably Abu ʿl-Ṣāḥib Umayyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 528/1134) who wrote a treatise al-Risāla al-Maṣriyya, from which also al-Idrīsī (Mauritaniae, ii, 364-5 = §§ 779-80) describes this festival, which he calls Laylat al-Qhitā, for the year 330/942. Lane describes the same ceremony, but in his time the Muslims did not take part in it. But bathing in Nile water in general procures baraka (cf. W. Blackman, The Felldhin of Upper Egypt, 32, with regard to bathing in the Bahr Yūsīl).

The quality of the Nile water is a matter of discussion in medical treatises. Ibn Sīnā (al-Kānadī fi l-ītiḥād, ed. Būlāk 1294, i, 98; cited by al-Makrizī) holds that the circumstance that a river flows from south to north has a bad influence on the water, especially when a south wind blows, and on this account he thinks that the abundant praise given to the Nile is exaggerated. The Egyptian physician Ibn Rīḍwān (d. 1037/1626) says that the Nile water reaches Egypt in a pure state, which is said to be the result of a cross between a crocodile and a fish, but which seems to be in reality a kind of skunk.

The possibilities which the Nile afforded for navigation are best seen from the historical sources. Seagoing vessels do not seem ever to have entered its arms, while the traffic on the river was maintained by small craft; various names of Nile boats occur in literature; in the 19th century the vessel called dhābabīyya is especially known. In earlier times, the term zalālūd was used for a Nile boat (al-Kindī, Kitāb al-Umarāʾ, ed. Guest, 157; Dozy, Supplément, s.v.). The skill of the fishermen in their sailing boats on the lakes in the Delta is often recorded; in shallow places, however, as well as on the inundated lands, boats had to be moved by means of oars or poles. The rapids between Egypt and Nubia were, as nowadays, an insurmountable barrier to river traffic; the loads were conveyed along the shore to the other side of the falls (Ibn Hawkāl, ms. Ahmet III, no. 3346, fol. 86).

The cataracts above Aswan for a long time continued to form a barrier to the spread of Islam towards the countries bordering the Nile to the south of Egypt, which forms a curious contrast with the part played by the Nile in the introduction of Christianity into Nubia. The earliest Arabic poems on the Nile are probably those found in the Diwān of Ibn Kayb al-Ruṣayyīfī (q. v.), the court poet of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Marwān at the beginning of the 8th century. Several treatises have been especially devoted to the Nile. Ibn Zūlāk (d. 387/997) says in his Fāḍīl al-Mīrī ms. arabe no. 1818 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, fol. 31a) that he has written a book on the importance and the salutary qualities of the Nile, which now seems to be lost. Further, there are a treatise Ṭabīṣrāt al-ḥākīm fi Nīl Mīrāw wa-ḥabūsātī mīn al-ʾanbār (ms. in Algiers; cf. Brockelmann, II, 666), and two short opuscula by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Małhī (d. 863/1459) and al-Suyūṭī, which are found together in the ms. Or. 1535 of the British Museum (Rieu, Suppl., no. 1198; Brockelmann, II, 138).

Bibliography: As the aim of the present article is to give a survey as comprehensive as possible of the Nile from the point of view of Islam and its history, it seems superfluous to quote here even the most important modern works and articles belonging to the abundant bibliography of the Nile. The earlier Islamic authors have all been named in the text; the later ones, such as ʿYākūt, ʿAbd al-Lāṭīl, Abu ʿl-Īdmāfī, al-Kalkashandī, al-Makrizī, al-Suyūṭī (Husn al-
J. von Hammer, GOR, i, 59), was the daughter of the lord of Yarhisar (Anatolia, near Bursa; cf. Hadjdjii [1924], 263) and F. Taeschner (cf. ZS, xx, 135) of the rape, but the Byzantine sources make no wife of his son Orkhan [q.v.], then only 12 years old. [q.v.], Othman was betrothed to the lord of Belokoma (Biledjik). Name, as also does the bridge over it in front of the reference to it. Nllufer Khatun became the mother of Idrls Bitllsl, and following him Neshri, tell the story her off in 699/1299 and to have destined her to be the Khalifa, 659) and according to one story took for himself, and which has come to replace his native of Yush". The poet's father, Ibrahim Nun, "water lily" and Greek i.e. nilufar Battuta for a Byzantine princess (cf. ii, 393-4). This poem, which evokes a vague comparison with Alf LInline Les Nuits, Alfred de Musset's This poem, which evokes a vague comparison with Les Nuits, Alfred de Musset's "The value of feelings". After the suspension of Masāki, Nima Yushfij remained without work for some years. In 1326/1947-8 he found a job in the printing and publication department of the Ministry of Education. He continued to work in that capacity till the time of his death, which took place in early January 1960.

Nima Yushfij's writings began to appear in print from 1921. Among the first journals to publish his works were Nauv behar and Karn-i bittun. Some of his poems were included in the Muntekarbati dāngh, a literary anthology published in 1342/1923-4. Until the poet's association with the journal Masāki, his works appeared sporadically. After that, they began to be published on a more regular basis. During the forties and fifties, his poetical works came out in Payām-i nau, Nama-yi mardun, Kurusi-i qangi, Andiluhi-yi nau, Kauvī, and several other journals upholding new literary tendencies. His first volume of his selected poems appeared in 1955, and a complete edition of his verse was published in 1364/1985-6.

The earliest work of Nima Yushfij was his long poem Kissya-yi rang-pard in ("The pale story"), which was published in 1921. It was composed in the maghnawi form, employing the same metre as the one used in Djalal al-Dīn Rūmi's Maghnawī. Its theme was personal, and it showed the poet's involvement with love and its unhappiness, alienation from society, and disgust with city life and its people. In spite of its conventional form and style, the poem represented a departure from the ordinary trend, in that it depicted a new sensibility based upon the Western concept of literary romanticism.

The next important work of Nima Yushfij, and in fact his masterpiece, was another long poem entitled Afšāna ("Myth"). Composed in 1922, it was published partially, then afterwards, in Tehran. This poem, which evokes a vague comparison with Alfred de Musset's Les Nuits, may be said to have heralded the beginning of modernism in Persian poetry. It contained a dialogue between a lover, dismayed by his experience, and the Myth which consoles him in his sorrow. Besides setting a new example in amatory verse, Afšāna was unique for its impres-
sionistic approach to the subject as well as for using an imagery derived from personal observation.

Many of Nima Yushidj's poems had a strong social aspect, and his collection of lyrics reflecting his views included Mahbub (“Prison”), Khamsa-vida-yi sarbars (“The soldier’s family”), Ay adamsah (“O you people!”), Nakus (“The bell”), Kar-i shab pa (“The night watchman”), and Macht-umin (“The amen bird”). Works such as these show a predilection for popular causes, and pro-leftist sympathies could be discerned among them.

Nima Yushidj left an unmistakable mark on contemporary Persian poetry. The generation of poets that emerged after the forties recognized him as their leader. One of his most important contributions was his effort to provide Persian poetry with a new formal structure, and he was the first to popularise free verse, which became the major vehicle of expression for future poets.

**Biography:**


**NIMAT ALLAH b. AHMAD b. KADID MURRAB, known as Khali Sf, author of a Persian-Turkish dictionary entitled Lughat-i Nimat Allah. Born in Sofia, where as an examiner he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Istanbul and there entered the nakshbandi order. Association with the nakshbandi dervishes made him familiarised with literature and especially with Persian poetry. Nimat Allah decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature, and thus arose his lexicographical work, which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemal Pasgha-zaade (d. 940/1533 [q.v.]). He died in 969/1561-2 and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Edirne gate in Istanbul. His work, which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts, is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, and nouns. His sources were: 1. Ukbuyi-vida 'Adgim (see Oxford, Bodleian, Uri, 291, no. 108); 2. Ksaima-vida Luif Allah Halimi (Haddidi Khalifa, iv, 503); 3. Wiistya-vida makabid (Flugel, Vienna catalogue, i, 197); 4. Lughati Kamar-Husawari (Riiz, 144a); 5. Sibak-vida 'Adgim (Haddidi Khalifa, vi, 91 and Leiden catalogue, i, 100). Besides making careful use of these sources, Nimat Allah added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

**Bibliography:** O. Blau, Uber Nimatullah's persisch-turkisches Wörterbuch, in ZDMG, xxx (1877), 484; Riiz, Catalogue, 54b; Haddidi Khalifa, vi, 362. The dictionary was partly used by Gollus for the Persian part of Caste1's Lexicon Hypoghion. The best modern edition is Dorn, St Petersburg catalogue, no. 431 (p. 426) and Fleischer, Dresden catalogue, no. 182. (E. Berthels)

**NI'MAT ALLAH b. HABIB ALLAH HARAWI, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (963-1515/1565-1605) where he was a khilafa inspector. Nimat Allah himself was for 11 years historian to Djahangir (1604-1606), then entered the service of Khan-Djahang Lodi [q.v.] whom he accompanied in 1018/1609-10 on the campaign against the Deccan. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyyan Hayat Khan b. Salim Khan Kaskar of Samana, who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of Khan-Djahang. Nimat Allah began his work in Malkapur in Dhu '1-Hijjda 1020/February 1612 and finished it on 10 Dhu '1-Hijjda 1021/February 1613. The work is dedicated to Khan-Djahang, and is entitled Tavaksh-i Khshshahani and consists of a mukaddimah, 7, 8, and a khutb. It deals with the history of the Afghans, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banu Isma'il and treating with special fullness of the history of Bahlul Lodi, Shir Shahr Sur and Nwabd Khan-Djahang Lodi. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghani tribes and the reign of Dajhangir. The khutbah contains biographies of famous Afghan khans. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled Makhan-i Afghani.

**Bibliography:** H. Eth, in GIPH, ii, 362-3; Riiz, Catalogue, 210a, 212a, 903b; Elliot and Dowsow, History of India, v, 67-115. The shorter version is translated by B. Dorn, History of the Afghans: translated from the Persian of Nuamat Ullah, in Orient. Transl. Fund, London 1829-30. See also Storey, i, 393-5, 1302; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1209-14. (E. Berthels)

**NI'MAT-ALLAHYYA, a Persian Sufi order that soon after its inception in the 8th/14th century transferred its loyalties to Shi'i Islam. The Ni'mat-Allahyya first took root in south-eastern Persia where it continued to prosper until the time of Shah Abbasi. For the next two centuries it survived only in the Decani branch that had been established in the 9th/15th century. Reministrac, the Order enjoyed considerable vigour in the early 13th/late 18th century, the Ni'mat-Allahyya became the most widespread Sufi order in the country, a position it has retained until recent times.

1. The founder and the development of his order.

The eponym of the order, Shah Nimat Allah Nur
al-Din b. 'Abd Allah Wali (sometimes designated additionally as Kirmani, especially in Indian sources) was born in Aleppo, in either 730/1330-31 or 731/1330-1. His father was a sayyid, claiming descent from Isma'il b. Dja'far (which may help to account for his loyalty given the Ni'mat Allah order by several Nizari imams of the Kasmî-Shâhî line), and his mother was descended from the Shâbânkâra rulers of Fars. The stylistic superiority of Ni'mat Allah's Persian to his Arabic writings suggests that he must have been brought to a Persian-speaking environment while still a child. In his later, Persian period, his style changed to have the same purity as the Bektashi saint Kayghusuz Abdal ad-Dawdad, and the dicta of earlier theologians such as Sayyid Djalâl al-Dîn Khârazmî and 'Abd Allah al-Yâfî'î (d. 756/1355), whose spiritual lineage went back through three generations to Abû Madyan (d. 590/1194).

Ni'mat Allah joined al-Yâfî'î's circle in Mecca when he was twenty-four years of age, and stayed with him until his death. Most probably it was al-Yâfî'î, who frequently described the Sufis as 'kings' in his writings, who bestowed the title of Shah on Ni'mat Allah.

After the death of his master, Ni'mat Allah embarked on a long series of travels. These brought him first to Egypt, where he spent a period of retreat in the cave on Mt. Mukaţam that had been used for the same purpose by the Bektashi saint Kayghusuz Abdal (q.v.). He then travelled through Syria and 'Irak to Adhâr-baydijân, meeting in Ardabil with the progenitor of the Safawids, Shaykh Sadr al-Dîn and possibly with Kâsim al-Anwâr (although the latter can have been little more than an adolescent).

It was in Transoxiana that Ni'mat Allah first presented himself as a murshid and the propagator of a new order. Conditions there must have appeared propitious, for the Turkic nomads of the area, awaiting Islamisation, offered a vast pool of potential recruits on which other Sufi shaykhs were already drawing. It was, however, precisely the extent of Ni'mat Allah's success in establishing khanâkahs in several locations and, more importantly, in recruiting a large number of nomads in the area of Shâhri-Sabz which aroused the suspicion of Tîmur.

After the death of his master, Ni'mat Allah also wrote profusely; many hundreds of treatises have been attributed to him. Even allowing for exaggeration and misattribution and taking into account the fact that many of the 'treatises' are brief notes or communications, the size of Ni'mat Allah's literary corpus remains impressive. His writings include exegetical essays on the Kur'an and the dicta of earlier shaykhs and, more importantly, treatises that expound leading themes in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi, especially waqaat al-awgâ'id. He also composed a commentary on Ibn 'Arabi's Fusus al-hikam, claiming that he had been vouchedsafe a perfect comprehension of the book by inspiration from the Prophet, just as the author had received the book itself from the same infallible source.

Better known and more widely read than Ni'mat Allah's treatises is, perhaps, his Diwân, which consists for the most part of verses expounding waqaat al-awgâ'id with a particular emphasis on the impossibility of ontological multiplicity. Despite the manifest influence on Ni'mat Allah's poetry of 'Arâf and Rûmî, his fondness for the technical terminology and conventional symbols of Sufism detracts heavily from the poetic effect of his verse. The most frequently cited poems in the Diwân are those of a propagandistic nature which have been interpreted as foretelling events as diverse as the rise of the Safawids, the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan and the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1978-9. These verses, the authenficity of at least some of which is open to question, have tended to make of Shah Ni'mat Allah the Persian equivalent of Nostradamus (Browne, LHP, iii, 463-73).

There can be little doubt that Ni'mat Allah remained a Sunnî throughout his life. His master al-Yâfî'î was a Shâfî, and he himself frequently cited the hadîths of Abû Hurayra in his works, something unthinkable in a Shi'i author. Nonetheless, elements that may have facilitated the later transition of the Ni'mat-Allâhiyya to Shi'ism are also to be encountered in his writings. These include a belief in Twelve Isma'ili Imams (also dasâdaâ-gâna) of the spiritual universe and an emphasis on wâdây as the inner dimension of prophethood.

Shah Ni'mat Allah Wali was succeeded by his son Shah Khalîl Allah, then fifty-nine years of age. Not long after his father's death, he was summoned to the court of the Tîmûrid Shâhrukh in Harât. According to the hagiographical sources, this invitation was a sign of the monarch's veneration for him, but it is more likely that Shâhrukh sensed a political danger in
the strength and number of the Ni'imat-Allahiyya. That relations between Khalll Allah and the ruler were not altogether harmonious is shown by Shahrukh's refusal to exempt his kingdom. For whatever reason, some time between 836/1432 and 840/1436, Khalll Allah decided to leave Persia. Entrust-ing the shrine at Mahan to one of his sons, Mir Shahs al-Din, he departed for the Deccan with his two other sons, Mubbib al-Din Habib Allah and Habib al-Din Mubbib Allah.

Ahmad Shah Baha' in, the ruler of the Deccan [see above], conferred a delegation to Shah Ni'imat Allah inviting him to settle at Bidar [q.v.] in his kingdom. Formerly a devotee of the Chist saint Gisu daraz, he was searching for a new preceptor, one who might enjoy prestige among the immigrant elite, the so-called Afakis, on which he was coming increasingly to rely. Shah Ni'imat Allah had refused the invitation, but he sent Ahmad Shah a letter of initiation that also granted him the title of waqil-i nafs-i humdyun ("Sufi killer"). Now that Khalll Allah had finally come, he and his party were greeted with similar enthusiasm. Although now to remain in the Deccan for several generations: Allah II; Mir Shah Shams al-Dln Muhammad II; Mir Dln Muhammad; Mir Shah Hablb al-Dln; Mir Shah Kamal al-Dln; Khalil Allah died in 860/1456, and was succeeded in order then passed out of the family to a certain Mir. Some years later, A11 Shah (nd^ib) was replaced by the Kutb Shahls, he departed for the Deccan with his two other sons, Muhibb al-Dln Hablb Allah and Shams al-Dln, trusting the shrine at Mahan to one of his sons, Mir. Whatever reason, some time between 836/1432 and 840/1436, while en route from Nadjaf to Mashhad, by Aka Muhammad 4Ali Bihbahani, a madhhb popularly known as the "Sufi killer" killer.

Ma'sum 4Ali Shah's principal companion and disciple was Nur 4Ali Shah of Isfahan, a prolific author in both poetry and prose. His works are replete with theophrastic utterances; themes of ghuldt Shjism that seem to echo the verse of Shah Ismâl; and criticisms of the Shâhis (walmsâ). (The combination of these elements suggests that the renascent Ni'mat-Allahiyya of the time had doctrinally little in common with the order.) His first request, too, was refused, but his grandson Nur Allah was sent by way of compensation. Ahmad Shah received him with great honour, giving him his daughter in marriage and elevating him over all the indigenous Sufis by naming him malik al-madhâbih.

Now that Khalll Allah had finally come, he and his party were greeted with similar enthusiasm. Although links with Persia were not entirely broken, the leadership of both the Ni'mat-Allahiyya family and order was now to remain in the Deccan for several generations: Khalll Allah died in 860/1456, and was succeeded in order then passed out of the family to a certain Mir. The Ni'mat-Allahiyya order was reintroduced into Persia with royal encouragement. The main line of Ni'mat-Allahiyya descent is that which passes through Mast 'Ali Shah. The first became the eponym of a sub-order known as the Kawthariyya, which has survived down to the present, although with a very small membership, its best-known leader in modern times was Nâsr 4Ali Shah Malik-niya (still living in the late 1970s). The first descended from Astarabadi, and also reached into the 20th century, producing one of the most celebrated Persian Sufis of recent times, Sayyid Husayn Shams al-Urâfâ (d. 1353/1935), after whom it is retrospectively known as the Shamsiyya. Its following, too, has generally been very restricted.

The main line of Ni'mat-Allahi descent is that which passes through Mast 'Ali Shah. He was the author of several important works refuting the legalistic criticisms that were still being directed against Ni'mat-Allahi Sufism (see in particular his Kashf al-ma'sarâf, Tehran 1350 Sh./1971) and three compendious travelogues, valuable for the detailed information they contain on the Sufis of diverse affilia-tions whom Mast 'Ali Shah met in the course of his travels.

After the death in 1278/1861 of Zayn al-5Abidin
It is the line of a third claimant to the succession of Rahmat ʿAli Shah, Ḥājjī Muhammad Akā Nunawwar ʿAli Shah (d. 1310/1894) that has the best claim to be regarded as the main line of Niʿmat-Allāh descent; its adherents continue to designate themselves exclusively as Niʿmat-Allāhī, although the clarificatory expression "line of Dhuʾl-Riḍāyatsayn" (an epithet borne by the third successor to Munawwar ʿAli Shah) is sometimes additionally used. Munawwar ʿAli Shah was succeeded in turn by Wafāʾ ʿAli Shah (d. 1336/1918), Sādik ʿAli Shah (d. 1540/1922) and Ḥājjī Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Dhuʾl-Riḍāyatsayn (d. 1372/1953), a man of wide erudition, Muʾnis ʿAli Shah enjoyed great respect during the thirty years he directed the order, but its unity could not be maintained on his death. The traditional pattern of discord reasserted itself as thirteen claimants to the succession came forward. The most visibly successful of them was Dr. Dżawād Nūrūbkāhī, a psychiatrist. He managed to recruit many members of Tehran high society at a time when the profession of a certain type of Ṣūfism was becoming fashionable; to build a whole series of new ḥānakāhs around the country; and to publish a large quantity of Niʿmat-Allāhī literature, including many of his own writings. As the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9 approached victory, Nūrūbkāhī left Iran, and he now administers a mixed following of Iranian émigrés and Western converts resident in many cities of Europe and North America.

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2. Ni'mat Allâh and his family at the Bahmani court of South India. When Khâfî Allah b. Ni'mat Allâh arrived in the Bahmani capital Bidar after his father's death in 834/1421, he established there a khânâh for his kinsfolk and followers, and his own tomb (tombâh) became a prominent landmark near the royal tombs, where many of his descendants still live. The Bahmani sultan Ahmad Shâh's own tomb is liberally embellished with extracts from the dâvûn and other writings of Ni'mat Allâh (the texts are given in extenso, with translations, in G. Yazdani, Bidar, its history and monuments, Oxford 1947, 115-28, with some illustrations, Oxford 1954, LXXIV-1). The tomb of Ni'mat Allâh at Mâhân, some 20 miles/36 km south-east of Kirmân in eastern Persia, was erected in 840/1437 by Ahmad Shâh Bahmani's son, a short Mathnawi without a title, which deals with the usûl and demonstrates the genius and wit of the author's life, Chandra Lall Gupta and Angra Lall Varma, Agra 1909; Rûkâ'ât wa mubâhâhât, Lucknow 1845. A ms. of the Kân-î Ni'mat in Persia, Berl. catalogue, no. 541. See also Storey, 583-92, 633-6; 317, 1172, 1318. (E. Bertheis)

Ni'mat Allâh, who wrote under the taḥhûlât of 'Alî, was exceedingly prolific and wrote a number of works in prose and verse, of which the following are the most important: 1. Wâdâ'i Haydarîdâb; a description of the siege of Haydarabad by Awrangzib in 1097/1685-6. This work is characterised by a biting wit and describes the siege in a satirical form, which procured the little book the greatest popularity; 2. Dîvân-nâmâ, a chronicle which covers the last years of Awrangzib's reign and the war which broke out after his death among his sons; 3. Bahâdûr-Shâh-nâmâ, a chronicle of the first two years of the reign of Shâh 'Abâm Bahâdûr-Shâh; 4. Humâyun, Zâdibâ build a crown jewels with the title of dârâgha-yi dastgâh kirânâ. He attained his highest honours under Awrangzib (1069-1118/1659-1707), who gave him the title of Ni'mat Khân (1104/1692-3), which was later changed to Mulkarrân Khân and then to Dânâghând Khân. He died at Dîhilî on 1 Rabî' II 1122/30 May 1710.

Ni'mat Allâh, son of Ni'mat Allâh b. Shîrâzî, a Persian author, was born in India and came of a family several of whom had been distinguished physicians in their ancestral home in Shîrâz. He entered the service of the state under Shâh Dîwân (1003-1014/1598-1597) and was appointed as the crown jewels with the title of dârâgha-yi dastgâh-khânâ. He attained his highest honours under Awrangzib (1069-1118/1659-1707), who gave him the title of Ni'mat Khân (1104/1692-3), which was later changed to Mulkarrân Khân and then to Dânâghând Khân. He died at Dîhilî on 1 Rabî' II 1122/30 May 1710.

Nîmâr, Fâ'ris, Syro-Lebanese journalist, scientist and politician, born in Hashbaya, South Lebanon, in 1855 to an Arab Orthodox family, died in 1951. He studied Arabic, English, German and mathematics in Jerusalem, Mount Lebanon and Beirut. In 1870 he entered the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, subsequently renamed the American University of Beirut), and graduated with a Bachelor degree in Arts and Science. In 1951. He studied Arabic, English, German and mathematics in Jerusalem, Mount Lebanon and Beirut. In 1870 he entered the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, subsequently renamed the American University of Beirut), and graduated with a Bachelor degree in Arts and Science. In 1874 he was appointed assistant to the American missionary Dr Cornelius Van Dyck (1818-95) in the Astronomical Observatory at SPC, and taught subjects such as Latin, chemistry and astronomy. During the same year, and after his conversion to Protestantism, he joined the Beirut Masonic Lodge, becoming eventually its Master. Together with four other Christians he formed in 1875 a secret society which agitated for Syrian independence within the Ottoman empire by means of posting anonymous placards in Beirut and other Syrian cities.

In 1876 Fâ'ris Nimr and his colleague at the SPC Ya'qûb Şarrûf (1852-1927) began to publish, under the patronage of Van Dyck, the famous scientific magazine al-Muktafa. His adoption of Darwinism...
under the influence of Dr Edwin R. Lewis (d. 1907),
a chemistry teacher at the SPC, seems to have
alienated various influential individuals and institu-
tions, including the Board of Trustees of his college.
Consequently, in 1885 the SPC terminated his con-
tract and that of his colleague Şarrûf. This decision
prompted both Nimr and Sarrûf to transfer their
magazine to Cairo.
Once in Egypt, Nimr was received with open arms
by British and Egyptian officials. In 1888 he married
the daughter of the British Consul in Alexandria, and
accepted the principle of the British
Almukattam. Consequently, in 1885 the SPG terminated his con-
tract and that of his colleague Sarrûf. This decision
prompted both Nimr and Sarrûf to transfer their
magazine to Cairo.

For the Greeks, Aristotle and Herodotus (History,
[

Bibliography: Nadia Farag, Al-Muqtataf 1876-

NIMRUD, a ruined site of ancient Assyria, now in
northern Iraq some 30 km/20 miles south of al-
Mawsil [q.v.] in lat. 36°5′N. and long. 43°20′E.
The ruins on the plateau of Nimrud are those of the ancient Assyrian city of Kalkhû, apparently
mentioned in Gen. x. 11-12 as Calah. It is mentioned in Syriac sources, but the mediaeval Islamic geographers
mention it only incidentally and under differing names; thus Yakut, i, 119, iii, 113, says that al-
Salâmiyya is in the vicinity of the ruins of the town of Aţţûr, which can only mean the ruins of Kalkhû. The
modern name Nimrûd for the site appears first in
Niebuhr, who was in al-Mawsil in 1776, and the
impressive landmarks in northern Iraq and the recent
archaeological work of Mallowan, who followed his footsteps in this century from 1949
to 1952.


(M. E. J. Richardson)

NIMS (A.), masculine noun (pl. numûs, numûa)
denoting the ichneumon or Egyptian mongoose
(Herpestes ichneumon), a small carnivore of the family Viverridae, native to Africa and common in Egypt,
Morocco and Palestine. In Egypt, with the
greatly improved knowledge of industrial chemistry using
tin-glaze) dating back to the 9th century have also been found. The site has provided the largest collection
of carved ivory which was worked by expatriate
Phoenician craftsmen resident (probably obligatorily)
in what must have been one of the major artistic cen-
tres of the time in the Fertile Crescent. The life-sized female mask exquisitely carved from one piece of ivory is especially famous.

The importance of the site was recognised by the
19th century British excavator Layard, who dug there in
1845-51, but the archaeological work of Mallowan,
who followed his footsteps in this century from 1949
to 1958, has been much more thoroughly recorded. Bronze saddlery fittings and Aramaic mason’s marks
which have been found confirm that there is still much more to be learned about the position of foreign
workers at the site.


(M. E. J. Richardson)
four-day fever of an invalid; on the other hand, in the same conditions, the left eye causes the recurrence of this fever. An ointment based on mashed brain mixed with horse-radish juice and oil of rose is a violent irritant of the skin, the equal of scabies; only a mixture of the animal's excrement with oil of jasmine can suppress its noxious effect. Finally, the same excrement diluted in water and swallowed plunges the drinker into agony and into terror of demons which he imagines are in pursuit of him.

In botany, the Arabic name of the ichneumon is given to two plants: (a) al-nims is, in the Maghrib, the Downy koelaria (Koelaria pubescens) a graminaceous plant related to Fescue grass (Festuca); (b) bititsīth 'ayn al-nims ‘ichneumon’s eye melon’ or bititsīth 'ayn al-nims ‘ichneumon’s eye melon’ is a nickname given to the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris, of the variety enemus).

Bibliography (by alphabetical order of authors):


After al-Dījahib, the few Arab authors who have recorded the ichneumon confine themselves to repeating these accounts; this is true in the case of Ibn al-Fakhr al-Hamadānī (3rd/9th century) (Fr. tr., Abridger, 76, 252), of al-Maṣirá (4th/10th century) (Marūghī, ii, 57 = § 492) and of al-Damiri (Ḥayāt, ii, 365). However, there is no doubt that the ichneumon was useful in Egypt, and because of the ease with which it was tamed it successfully played the role of the domestic cat; tradesmen, watchmen and caretakers could not dispense with this valued ally which rid them of unwanted guests—rodents and reptiles being especially abundant in the humid regions of Lower Egypt. The only precaution to be taken with this mongoose was to deny it any access to chicken coops and dovecotes, for the safety of their occupants and of their eggs.

The extreme vigilance of this small carnivore passed into metaphor and it was said of someone who had sharp eyesight 'ṣaynuhu ka-ṣym al-nims 'he has the eye of an ichneumon'. To describe somebody as nims was to express admiration for his great perspicacity.

In some parts of the Islamic world such as the Maghrib and Lebanon, the term nims has been erroneously applied to the weasel (Mustela putorius [see tin 'ins]). According to fable, both these creatures enter the mouth of the crocodile, when it is sunbathing, to devour its entrails, not being content with stealing its eggs, like those of turtles, snakes and birds. As a result of similar confusion, some Arabic dialects employ nims to identify various other members of the sub-family Mustelidae such as the stone-marten (Martes foina), the polecat (Mustela putorius) and the ferret (Mustela putorius furo); the term is even found erroneously applied to other viverrine, the civet (Genetta genetta). As for the two expressions fir and lūtrāq which Dozy attributes to the ichneumon (Supplément, s.v.), one is found in a manuscript of the Escorial and the other in al-Iдрīṣī, where the context is the topic of the crocodile; they do not seem to have any connection with the mongoose.

As is the case with every animal studied, al-Damiri does not fail to list the specific qualities of various organs of the ichneumon. Thus if a dovecote is fumigated with the burning tail of an ichneumon, all the pigeons are driven irrecoverably. The spleen mixed with the white of an egg is an excellent eyewash, curing conjunctivitis. A kirāṭ of blood diluted in a woman’s milk and poured into the nose of a lunatic restores his reason. A broth made from the animal’s penis and taken as a drink cures retention of urine. The right eye wrapped in linen reduces the

NIMS — NINAWĀ

ii, 67) had already mentioned the ichneumon (γυνακεῖον ‘which follows the trail of the crocodile’) as a major domestic destroyer of the rodents and reptiles infesting the households of Egypt as well as of the eggs of the crocodile. Aristotle gives details (History of animals, Fr. tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, ii, 453, 601) of the stratagem used by this mongoose when biting a snake to death; it rolls beforehand in slippery clay so that the reptile cannot take a grip on its body which it tries in vain to envelop.

On the other hand, al-Dījahib describes, quoting an anonymous source (Ḥayawān, iv, 120) another tactic of the ichneumon which belongs to fable. At the approach of the snake, the wily mongoose huddles itself up, emptying its lungs as far as possible, and plays dead; the reptile wraps itself around its body to choke it and, abruptly, the mongoose takes a deep breath to inflate its rib-cage, which has the effect of breaking the snake into several pieces like an over-tensed spring.

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areas. The first, Koyundjik, was an old Yazidi village whose inhabitants were massacred in 1836; it has also areas. The first, Koyundjik, was an old Yazidi village began his excavations on behalf of the British Museum from 1845-51 and found the rich library of Ashurbanipal; it was shipped to London and still today it represents one of the richest archives we have of Sumerian and Akkadian literature. Because it contained many late copies of important historical, religious and scientific literature it provides special opportunities to study how texts were transmitted in the scribal circles of the ancient Near East. The other important area is Nabî Yûnus where Esarhaddon carried out building works. This place has a rich aetiological tradition with the prophet Yûnus (Jonah), whose mission to convert the terrible Assyrians was accomplished because God brought him there in the "belly of the great fish", and is mentioned in Jewish, Christian and Muslim sources (see Yûnûs). Hence both a monastery and then a mosque were in turn built on the ancient mound, known as Tall al-Tawâh "hill of repentance". The tomb of Nabî Yûnûs has long been the most esteemed shrine of northern Irakk, high visited by Sunnis, and the large modern cemetery on the east of the mound continues the old tradition of corpses being brought there for burial. Outside the eastern wall of the former city is the sulphurous thermal spring known as ʿAyn Yûnûs and visited by pilgrims for its curative powers; and some local inhabitants perpetuate the tradition that the "great fish" is buried at Koyundjik. 


2. A place in central Irakk, after which a district (nâhiya) was named, to which Karbalâ (q.v.) belonged (cf. Yâkût, iv, 470). Ninawâ is frequently mentioned in the history of the Muslim wars of the first three centuries of the Hidrâ: e.g. in connection with the tragedy of Karbalâ of 61/680 when al-Husayn met his death (al-Tabari, ii, 287, 307, 309), in 122/739 in connection with the fighting with the ʿAlî Zayd b. Abî (q.v.) and Tabârî, ii, 1710), in the account of the subjection of a later ʿAlî rebel in 287/900 (al-Tabarî, iii, 1620, 1623); Ibn al-Asgîr, vii, 110, and finally in the history of the Khârijân troubles in 287/900 (al-Tabarî, iii, 2190). Ninawà (Nînà, Ni-na-a) is mentioned in old Babylonian inscriptions as a place not very far from Babylon (cf. e.g. ZA, 283, 307), 1227/39 in connection with the fighting with the ʿAlî Zayd b. Abî (q.v.) and Tabârî, ii, 1710, in the account of the subjection of a later ʿAlî rebel in 251/865 (al-Tabarî, iii, 1620, 1623); Ibn al-Asgîr, vii, 110, and finally in the history of the Khârijân troubles in 287/900 (al-Tabarî, iii, 2190). Ninawà (Nînà, Ni-na-a) is mentioned in old Babylonian inscriptions as a place not very far from Babylon (cf. e.g. ZA, xv, 217). It is not to be confused with a place of the same name mentioned in old Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions as a suburb or quarter of the South Babylonian Lagâš (the modern ruins of Telloh). On the Nineveh in Babylonia of the cuneiform inscriptions, see Hommel, Grundriss der Gesch. u. Geogr. des alter Orient, Munich 1904-26, 392-3 and passim (consult the Index, 1083, s.v. Ninawà or Ninawâ). According to A. Musil, The Middle Euphrates, New York 1927, 43, 44, the site of Ninawà is marked by the mound of ruins called Išqar-Naiwâ, below the modern town of Musayib, 2 miles east of the Euphrates and about 20 north-east of Karbalâ, in 32°45' N. (see Musil's map).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (M. Streck)

NING-HSIA, a Muslim autonomous region in Northwest China under the People's Republic of China.

The province of Ning-hsia was created in 1929 separately from the province of Kansu (q.v.) under Republican China. After the PRC was established in 1949, the greater part of Ning-hsia province was incorporated into Inner Mongolia (Nei-Mengku) and the central part was newly-raised to the status of Ning-hsia Hui-tsu Autonomous Region in 1958, with its present boundaries redrawn in 1976. This Region is situated along the middle reaches of the Yellow River and its tributaries, and it borders on Inner Mongolia in the north, on Kansu in the west and southeast, and on Shen-hsi in the east. The capital is at Yin-ch'uan.

Ning-hsia is the most densely-populated region of Hui-tsu ("Islamic race") in the PRC. It is the largest province of the PRC, its population is 3,895,500, of which Hui-tsu number 1,235,207, forming about one-third of the total population (1982 statistics). The origin of the Ning-hsia Muslims goes back to 13th century Yuan times, when the Mongol dynasty ruled China and when many Muslims emigrated from West and Central Asia to the Ning-hsia region. They were soon naturalised, as was also the case in other provinces, and consequently, communities of Hui-min or Hui-tsu, that is Chinese-speaking Muslims, were formed. Historical materials show that there were many Muslims there since early Ming times down to Ch'ing times (15th-19th centuries), and they had regional relations with religious leaders of Kansu, Ch'ing-hai and Sinkiang. Ning-hsia Muslims are traditionally Sunnis of the Hanafi school, and among them there have always been a number of Süfi groups, such as the Djihriyya (a branch of the Nakhshbandiya [q.v.]), the Khâfiyya or Khūfiyya, Kâdirîyya, Kâhwân, etc., and they still prevail among present-day Ning-hsia Muslims. These last have more than 1,400 masjids (ch'ing-ch'ên siu), distributed over the region, and a class of religious leaders including aghas, qâhîfes, muallâs, murâdîs, etc. Ning-hsia was the headquarters of Ma Hua-lung's [q.v.] North-west Hui Rebellion (1862-77), and his successors have been leaders of the Djihriyya order of Ning-hsia until the present time, but Ning-hsia Muslims now coexist with the Han Chinese under the PRC régime.


NİRANDJ (A.), derived from Persian nayrang, nîrang, pl. nîrangoğû, nîrangoğû (In nînà, ni; Paris: Brocckelmann, S. 1, 828), nîrangoğû (al-Dînâni, i, Strasbourg 4212, fol. 102b), designates, in the two languages, the operations of white magic, comprising prestidigitation, fakey and counter-fakey, the creating of illusions and other feats of sleight-of-hand (hijel). A certain al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Takkandar al-Takkandar al-Takkandar al-Takkandar al-Takkandar al-Takkandar described the whole set of these operations in his work Fi 'l-hijel al-bâhilîya li 'l-khizdâna al-kâmîlîyya (ms. Bursa, Haracçîoğlu 1221, ff. 119, 18.5 × 14 cm, naskî, copied in 881/1476 by another ms. of the same title Kâtîzîna dated 623/1234). Both author and work are virtually unknown, and it seems useful to give here the titles of the chapters, as already given by the present author in Sources orientales, vii, Paris 1966, 184-5.
I. The principles of this art; how to get to know it; appreciation of its subtlety and finesse.

II. Tricks involving the air and atmospheric phenomena.

III. Lamps and wicks; description of them in seances.

IV. Tricks with fire and the illusions produced in the minds of the spectators.

V. The making of talismans and the trickery for use in the transforming of colours and dyes.

VI. Bottles; the devices and tricks that can be done with them.

VII. Eggs; devices and tricks in their usage.

VIII. Eggs; devices and tricks in their usage.

IX. The concealment of hidden objects and the art of discovering them.

X. Wax effigies; their putting together, taking apart and reconstitution.

XI. The taming of animals by means of traps on terra firma, and by fishing in the sea.

XII. The art of getting knowledge of the nature of the objects used in unmasking the secrets of the spectators.

XIII. Enthusiasm for the manual arts and the transformation of colours and dyes.

XIV. Writing, the preparation of the ink well (read kcal).
firmation in the etymology from ni-rez "flowing". Sulduz lies in the low plain, through which the Gadir flows to the Lake of Urmiya. At the present day the name Nirz is unknown, but a Kurdish tribe of the region of Sawdj-bulak [q.v.] bears the name of Nirz.

After the Arab conquest, a family of Tà'î Arabs settled in Nirz. The first of these semi-independent chiefs was Murr b. 'Alî al-Mawqil, who built a town at Nirz and enlarged the market of Dâhvarân (cf. al-Balâdî and al-Ya'kîbî, ii, 466). One of his sons, 'Alî, was among the rebel of 212/827 whom the governor of Adharbaydjan castigated. Hamid al-Tûsî departed to Baghdad, but 'Alî succeeded, it seems, in returning to his lands (cf. Ibn Khurradadbih, 119). Abû Rudayn 'Umar b. 'Alî, appointed in 260/873 governor of Adharbaydjan by the caliph, made war on his predecessor 'Alî b. Ahmad al-Azdî and killed him (al-Tabari, iii, 186). He was supported by the Khârijid. Cf. the account in Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawî, Fâlîhâsân-i gunûmân, Tehran 1929, ii, 27, 34.

In the 4th/10th century, al-Iṣṭaḥkâr, 186, and Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramer, 337, tr. Kramer and Wiet, 329-30, mention the Banû Rudaynî as a dynasty already forgotten which had reigned over Dâhkarân (read Dâhvarân), Tabriz (read Nirz) and Ushnuh al-Adhâriyya [see ushima].

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Nâṣîhâd al-šâhîm, comm., 493; Minor-sky, Abû-Dulâf Mîrîr ibn Muhâlîl's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950), Cairo 1955, tr. 40, comm. 82-3. (V. MINORSKY)

Nîrîz, in Fârs [see NAYRîz].

AL-NISÂBûRî, al-ḤASAN b. MUHAMMAD b. Habîb b. Ayyûb, Abu l-Ḳâsim, was a famous litârâtûr and Kur'ânic scholar who died in either Dhu 'l-Hijjâd or Dhu 'l-Ka'dâ, 406/1015-16.

One of the most learned men of Nishâpur, Abu l-Ḳâsim was considered the leader of his time in Kur'ânic sciences. He was not only a grammarian but was also knowledgeable in maghârû (the accounts of the expeditions and raids of the Prophet) [q.v.], stories, and biography-history. Al-Nîsâbûrî was a Karrânî, who later became a Shâfîi. He transmitted hadîthî [q.v.] on the authority of, among others, the famous Nishâpuri Shâfîi traditionist Abu l-Ḳâbâs al-Asâm (d. 346/957-8 [q.v.]). For personality, we have but one anecdote. He owned a well and an orchard and obliged guests to pay for his hospitality, the rich with money, the poor with labour. Works attributed to al-Nîsâbûrî on the Kur'ânic sciences, including exegesis (tafsîr), for which Hâdîjî Khâlîla cites one work. Sezgin notes the existence of a Kitâb al-Ṭanzîl wa-tartîbih, only a few folios in length. Al-Nîsâbûrî is most famous for his Ḫâlîlât al- ṭâdâjûnîn [see MAGHîNÎN], a collection on intelligent madmen, a work in the entertaining and informative sub-genre of adab [q.v.], sc. character literature. In the introduction to the work, al-Nîsâbûrî places himself in the adab tradition, citing names like the famous al-Dâhîsî (d. 255/868-9 [q.v.] and Ibn Abî l-Dunyâ al-Kurâzî [d. 281/894 [q.v.]). After a standard philosophical introduction, al-Nîsâbûrî enumerates centre characters on the bearers for the character type, like Buhûlî, as well as the famous Madjûnûn Laylî [q.v.], and a number of anonymous men and women. Most fascinating in these anecdotes is their range, which extends from the silly to the elusively mystical.

ending -a* is transformed into -aw: šabrā“desert”, šahrātī“belonging to the desert”. There is a tendency to amplify short words by reinstating (or adding) a third radical (or y): bi-taʔrāxī, bi-taʔrāyī, and bi-tuR’ayī. From abuh “brother”, akhwi “fraternal”, damawi “sanguine, etc.”, an h also appears sometimes: šuhfāt “lip”, shuhfās “labial”. A w is even substituted for y in karawī (instead of kārīy) “rustic”, from kārya “village”.

The internal vocalisation is modified in a number of nisbas from proper nouns of the pattern RūR’ī, RūR’īa, RūR’ayī, and RūR’ayīb: insdnīyya, from Balūs, Male’d, Huri, from al-Madīna (also Madīni), Kurashi, Muzani, from Muṣayna. The two forms with or without -i-*a also exist as means of avoiding confusion: Dīzārī, from al-Dīzārī “Mesopotamia”, but dīzārī “insular”, from dīzārī “island”.

Since the Middle Ages, but especially in modern times, the nisba in the feminine has served to create a host of abstract nouns, especially for the formation in -f appears to be optional: the cotton trader is derived from professional designations should be considered separately, in that their termination in -i appears to be optional: the cotton trader is called, apparently arbitrarily, al-katātīn or al-katātānī. Other professional designations appear only with the -i termination, such as al-saydānī, the chemist.

In theory, a relative adjective is never formed from a plural (lā yusuʃ al-dā’ igām) but even in the earliest times this rule enunciated by the grammarians was already being circumvented: A’tāb “Bedouins”, A’tābī “bedouin”, Bālฮ “marshes in the vicinity of Baṣra”, Bālฮī, etc. Since mediaval times, usages of the type have proliferated, especially for the formation of nouns of profession: kitāb “book”, pl. kutub, kutubī “bookseller”; alongside farādī “specialist in farādī” [q.v.], the form farādī is also encountered. In certain cases, the plural appears to be artificial: makħzan [q.v.]’ “government of Morocco”, has no plural in this sense, but makḥzānīn > mkḥzānī, mkḥzānīyya, denotes a horsemen paid by the state; similarly, kaʃa “skewers” (no pl.) gives kaʃaʔ “seller of skewers”, etc.

Finally, it should be noted that in names such as Shawkwī, the suffix is not that of the nisba, but the personal pronominal affix of the first person.


In nomenclature, the nisba or “noun of relation” is one of the components of the mediaeval Arabic proper name. Its function is to express the relation of the individual to a group, a person, a place, a concept or a thing. It is most often preceded by the definite article the. Numerous nisbas are employed in the contemporary period in the family names.

In general, the individual who is the subject of a reference in a mediaeval Arabic biographical register possesses among the various elements of his name—one along with the kunya, lakāb [q.v.], professional designations— one or more nisbas which testify to inherited or acquired characteristics, to his path through life, geographical as well as intellectual, to his religious opinions and to the links that he has with his contemporaries. Inherited, the nisba relates the individual to a group, such as tribe, tribal subdivision, dynasty, family, eponymous ancestor, etc.; to a place, such as a country, region, city, village, quarter, street, etc.; or even to a profession. A professional designation handed down by his ancestors. Acquired, the nisba takes account into the activity of the person: it originates with the names of places in which he has been resident, those of persons with whom he has established advantageous links, the ideas which he has defended and his beliefs. Alternatively, the nisba may refer to quoted remarks or to a physical peculiarity. The following are examples of nisbas which denote the connection to a person: al-Kidīrī “the tribe of Kidīr”; to an ancestor: al-Husaynī “the descendant of the Husayn”; to a place: al-Dīnākhirī “the Damascene”; to a school of thought: al-Mālikī “the disciple of the Mālik legal school”; to an event: al-Badrī “he who took part in the battle of Badr”. There are also examples of nisbas which are rare, if not unique, and are analogous to nicknames; nisbas which denote a connection with the names. As such he has created the Sirat Antar (F. Rosenbahl, A history of Muslim historiography, Leiden 1968, 47): connection with a poetical work: one who knew by heart the Makāmah al-Ḥarīrī is called al-Makāmahī (G. Gabrieli, Il nome proprio arabo musulmane, in Onomasticon arabicum, introduzione e fonti, Rome 1914, § 205). Nisbas derived from professional designations should be considered separately, in that their termination in -i appears to be optional: the cotton trader is called, apparently arbitrarily, al-katātīn or al-katātānī. Other professional designations appear only with the -i termination, such as al-saydānī, the chemist.

Role and limits of the nisba

In the earliest Arabic inscriptions, written in Sabaic script, the term dīh “he of ...” was used to signify the relationship of the member of a tribe to his group (see Ch. Robin, Les plus anciens monuments de la langue arabe, dans l'Arabie antique de Karṣûb à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions, in REMM, ixi, 114-15). Subsequently, the nisba had the function of indicating to which tribe an individual belonged, either through his origins (ārithm) or through links of clientage, for example in the capacity of mašūl [q.v.]. This tribal nisba implicitly contains the genealogy of the tribe. Having a member such as al-Kindī signifies belonging to the tribe of the Banū Kinda, with its eponymous ancestor, its achievements, its history and its territory which forms a part of the dār al-Islām [q.v.].

It is also to the dār al-Islām that the nisbas refer which are acquired by individuals on the basis of geographical names. It may in fact be stated that the names listed by the biographers do not contain nisbas formed on the basis of the names of places which do not belong to the dār al-Islām. If an individual changes his abode, like the scholars who are identified by the sources as having travelled in search of knowledge, henceforward his nisbas, formed on the basis of the names of places in which he has resided, may be added to his name (a citizen of Damascus who goes to Baghdad will be called al-Baghḍādī “the Baghḍādī” on his return; while in Baghḍād he would be known by the name of al-Dīnākhirī, “the Damascene”). On his death, a biographer could preserve in the wording of the name of this person both these nisbas: al-Dīnākhirī (with the added detail: al-Dīnākhirī al-asl, originally from Damascus), al-Baghḍādī. But if he leaves the dār al-Islām, to travel for example to China (al-Ṣīn), India (Bilād al-Hind) or to Asia Minor (al-Rūm), countries which belong to the dār al-barb [q.v.],
he will not bear the nisbas al-Šinî, al-Hindi or al-Rûmî except in cases where these are employed as nicknames (see Ibn al-Âthîr, al-Lubâb, ii, 64: 'he is called al-Šinî because he has returned from China and he has become familiar with the Chinese characteristics'). The individuals recorded in the biographical sources with the nisbas al-Šinî, al-Hindi or al-Rûmî are natives of these countries; they are not, as a general rule, travellers who have become long-term residents in these countries, for in such cases the biographer would have described them as nazîl, followed by the name of the place in question.

In the context of the dâr al-Islâm, two further aspects of the process of formation of nisbas should be noted:

(a) Within the confines of the dâr al-Islâm, there are some quasi-mythical regions such as Khurâşân, the cradle of Sûfism. The nisba Khurâşânî is found in the names of scholars who are not natives of this region, who have not even visited it, but who seek to ally themselves with Sûfi masters, claiming a spiritual heritage emanating supposedly from Khurasan (see Sublet, Le voile, 169, with a further example: the nisba al-Kâyrâwâni, which could represent the Far West).

(b) In the spiritual centre of this dâr al-Islâm are the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, the names of which can only be used in the form of a nisba in specific circumstances. Performing the Pilgrimage does not confer the right to call oneself Makkî or Madâni. One who resides as a guest-scholar in a mosque or an educational establishment is entitled to the epithet nîdżîwâr [q.v.] or âdâr Allâh. Only those who are natives or established citizens of these places may use these nisbas which, furthermore, have become (without the article, such as Makkî and Madâni) what are known as proper nouns, ism âdam [q.v.], borne primarily, so it seems, by Sunnis living in a Shâfi'î milieu who are anxious to affirm their orthodoxy (see Sublet, Le voile, 99-102, 170-1). Also worthy of note are isms in the form of a nisba without the article, such as Bâlghî and Bîrî (cf. Ibn al-Âthîr, al-Lubâb, i, 140, 161).

In the Mamlûk period, nisbas have a specific role in the composition of the names of the Mamlûk slaves who, originally, have only an ism. They acquire a nisba formed on the basis of the name of the merchant who sold them to the Mamlûk court (for example, Abl-Mudjîrî, see Ibn al-Dawâdârî, Kanz al-duwar (Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawâdârî), ed. Munajjid-Roemer-Haarmann, Cairo 1960 ff., ix, 71). When circumstances require it, the addition of one or more nisbas deriving from the name of the master who gives them their freedom is possible (the sultan Baybars I, for example, bore the nisbas al-Šâlîbî al-Nâjîmî, which derive from his master's name (al-Mâlik) al-Dîn Ayyûbî). The form nisbât and 'nisbas' of the Mamlûks, in IOS, v (1975), 189-231, there is a list of these nisbas which were reserved in the Circassian period, by the expression min followed by the name of the master (for example, Tûmânâbî min Kânâswâh).

The feminine nisba

The nisbas of women whose names are recorded in the mediaeval biographical sources are masculine or feminine, the two forms being capable of co-existing in the same name, according to whether the biographer considers them as forming part of the patrilineal genealogy or as elements of the woman's name. The order in which he writes the elements of the name, and in particular the kunya, seems to have a bearing on the gender of the nisba or nisbas. For example, where the kunya is placed at the beginning of the name, as in Umm al-Khayr wa-tusamîm Sa'îda bint Muhammad b. Hasan al-Tabâri al-Husâynî al-Makkî, the nisbas are in the masculine form, being a part of the patrilineal genealogical formula, the kunya is placed after the genealogy and before the nisbas, as in Sa'îda bint Muhammad b. Hasan Umm al-Khayr al-Tabâriyya al-Husâyniyya al-Makkîyâ; the nisbas placed after the kunya composed with Umm are in the feminine (see especially the volume devoted to female biographies by al-Sâkhâwî, al-Daw' al-lamãt li-ahl al-tânî, Cairo 1934, xii). These feminine nisbas are seldom likely to supply information regarding the places visited by the women; some women performed the Pilgrimage, but they travelled far less than men, and if they were scholars, men tended to travel to them to receive or convey hadîthâ and to study texts under their supervision.

Children generally inherit the nisbas of their father, very rarely those of their mother. If sons or daughters are mentioned in the text of an article devoted to their father, they are called after the master, the son or daughter, followed by the nisba most often used to designate their father or their father's family; for example: Aţîsah bint al-Hârîrî... wa-kânât Umm Ahmad al-Hijâzî (see Sublet, Le voile, 117).

Composite (murakkab) nisbas

Derived from composite names, of persons and of places in particular, these nisbas can have two forms:

(a) A contracted form, e.g. the nisba Âbâhâmi corresponds to the name Âbd Shâms. Âbdallî to Âbd Allâh, Markasî to Imru' al-Kays, Dârâkûnî to the place-name Dar al-Kûn, Bâbârî to Bâb al-Brâsa and Râsînî to Ra's al-'Ayn.

(b) A simple form derived from one of the two elements of the name, e.g. the nisba Muťulâbi correspons to Âbd el-Muťulâbî, Bakri to Abû Bakr, Zobiârî to Ibn al-Zobiârî and Fâhîkî to Fâhîk al-Dîn.

On the other hand, certain nisbas are formed on the basis of several names. In the Muḏâqâm al-bulûdân, Beirut 1979, i, 456, Yakût gives the place name Baghdâdkhârkand. This is a fictitious name derived from a composite nisba, al-Baghdâdkhârkandî, borne by a single individual whose origin it describes: his father was Baghdâdî, his mother Khâzarîyya and he was born in Samarkand. Two other examples given by G. Gabrieli, Il nome proprio, § 20: al-Tabârkâzî is a composite of two elements, and Khâzarâzîmi (of Khâzarâzîm) Shâfâ'ânî is a composite of Shâtî'î and Hanafi, denoting one who was a Shâtî'î and subsequently became a Hanafi.

A particular case: the fictitious nisba

Al-Suyûtî mentions among the ten types of ansâb (nasab or genealogy and nisbas) which he describes (al-Muqâmî, ii, 444-7): man nisbîa ilâ 'ismî wa 'ismî abîhi, giving the example of the name Numayr b. Abî Numayr al-Numayrî. The nisba is b. Abî Numayr, literally, "son of the father of al-Numayr" and the nisba al-Numayrî. This is one of the formulas used to give an identity to a person born of an unknown father (the supposed father is sometimes given the name of monetary units such as Dinar or Dirham) or to an individual without a genealogy, a slave, for example. The nisba al-Numayrî is likewise derived from the ism; it appears with the name of the father as a repetition of this ism.

The nisba in the sources

The average number of nisbas borne by an individual (scholar, man of science, soldier or prince) whose biography is recorded in the mediaeval Arab sources is five. But this does not apply to the naming of eminent persons, for whom the biographer supplies
only one or two nisbas, which often form part of the name by which the individual is best known (Sublet, Le soir, 104-7). The fragile distinction between nisba and nickname is apparent here, as in the works devoted to nisab. The latter in fact combine not only the nisab (pl. nisab) a part of which refers to genealogy (nasab, pl. nasab) and to the eponymous ancestor, but also lakabs (nicknames) and professional designations. A specific form of biographical literature is devoted to homographic nisab. The authors experiment with nisbas, which often form part of the genealogy, and to the eponymous ancestor, but also lakabs and these professional designations, with the object of avoiding confusion between individuals, and in certain instances the authors of these erudite works have other objectives in mind, as in the case of Ibn Mâkulâ (q.v.).


In Persian, the suffix -i (MP-ikö) is used to form relative adjectives, but with -îdî after the silent hâ or the as a suffix at the end of words: (a) from places, e.g. Isfâhânî, Dîhlâwî, Sâwajî; some apparently irregular ones go back to earlier forms of place names, e.g. Râzî (Râyî, Swagî (Sudjântî/Sîstân. (b) from concrete nouns forming adjectives indicating function or craft, e.g. khânâq 'domestic' < khâmâ, hâtîdî 'gar- rison soldier' < hâtâ, shikârî 'hunter, pertaining to hunting' < shikâr.

In Turkish, the suffix -î in its various realizations is used for relative adjectives of place, e.g. İzmirî, Konyalî, Merzifonîl, Uskûbûlî, and -îdî in its various realizations for adjectives denoting functions, professions, crafts, etc., e.g. ekîdî 'old clothes dealer', au'dî 'hunter', munçû 'candlemaker', bekîdî 'coppersmith', meûlî 'mill seller'. Several of these forms have in the colloquial Arabic speech of such lands as Egypt and the Levant, former parts of the Ottoman empire, e.g. postâdî 'postman', boydî 'shoe-cleaner', kahwâjî 'coffee-house proprietor, servant', sufrâdî 'waiter'.

**Bibliography:** D.C. Phillott, Higher Persian grammar, Calcutta 1919, 400-1; A.K.S. Lambton, Persian grammar, Cambridge 1953, 124; J. Deny, Grammaire de la langue turque, dialecte ottoman, Paris 1921, §§ 531-2, 542; G.L. Lewis, Türkisch gramm., Oxford 1975, 60-1. **NIŞF AL-NAHâR (a.)** "half of the day", "mid-day", is used in astronomy in the expression which denotes the "meridian circle" (dâ'îrât nisf al-nâhâr) passing through the two poles of the horizon (kubtâ 'l-yyûd) of a place, which it cuts at two cardinal points (djîla, wâtîl) North and South and through the two poles of the celestial equator (mu'âldâl al-nâhâr, etc.). As the demarcation between the East and West of a place, the meridian serves as the determination of the longitude (âtîl [see KUBBAT AL-ARî]) and for fixing the hour of midday prayer (see MIKAT) by the passage of the Sun (zawârî).

**NIŞH** (in Serbian, Niš), the second town of Serbia, situated at a height of 214 m/650 feet in a fertile plain surrounded by mountains, on the two banks of the Niska not far from its junction with the Morava. It forms an important communications centre, for roads and railway lines, on the international routes to Sofia, Istanbul and Salonica-Athens. The most important part of the town lies on the right bank, with the remains of the fortress on the right one.

In antiquity, Niš (Naissus, Niz, Nissa, etc.) belonged at first to the Roman province of Moesia Superior and later became the capital of Dardania.

Niš's greatest claim to fame is that it was the birthplace of Constantine the Great (306-37) and attained great prosperity in ancient times. The Romans had a state munition works here.

In the time of the migrations of the Huns, Niš was taken after a vigorous resistance by Attila (434-3) and destroyed but rebuilt and refortified very soon afterwards by Justinian I (527-65). By the middle of the 6th century, the first forces of the Slavs who had entered the Balkan peninsula in their endeavour to found states at the expense of the Byzantine empire appeared before Niš. Niš was thus in the 9th century usually in the hands of the Bulgars and until 1018 it belonged to a Slav state founded in Macedonia in 976 by the emperor Samuel. The Byzantines held it from 1018 to the end of the 12th century, when we find it described as large and prosperous; al-Idrisi who calls it "Nis" (also on his map of 1154, ed. K. Miller) lays special emphasis on the contributions made by the Slavs to the cheapness of food and the importance of its trade. But even then it did not enjoy peace. In 1072 the Hungarians reached the town on a marauding campaign; in 1096 its inhabitants had to defend themselves in a strenuous battle "at the Bridge" against the Crusaders, in which the latter suffered very heavily, and in 1182 the town was taken by Bela III supported by the Serbian prince Nemanja. A little later Nemanja took Niš and the whole country as far as Serdica (Sophia). The town suffered considerably in these troubled times. The Third Crusade (1189) found it almost empty and practically destroyed. In spite of this, Nemanja was able to receive the emperor Barbarossa in Niš with great ceremony. From this time until the Turkish conquest Niš was generally in Serbian hands.

In the earlier Turkish chronicles (e.g. Şükûrallah, Uruđ b. Adîl, 13th/P, Ashkhpazhâzâde, Nâşrî (Nâîloke), Anonymous Giese), there is no mention of the taking of Niš: Sa'd al-Dîn (i, 92-3), Hâjjîdî Khâlîfa and Ewwîyâ Čelebî, then von Hammer (GOR, i, 157) and Lane-Poole (Turkey*, 4) on the other hand, assume that it took place in the reign of Murâd I in 1777/1375-
6. The Serbian chronicles, however, definitely give 1386, and this year, which Gibbons strongly urged as the correct date (The foundations of the Ottoman Empire, Oxford 1916, 161-2), is now generally accepted.

During the Turkish period (1386-1878) Nish had checkered fortunes. In 1445 it was taken by the Christian army under king Vladislav III and John Hunyadi and destroyed. After the fall of Smедерева in 1459 the Serbian despotate became a Turkish province and Nish was even more securely in Turkish hands. For several days after 20 June 1521 a great fire raged in Nish, which was destroyed in its entirety if the Beglerbeg Ahmed Pasha, who was leading an army against Hungary at the time, had not come at the last moment to its assistance (F. Tauer, Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman 1er contre Belgrade en 1521, Prague 1924, 26 (Persian text), 31 (tr.)).

Western travellers who visited Nish in this period (Dernschwam, Contarini, etc.) were not particularly attracted by it.

Turkish writers give us an idea of the appearance of Nish in the 17th century. Hâddîjî Khalîfà (ca. 1648) describes it as a great town and kâddîfîk in the sangîhk of Sofia. The description which Ewliya Çelebi (ca. 1660) gives is much fuller: it is a fortified town in the plain with 2,060 houses, 200 shops, three mosques (1. 8hâzî Khudâwendîgî; 2. Muşî Êndî; 3. Huşayn Kethûdî), 22 schools for children, several madrasa, several inns, fountains, baths, many vineyards and gardens, etc.

On 23 September 1689, Nish was taken by the Austrians under Lewis of Baden but abandoned the very next year to the Turks (1690). In 1737 Nish was again taken by the Austrians under Secendorf but left to the Turks again after two months' occupation. It is to this period that the city owes its fortifications.

When in 1804 the Serbians under Karadjerdje rebelled against the Turks, they soon won a number of successes and in 1809 were able to build redoubts against Nish, in which Stevan Sindjâci, one of Karadjerdje's voivods, on May 31 blew up himself and the attacking Turks. Nish was nevertheless not relieved and the Turks built the so-called Čele-Kula ("tower of skulls") with the heads of the Serbians killed there, of which A. de Lamartine gave a moving account in his Travels (1834-1835), see especially N. Godin, Muhtad Pasha'ın Niş valiliği hakkinda notlar ve belgeler, in IUEF Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, xii [1981-2], 279-316.

At the end of the Ottoman period (1878), Nish had 19 mosques, but because of the rapid disappearance of the city's Muslim population, their number speedily diminished; after 1886, there remained only "a few" (cf. De Paris à Constantinople, Collection des Guides Joanne, Paris 1886, 92). The next-to-the-last was destroyed in 1896 by a violent flood, and the last one, within the fortress, is still in place. As for the local Muslims, they were already no more than 3.7% of the 35,384 inhabitants of the town in 1931. According to the statistics of December 1933 (established on the basis of the marriage registers of the local imâmate), Nish had 33 Muslims who were engaged in the local economy, chiefly Gypsies (the others being Serbo-Croat, Turkish and Albanian speakers). These Gypsies called themselves Muslims, bore Muslim names and married according to Islamic law, etc., but also observed some of the Christian festivities and from time to time prayed in churches. There still existed at this time in Nish a regional şarâ'a court (set up in October 1929 after the abolition of the former jurisdiction of the local muftî, whose authority till then had extended over the whole of the former kingdom of Serbia, cf. Glasnik Islamske Vjeske Zajednice, v/11 [Belgrade 1934], 30-1). The new court extended over a part of that of the older jurisdiction (19 districts), whilst the rest were dependent on the kâdi of Belgrade. The Muslims of Nish also had a district wakf me'arîf council, a community council (demosati medzeli) and an office for registration (mâcmûl). All these institutions disappeared in the course of the Second World War, and one only finds in Nish now individual Muslims dependent on the muftî of Belgrade.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): PW, s.v. Naisus (for the classical period); A. Cevat Evren, İA art. Niş (extensive information on the Ottoman period); E.H. Ayverdiy, Yükselentey'da türk divânederi, in Vakıflar Dergisi, iii (1956), 151 ff.; idem, Avrupa'da osmanlı mimari eserleri, III.cild, 3. kitab, Yükselentey, İstanbul 1981, 129-35 and photos. 1118-38; Encyclopedie Jugoslavie, Zagreb 1965, vi, 295-8 (several arts., on all the periods); C. Jireček, Die Herrstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpasse, Prague 1877, index; idem, Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwege von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters, Prague 1879, index; R. Hajdarićev, Mučenici Miloš Mutafića Pirikete, in Prizor za zemlju i vremena, D. Vojagićeva, Novi Orient, Paris 1859, 255-6). It was not till 11 January 1878 that Nish, hitherto the capital of a Turkish vilâyet, finally passed from the Turks. This induced many Muslims to migrate to Turkey.

Lying on the military road between Istanbul and Vienna and therefore exposed to every campaign, Nish was by no means favourably situated to become a centre for the development of even a modest intellectual life. It appears, at least according to Gibb, that Nish produced no Turkish poets or authors, except perhaps Sünbulzâde Webhi (end of the 18th century), who celebrated in song his meeting with the young Muslims, they were already no more than 3.7% of the 35,384 inhabitants of the town in 1931. According to the statistics of December 1933 (established on the basis of the marriage registers of the local imâmate), Nish had 33 Muslims who were engaged in the local economy, chiefly Gypsies (the others being Serbo-Croat, Turkish and Albanian speakers). These Gypsies called themselves Muslims, bore Muslim names and married according to Islamic law, etc., but also observed some of the Christian festivities and from time to time prayed in churches. There still existed at this time in Nish a regional şarâ'a court (set up in October 1929 after the abolition of the former jurisdiction of the local muftî, whose authority till then had extended over the whole of the former kingdom of Serbia, cf. Glasnik Islamske Vjeske Zajednice, v/11 [Belgrade 1934], 30-1). The new court extended over a part of that of the older jurisdiction (19 districts), whilst the rest were dependent on the kâdi of Belgrade. The Muslims of Nish also had a district wakf me'arîf council, a community council (demosati medzeli) and an office for registration (mâcmûl). All these institutions disappeared in the course of the Second World War, and one only finds in Nish now individual Muslims dependent on the muftî of Belgrade.

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NISHAN (p.), means a sign, banner, seal (and hence letter of a prince), or order/decoration. As a loanword in Ottoman Turkish, it basically denoted a sign or mark and also designated the sultan's signature, or tugra (q.v.), and, by extension, a document bearing it (its scribe was a nihâbî (q.v.); the standards of the Janissaries or Yeti Čeri (q.v.); the insignia on military, naval and other uniforms; and,
Later, decorations bestowed by the sultan. In 19th and 20th century literary Arabic, nishān (also nishdan), similarly a loanword, had essentially the same connotations. This former bears its basic orders/decorations alone. These are to be distinguished from medals (Persian madāl, Turkish madālía, Arabic madāliyya— all from Italian medaglia). The former, awarded by a sovereign ruler for extended service (frequently coinciding with promotion or retirement), were richly elaborate; medals, in contrast, designated a specific occasion and were rarely bejewelled. Among Muslims and others, the main intent of both was to mark a significant event in the career of the recipient.

**Abbasid caliphs** and others (e.g. khans, emirs, sultans, sovereigns), political (for foreign dignitaries and ambassadors), social (determining status in society) and cultural (encouraging educators and intellectuals).

While other marks of appreciation (e.g. coins or clothes) may have been bestowed by 'Abbāsīd caliphs and Saljuq rulers, the practice of granting nishāns was institutionalised in Kadjar Persia, the Ottoman Empire and Afghānistan, vividly patterned on Western European practice in the early 19th century.

1. In the Middle East
   **Persia.** The prevailing pattern was a star of bejewelled sunrays surrounding a central design; nishāns were worn on the breast, frequently with a coloured sash. Every new nishān was first issued on the basis of a farman [q. v.], setting down its classes (marābe), subdivided into degrees (darāda) and the type and colour of the sash (hamayil), as well as the services meriting reward and categories of recipients. The orders, manufactured at the government mint in Tehran, were accompanied by a document and, at times, a gift of money as well. Some orders had to be returned upon the recipient’s death. The most noteworthy nishāns were the following: the Nishān-i Khāshūd (Order of the Lion and Sun), instituted by Fath 'Ali Shah in 1807, who renamed it (in 1810) Nishān-i Shah-ā Khāshūd (Order of the Lion and Sun) to increase its prestige. For generations, this remained a distinguished honour for notable Persians and foreigners, such as military officers and ambassadors to Tehran. It was an eight-pointed star, richly bejewelled and enamelled (each degree less costly than the one above it), with a central circle exhibiting a crouching lion and sun rising behind its back. On the reverse of a farman, for officers. Several other nishāns and medals were awarded by Rādī Shāh and continued under Muhammad Rida Shāh, as reported annually in the *Iran Almanac and Book of Facts* (Tehran). The Islamic Republic of Iran abolished them all.
   **Ottoman Empire.** Nishāns were regarded as signs of sovereignty and the sultans zealously guarded their exclusive prerogative to grant them. In the second half of the 19th century, there were attempts by the Princes of Bulgaria, starting with Alexander von Battenberg, to strike and award their own nishāns. One, sent by Prince Alexander to Alfonso XII of Spain, had to be returned by the latter because of Ottoman pressure. Isma‘īl Pasha [q. v.], Khedive of Egypt, did not strike his own nishāns, but obtained permission from the sultan’s court to award Ottoman ones.

From 'Abd ul-Medjid I’s reign, each nishān was prepared and distributed according to regulations (nishām-namā) published in the official Diṣūr. Struck at the mint or darb khāna [q. v.], it usually had the form of a star, crescent or sunrays. In Persia, each was a work of art, made of precious metals and gems, frequently accompanied by a sash (shirāt) or ribbon. Presented by the Sultan or dispatched via a delegate, it was boxed and awarded with a specially-written berāt [q. v.], phrased in stylised language, mentioning the name of the recipient, the nishān and its class (if any), and the reason for the award. No one was permitted to wear a nishān without a suitable berāt, for which the recipient had to pay, the price varying with time and degree. Some orders had only one degree (rizā), others up to five. Above the first degree, even more prestigious nishāns were elaborately adorned with diamonds or brilliants and called murāşī. These and first-degree nishāns were usually worn with a sash across the breast, with a small medal attached to the hip, resembling (but not identical to) the larger and more numerous medals, usually worn with a sash or ribbon.
more valuable one worn on the breast. Lower degrees had only one decoration, tied around the neck with a silver (according to their degree), mostly enamelled in the centre and bejewelled. When presented to military personnel, many nishāns had interlocking swords added to the top. Persons awarded a higher degree were expected to return the lower one. Most nishāns could be inherited, but not worn by heirs, who were requested to pay a fee to keep them.

Medals predated nishāns in the Ottoman Empire; the Nishān-i Iftikhdar and the Nishān-i Hamidi were awarded in 1268/1851. While the number of pieces produced was strictly limited in advance (although foreigners were excluded from this quota), as well as the payment, by degree, for the accompanying berdî. The sultan’s tughrə was again the centre-piece, on red enamel and gold, surrounded by 35 sunrays.

During Abd-ul-Hamid II’s reign, the number of nishāns, old and new, increased so much that their intrinsic value declined. This was due not only to his long reign, but also to his large-scale distribution of nishāns among both Ottomans and foreigners as a means of gaining allies and saving the Empire. Even on such occasions as the sinking of the Ottoman frigate Ertogrul, in a storm off the coast of Japan, nishāns were sent to the local people who had tried to rescue and tend the shipwrecked. Only the more important orders will be mentioned. The Sheyx ul-Islam (Order of Compassion) was struck in 1878 for Ottoman women (and, in rare cases, for foreign ones) who had made efforts to help during wars, earthquakes, floods and similar disasters. This first Ottoman nishān for women was in gold and silver, in the form of a five-pointed star with a violet-coloured enamel at its centre, bearing ‘Abd-ul-Hamid’s tughrə and the words inşā′iyyet (humanity), muṣ‘ā’iyyet (assistance) and hamiyet (patriotism). Like ‘Abd-ul-‘Aziz, ‘Abd-ul-Hamid issued his own version of Nishān-i ‘Ali Imtiyāz. Struck in 1878, it was designed for military personnel, administrators and intellectuals—both Ottoman and foreign—who had performed exceptional services for the Empire. Of one degree only (plus the bejewelled, murâṣa† one), it looked like a rayed sun with golden laurel twigs at its edges on a red enamel frame, surrounded by the inscription hamiyet (patriotism), tughrə (zeal), sheyxul-Islam (courage) and sadakat (fidelity). The khānān-dī Al-i ‘Othmān Nishān (Order of the Ottoman Dynasty), struck in 1892, was intended for rulers of foreign states and their families, as well as members of the reigning Ottoman family and Turkish personalities who had excelled in service.

Golden, oval-shaped, with the tughrə at its centre, surrounded by a red enamel frame, it was usually worn on a grand formal uniform. The Ertogrul Nishān (Order of Ertogrul), named for one of the Sultan’s ancestors, was struck in 1901. Shaped like a star with gold enamel at its corners, it was intended for those whom ‘Abd-ul-Hamid particularly liked.

In the time of Mehemmed V Reshad and the Young Turks, more nishāns were struck. The Ma‘ārifi Nishān (Education Order), issued in 1910, was intended for religious circles for using a human portrait, the sultan’s tughra within a tughra, and a red enamel frame, surrounded by a white gold-plated silver, the tughra was again in the centre on a green enamel background, surrounded by a small five-pointed star joined to a green enamel laurel. An inscription set out the nishān’s intent: Ulum we-funun we-fanā‘i-ni nefis. Eligible recipients had to have been
employed for at least five years (3rd degree), ten (2nd) and another ten (1st). Teachers who had failed at their jobs could be requested to return their nişanhs. Formerly in use,Pravda declared. The "Meziyyet Nişanı (Order of Excellence), considered even more prestigious than the Medjdin Nişanı and the Nişan-i ʿOğlumâni, was planned in 1910 and intended for both Ottoman and foreign subjects in the highest offices. This nişan, however, was never issued. The same is true of the Ziraʾat Lişkat Nişanı (Order of Capability in Agriculture), planned in 1912 for men particularly successful in agriculture. It was designed with a three-rayed sunray, "justice" (justice) and "masâvât" (equality)—a common slogan in the Young Turk decade. The Medjjis-i Medjdin Mejdîn Nişanı (Order for the Members of Meziyyet Nişdn) (equality)—a common slogan in hurriyyet (liberty), the Young Turk decade. The Medjlis-i Medjdin Nişanı (Order of the Members of Parliament) was issued in 1916 to all members in the 1916-19 Parliament. Made up of heptagonal groups of sunrays, its centre was a crescent-and-star in gold on white enamel.

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In the successor states of the Ottoman Empire, heads of state variously continued to bestow orders and medals. In Turkey, a law passed in Parliament on 26 November 1934 and published in the Resmi Gazete three days later, forbade wearing Ottoman nişanhs (unless won in war) or foreign decorations. Instead, the state provided the İstiklal madalyası (Independence Medal), approved by Parliament in 1920 and distributed in 1923 to Members of Parliament and later to all those who fought or assisted in the War of Independence. In Egypt, King Fuʾād instituted several orders: the Kalâdat Muḥammad ʿAlî (Muhammad ʿAlî Collar) for a limited number of kings; the Kalâdat Fuʾād (Fuʾād Collar), for heads of state and eminent Egyptians; the Nişan Muḥammad ʿAlî (Order of Muhammad ʿAlî), sometimes called al-Wiṣḥâq al-akbar (The Highest Decoration), for Prime Ministers, both Egyptian and foreign; the Nişan Ismâʿîl (Order of Ismâʿîl), for prominent Egyptians and others; the Wiṣḥâq al-Nil (Nile Decoration), for ministers and pashas; and the Wiṣām al-Kamāl (Decoration of Perfection), for women only. King Fârūk introduced new no orders, while the Republic did, e.g. the Wiṣām al-Nil (Nile Decoration), for heads of state. The Wiṣām al-ıstikhlâk (Order of Merit).

knot supported the plaque of a Commander (see below). The plaque of a Grand Officer was smaller and was worn on the right side of the breast. The plaque of a Commander, smaller still, differed only in detail; a green ribbon four cm wide had a double red bordering which allowed the insignia to be worn below the neck. The decoration of an Officer, smaller still, was supported by a green ribbon with a double edging, with a rosette, which was pinned on the left side of the breast. The decoration of a Knight (first and second classes) was simpler, but the ribbon was the same. The decoration of an Officer was awarded on the recommendation of the Prime Minister for Tunisian nationals, and of the Foreign Affairs Minister for other recipients.

In the same year as the Nishan al-Ittiḥār was instituted (1837), the Bey founded the Nishān al-Dam (“Order of the Blood”) for himself and members of his family, but this decoration was also granted to the Prime Minister and to foreign sovereigns and their families. Its insignia was a rounded plaque of gold, with rings set with diamonds, and it was worn cross-wise by means of a green ribbon with two thin red borders. After the promulgation of the Fundamental Pact (“Aḥd al-ʿAmān [see duṭūr, 1]), the Bey Muḥammad al-Ṣādir in 1860 created a special order, the Nīṣān “Aḥd al-ʿAmān, reserved for princes and for Tunisian ministers, but also granted to generals and civilian officials of high rank. The insignia was a plaque in gold, round in shape, with a red enameled surface and set with emeralds, and it was worn cross-wise by means of a green ribbon with two red borders on each side. In 1874 the same Bey inaugurated the Nīṣān “Aḥd al-ʿAmān al-Murassā, whose insignia was a golden plaque set (muraṣṣa) with diamonds, but this decoration was granted only to a limited number of Tunisian dignitaries and foreign personalities: Marshal Lyautey, General de Gaulle and King Alfonso XIII of Spain. These four orders were thus placed in the following order of importance: Dam, “Aḥd al-ʿAmān al-Murassā, “Aḥd al-ʿAmān and Ittiḥār. All were abolished in 1957.

Once Tunisia became independent, it acquired three new orders plus a certain number of medals. The Nīṣān al-Ittiḥāl (“Order of Independence”) was founded by a decree of 6 September 1956 and regulated the time of the war of national liberation and has five classes, a gold medal for the outstanding level, one of silver or bronze for the other two, and red ribbon with black vertical stripes. For the other classes, the medal is in silver or bronze respectively. It has three classes also: for the outstanding one, the gold medal forms a star with eight points hung from a red ribbon with black vertical stripes. For the other classes, the medal is in silver or bronze respectively. The Ministry of Social Affairs has the Medal of Social Merit, whose holders form an Order, and the Medal commemorating the Battle and the Evacuation of Bizerta set up by the law 63-45 of 12 December 1963.

(This information concerning Tunisia has been kindly communicated by the National Foundation Beit Al-Hikma [Bayt al-Hikma] which had been given the task of drawing up a report on the Tunisian decorations.)

In Morocco, a dahir (ażūr) of 1 Ramadān 1386/14 December 1966 regulated the kingdom’s orders; this document, which followed and summed up earlier ones, was itself modified or completed by the dahirs of 26 Ramadān 1388/17 December 1968, of 12 Rabī‘ II 1396/12 April 1976 and of 3 Rabī‘ II 1403/18 January 1983.

In descending hierarchical order, the nine orders designated by the term wisām, and not nīṣān, were as follows. (1) al-Wisām al-Muḥammadi, reserved for monarchs or heads of foreign states, the royal family, and foreign princes. It has three classes. For the outstanding class, a gold plaque whose base in green enamel is surrounded by jewels and which is worn suspended from a collar of gold or of precious stones; for the other two classes, there is only a plaque, without the jewels for the third one. (2) Wisām al-Ittiḥāl (“Order of Independence”) intended for those who contributed to the achievement of independence. It has three classes also: for the outstanding one, the gold medal forms a star with eight points hung from a red ribbon with black vertical stripes. For the other classes, the medal is in silver or bronze respectively. (3) Wisām al-Walā‘ (“Order of Fidelity”), meant for persons who have shown their devotion to the sovereign. It has only one class, and the plaque is a star in gold with five points. (4) Wisām al-ʿĀrgh (“Order of the Throne”) is meant to reward civil and military officials. It has five classes; the gold medal (silver for the fourth class) is worn hung from a red band, with a green stripe on each side. (5) al-Wisām al-ʿAskārī (“Military Medal”) is for private soldiers and NCOs in time of war, and also for general officers holding the Wisām al-ʿĀrgh. It has only one class; the medal is bronze, oval in shape, with a white and red ribbon. (6) Wisām al-Ittiḥāk al-ʿAskārī (“Medal for Military Merit”) is for career officers. It has five classes; the outstanding class comprises a gold plaque plus a gold medal with a green ribbon with a red border; the first class, a plaque and medal of silver; the others, only a medal in silver or bronze. (7) Wisām al-Ittiḥāk al-Waṣṭīnī (“National Order for Merit”), meant for civil and military officials. It has three classes, a gold medal for the outstanding level, one of silver or bronze for the other two, and red ribbon with
wide edges. (8) al-Wisām al-ʿAlaʿi, the celebrated Oussamam Alouaite, which has five classes. The highest (the Grand Sash), has for its insignia a plaque 84 mm in diameter, with five clusters of silver rays, surrounded by a golden star 40 mm in diameter with five white enameled branches, a red cord, held together by a cluster of palm leaves in green enamel with a 16 mm golden circle in its centre, on a red enameled ground. This plaque is worn on the left side of the breast. Also, a gold star 60 mm in diameter, identical on both sides to that of the plaque, with a circle 25 mm in diameter in its centre; the second side bears a representation of the royal parasol, red in colour, on a golden ground; this star is hung from a ring of golden foliage by a wide ribbon in bright orange, 10 cm wide with, on each side, a white stripe. The Grand Sash is worn over the shoulder from right to left. For the rank of Grand Officer, the plaque is the same as above; it is worn on the right side of the breast, the star of an Officer (see above) on the left side. The Commander wears a star identical with that of the Grand Sash, but without the representation of the royal parasol, red in colour, in a golden ground; this star is hung from a ring of golden foliage by a wide ribbon in bright orange, 10 cm wide with, on each side, a white stripe. The Grand Officer is the same as the above, except that it is hung from a silver (and not gold) ring and has no rosette. (9) Wisām al-Mukallaʾ al-Waṭanīyya, with no information about this order. (For Pellat, Nishāpūr, secretary of state for the Sultan’s tugra, chancellor, in Ottoman administration.

The Saldjiks and Mamûks already had special officials for drawing the tugra, the sultan’s signature. As their official organisation was inherited in almost all its details by the Ottomans, this post naturally was included. Its holder was called nişanlı or teşârut. The nişanlı held the same rank as the defterdar [q.v.] and indeed even preceded them, for we find the defterdar before the nişanlı. The nişanlı was included among the ‘pillars of the empire’ (erkin-i devel). The part which he played varied in course of time. Besides being secretary of state for the imperial tugra (nişan), he had originally considerable legislative powers and he was called the ‘counselor’ (muderris) of the grand vizier, i.e. the Sheykh al-Islâm. In his office, the texts of the laws were prepared under his supervision. Most of the Ottoman codes of law (kânûn) that have come down to us go back to nişanlıs. As they had moreover the right to approve the contents of documents put before them for the imperial tugra, they had no slight influence on the business of administration. Of their official career we know that, according to the Kânûn-nâme [q.v.] of Mehmed II, they had to be chosen from teachers acquainted with law (muđerris), apparently because they had to display legislative ability, or from the defterdar and raḳasâ al-küttâb. As their authority diminished more and more in course of time, so did their influence, and finally they were limited to preparing the tugra. According to Mouradaja d’Ohsson (Tableau de l’Empire Ottoman, iii, 373), the nişanlıs received from the state a salary of 6,620 piastres. On their official dress, see von Hammer, GOR, viii, 431, according to whom they wore red, in contrast to the other kudjaglar who wore violet.

Bibliography: See the article Tugrâ and the references there given; also J. von Hammer, GOR, i, 173, ii, 221, 229, iv, 3, viii, 431; idem, Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung, Vienna 1815, i, 64, ii, 127, 135; M. Zalil, Narîh dîvâne ve terâvîmî sölüşi, Istanbul 1946-53, ii, 694-7 s.v. Nişan, 697-700 s.v. Nişanî; IA, art. Nişanî (M. Teyyib Gökblin).
Some nishāns of the late Ottoman Empire (above with a riband, below with a pin for the breast). From right to left: Nishān-i ʿOthmānī; Nishān-i ʿāli imtiyāz; Medjidi nishānī. From Mahmut Shevket’s manuscript, ʿOthmānī ğīydet-i ʿaskarīye, Istanbul University Library, Türkçe Yazma 9393; with the kind permission of Istanbul University Library.
Marw in political importance, and also became a centre of economic activity (above all for its famed textiles, including luxury *yudhiš* and *sakštunī* cloths, cf. al-*Tha‘alibī, Lālī‘al-*ma‘arif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, 133) and of cultural life. It ceased to be a provincial capital after the Saffārid amīr Ya‘qūb b. al-Layṯ in 259/870 captured Khurāsān from the Tahirids and entered the city, and for some 30 years control of it oscillated between the Saffārids and various warlords and military adventurers like Rāfī b. Harṭḥama (q. v.) until ʿAmīr b. al-Layṯ was defeated and captured by the Afghān and eastern Iran 994:1040, until adventurers like Rafī (q.v.) between the Saffarids and various warlords and military commanders in turn, their rivals for popular support there, the members of the Hanafis and the Shafiʿi religious figures from the two main madhābahs of Khurāsān, the Hanafis and the Shafiʿis, and from their rivals for popular support there, the members of the ascetic and pietistic sect of the Karrāmiyya (q. v.).

From this social group, which R.W. Bulliet has called a patriciate, stemmed notable scholars like Abu Muhammad al-Djuwayni and his son the Imām al-Haraymayn Abu ʿI-Maṣ‘alī (q. v.) and the traditionist al-Ḥakim al-Naysābūrī, Ibn al-Bayyāf (q. v.) and also ambitious statesmen like Māhmūd of Ghazna, the minister Hasanak (q. v.) from the Mikālī (q. v.) family (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994:1040, Edinburgh 1963, 145-202, Bulliet, *The patrons of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972). The large number of traditions and lawyers which the city produced was undoubtedly a stimulus to the production of several biographical dictionaries of Nīshāpur scholars, beginning with that of Ibn al-Bayyāf (d. 405/1014) in eight or twelve volumes, the starting-point for various continuations and epitomes (see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan*, The Turā‘īs Nīshāpur, in *Zehi Veledi Togan’s armān*, Istanbul 1950-5, 405-20, for another text see *Dār al-kutub al-hāfla* and *The history of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965; the *Mantarqeshīn min al-ṣajjā li-Ivādak Naysābūr* of al-Sarīfīnī, ed. Muḥ. Ahmad al-ʿArīsī, Beirut 1409/1989).

The Arabic geographers describe Nīshāpur at this time as a thickly populated town divided into 42 wards, 1 *farsakh* in length and breadth (al-ʾIsākhrī, 254) and consisting of the citadel, the city proper and an outer suburb in which was the chief mosque built by the Saffārid ʿAmīr. Beside it was the public market, the Gate of the Taklīn Bridge. The suburbs also had walls with many gates. The best known market places were al-Muṣakarās and al-Kabīra (near the Friday mosque) and al-Qasība (see R. Curzon, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 429-30). Numerous canals were led from the village of Buṣhānḵār and Buṣhānḵār and drove 70 mills, whence it passed near the city and provided the houses with an ample water supply. Gardens below the city were also watered in this way. The district of Nīshāpur was regarded as the most fertile in Khurasān.

The town suffered many vicissitudes after this period. A great famine broke out there in 401/1011. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century Nīshāpur was the centre of the pietist Karrāmiyya led by the archontor Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ṣāḥḥ. The Saldjuk Ṭaghrī Beg first occupied the town in 428/1037 and subsequently made it his capital. Alp Arslān also seems to have lived there (cf. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Sir.*, ed. Bedjan, 243). In Shawwl 536/May 1142 the Khūṭarzmshāh Atsāl took the town for a time from the Ṣafīdūn sultan Sandjar. When it was sacked by the Ghuzz in 548/1153 the inhabitants fled, mainly to the suburb of Shādāykh which was enlarged and fortified by the governor al-Muʿayyid. Ṭughān Shāh Abū Bakr ruled the city during 569-81/1174-85 and his son Sandjār Shāh during 581-9/1185-96.

In Rabiʾ I or II 581/May or June 1187 the Khūṭarzmshāh Tekāš took Nīshāpur and gave it to his eldest son Malik Shāh. At the end of 589/1193 the latter received Marw and his brother Kubt al-Dīn Muhammad became governor of Nīshāpur. Malik Shāh died in 593/1197 in the neighbourhood of Nīshāpur. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (as Kubt al-Dīn called himself after his father's death) took Marw and Nīshāpur in 598/1202 from the Ghurids Ḥiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihād al-Dīn.

In addition to the wars and rebellions (e.g. 404-5/1207-8) which afflicted the town, it suffered from repeated earthquakes (540/1145, 605/1208, 679/1280). Yāḵūt who visited it in 613/1216 but stayed in Shādāykh, could still see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Ghuzz, but nevertheless thought the town the finest in Khurāsān. The second earthquake was particularly severe; the inhabitants on this occasion fled for several days into the plain below the city.

In 618/1221 the Mongols under Čingiz Khān sacked the city completely (see Djuwayni-Boyle, i, 169-78). Although Nīshāpur's palmiest days were ended by the Mongol devastations, it soon revived from the effects of these. The city's centre had been displaced by Shādāykh after the earthquakes of the early 7th/11th century, and the town of Nīshāpur continued its reconstitution on a third site towards the end of that same century. Hamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it in the 8th/14th century as highly flourishing, with extensive protective walls (*Nuzha*, 148-9, tr. 147-8), whilst Ibn Bastāṭa calls it "Little Damascus" for its fertility and productiveness, and praises the *madrasas* and thongs of students which he saw there (*Rihla*, iii, 80-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 583-5).

Thereafter, Nīshāpur slowly declined in importance until its modest revival in the later 19th century. In 1890 G.N. Curzon found the Nīshāpur region still fertile, and the famous turquoise mines in the district called Bār-i Maḍīn some 50 km/35 miles northwest of the town were still being profitably worked; but the walls of the town itself were ruined (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 260-7). The modern town of Nīshāpur is situated in lat. 36° 13' and long. 58° 49' E., and lies in an altitude of 1193 m./3,913 ft. and on the east side of a plain surrounded by hills. To the north and east of the town lies the ridge of Bīnālūd-Kūh, which separates it from the valley of Maḥhiād and Tūs. At its foot spring a number of streams, among them the Shūrā Rūd and the river of Dīzbd (Mustawfī) which irrigate the lands of
Nishapur and disappear in the salt desert to the west. North of the town in the mountains was the little lake of Qa'em Sabz out of which, according to Mustawfi, run two streams, one to the east and the other to the west. The tombs of her famous sons 'Umar Khayyam and Farid al-Din 'Attar [q.v.] are still shown in the town. According to the 1365/1865 census, Nishapur had a population of 109,258.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): 1. Sources. For these, see EI art. s.v. (E. Honigmann), to which should be added Haddâd al-'umrân, Minorsky, 102-3, comm. 6-6. 2. Studies W. Tomaschek, Zur historischen Topographie von Persien, in SB Ak. Wien (1883, 1885), i, 7708; Marquart, Erânlâr, Berlin 1901, 47, 49, 68-9, 74-5, 293, 301; C.E. Yate, Khurasan and Seistan, Edinburgh 1900; Le Strange, Lands, 382-8; P.M. Sykes, A sixth journey in Persia, in Gf, xxvii (1911), 1-19, 149-65; A. Gabriel, Die Erforschung Persiens, Vienna 1952, index; Sylvia A. Matheson, Persia, an archaeological guide to the accession of Togrul (III) b. Arslan [q.v.]; Saljuk-Perzien, (Rdhat al-sudur, C.C. Ewing, tr. Minorsky, 102-3, comm. 6-6.)

The historiography of the Middle East, Preface, pp. XXVI, XXIX); hence it is essentially the main source for Rawanduz's information on the Muhammad Nishapur's material which was utilised for the Nishapur, some early Islamic buildings and their decoration, New York 1986. (E. Honigmann-C.E. Bosworth)

NISHAPÜR, Zahir al-Din, Persian author who wrote a valuable history of the Saljuqids during the reign of the last Great Saljuq of Persia, Togrul (III) b. Arslan [q.v.]; he must have died ca. 380/1184-5. Nothing is known of his life except that Rawandi [q.v.] states (Rabat al-judur, ed. M. Iqbal, 54) that he had been tutor to the previous sultans Ma'sud b. Muhammad [q.v.] and Arslan b. Togrul (II). His Saljuk-nama was long believed lost, but was known as the main source for Rawandi's information on the Saljuqids up to the latter's own time (see Rabat al-judur, Preface, pp. XXVI, XXIX); hence it is essentially Nishapuri's material which was utilised for the Saljuqids by later authors like Rashid al-Din, Hamd Allah Mustawfi and Hafiz-i Abrü [q.v.]. The Saljuk-nama is a concise, soberly written history in Persian, of especial value for the history of the later sultans up to the accession of Togrul (III) in 571/1176; see for an estimate of its worth, Cl. Cahen, The historiography of the Selyúcids period, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), Historians of the Middle East, London 1962, 73-6. After its rediscovery, it was indignantly published at Tehran in 1945 by M. Azar.


NIYAR (a.), verbal noun of niyar meaning 'to scatter, spread abroad', in the pre-modern Middle East, the showering of money, jewels, the ceremony, ceremonial visits to the accession of a ruler, the victorious return from a military campaign, the reception of a diplomat's envoy, recovery from illness, etc. It was thus in part one aspect of the general practice of largesse and dispensing by superiors to inferiors [see hiba, infâm, màjila'] but also an aspect of charity to the poor. On occasion, the whole of the state treasury might be disbursed in this way (see Sultan, Iran, 347). Niyâr is often mentioned in the inscriptions of court festivities under the early Ghaznavid [q.v.] sultans; see Giti Faâl Rangîr, Aâdâb us rûsun us tâshrîfât dar bâr-i Ghâzan as khâlîlî Ta'rîh-i Bayhawk, in Yâd-nàma-yi Abu 'l-Fâdi-i Bayhawk, Mashhad 1934 b/1970, 412 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

In India. The occasions for the distribution of largesse to the court and to the multitudes attending processions have been detailed in MÂRÂSÌM, 5, and MAWÂRÎD, 9, above, and references to the smaller coins used in the niyâr are made in MUGHALS, 11. Numismatics.

There are few specific references to niyâr in Indian dynasties before the Mughal period, although it was an ancient Indian custom and so likely to have been perpetuated (cf. N.N. Law, Ancient Hindu coronations and allied ceremonies, in Ind. Ant. [June 1919], 84 ff.) in the Dihli sultanate and elsewhere; for example, the shower of gold and silver coins, a ceremonial munificence; or, the head of a recent conqueror is referred to in the account of the conquest of Mâwârî Dughdarî and by Sikandar b. Muhammad Manghû in the Mirâr-t-i Sikandari, and 'Alâ' al-Dîn Kholdjâi is said to have used manjânih [q.v.] to scatter coins and 'golden stars' among the Dihli populace.

There are many references in the early Mughal period to this practice under Bâbur and Mumâyûn (Tuzuk-i Bâbûr, tr. Beveridge, 2; Gûdjarbân Begam, Mumâyûn-nâma, 112 et passim), when not only small gold and silver coins but also small gold and silver fruits (almonds, walnuts and filberts) and flowers were so scattered. This would appear to have been a Câghâtaî custom inherited by the Mûghâls, and it persisted until at least the time of Fârûk Khubzây. Fanny Parks (Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque, London 1850) speaks of the custom of scattering coins and jewels over the head of the new ruler in the Lakhnaû court. For the scattering of coins among the populace, besides the half- and quarter-ruppes, smaller coins, usually thinner than those of the standard currency and not standing in any regular fractional relation to it, of gold as well as silver, and many of dainty and excellent workmanship, were known especially from the reign of Dîjahânîr; niyâr was for a short time the name of his quarter-ruppe; though niyâr, nîr afshân and khây khâlû are all used for largesse-coins in his reign. Occasions for the scattering of niyâr were especially the Imperial festivals and processions on anniversaries of accession-date, the emperor's solar and lunar birthdays, the births and marriages of royal princes and princesses, the formal recognitions of the emperor against gold, silver and jewels, the Akbari ceremony, ceremonial visits to Akbar's tomb and to the tombs of certain points especially at Fâtâpur Sikrî and A'dâmâr, and so on. It seems certain that much largesse-money was struck at provincial mints, possibly in connection with imperial visits, as many of the dated niyârs correspond with dates in the chronicles.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see especially S.H. Hodivala, Nîyâr, no. XIV in Historical studies in Mughal numismatics, Calcutta 1923; references passim in the coin catalogues mentioned in the Bibl. to MUGHALS, 11.

NIYÂHA (a.) 'lamentation', the noun of action from nåhâ 'to weep with great cries, lamentations, sighings and affliction'. The term is used to designate the activity of professional mourners who play a great role in funeral ceremonies all around the Mediterranean. It is mentioned here, it is believed, in relation to this practice, considered to be a legacy of paganism, was condemned by the Prophet. Indeed, he is made to say 'Three pre-Islamic customs (akhkâh, 'Uds al-alâhâ, fi'sî) are not to be retained by the Muslims. They are: invoking the planets in order to receive rain (istîrkâ bî 'l-kawâkîh), attacking genealogies (al-ta'a fi 'l-nisba) and lamenting the dead (al-nyaâhâ 'alâ 'l-mayyîs)' (al-
Weeping for the dead was something which could be done not only by women but also by men, some of whom become well-known for this; the Aghâni cites, e.g. Ibn Suraydî (i, 99-100).

The pagan character of this practice is displayed in a text of Ibn Sa’d, Tabakât, i/1, 88, where it is written: “At the death of his son ʿIrâbîh, the Prophet wept (bakd). Someone said to him, O Messenger of God, did you not forbid weeping?—He replied, I forbade (bakd).”

Excited the people by political utterances and mystical assuals so that the ʿAḥl al-mahbûbât came to be done, both equally stupid and impious: a voice raised in a state of happiness (which shows itself) in celebrations, and a voice in times of misfortune (which shows itself) in mutilating one’s face, tearing of clothes and a diabolical mourning cry (rannat shayṭân = the ninia of the Romans = a funeral lament). My personal tears express my compassion for (the beings) and (the beings) will have no compassion for him.”

Another account, given by the same author (91), confirms the previous one. There was an eclipse of the sun on the day of ʿIrâbîh’s death; people saw in it a relationship of cause and effect. The Prophet rebuked this relationship and then let his tears flow. People said to him, “You are weeping, you, the Messenger of God!”—He replied, “I am a man; the eyes shed tears, the heart breaks and we say nothing which will irritate the Lord.”

Finally, one should add that, amongst the ancient Arabs, the position of the woman weeping for her husband was seen as an indication of her future intentions. If she did this standing (kâ’ima), it was assumed that she would not marry again (Aghâni, ii, 138).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see M. Abdesselem, Le thème de la mort, Tunis 1977, index s.v. lamentations, mourners, etc. (T. FaHd)

NIYÂZÎ, an Ottoman poet and mystic. Shams al-Dîn Mehmed known as Mîrsî Efendi, Şaykh Mîrsî, whose máqâlas was Niyażî, came from Aspüzî, the former summer capital of Malatya (cf. Ewliya Celebi, iv, 15; von Moltke, Akademii Nauk SSSR, ixxxv, 36, and JA, ser. 4, vol. viii, 261). On his numerous other works, only available in ms., cf. Bursâlî Mehmed Tâhir, ʿOṭlâmî mûliîleri, i, 173-4, with references to where they are preserved, and Abdulbâkî Gönlpînar, IA art. s.v.


(F. Bârîncêr)
Niyazi Young Turk officers, who, on the orders of the Committee of Union and Progress, began to spread ittihad we Terakki Djemâyiyyeti (q.v.) between 1898 and 1908. On Friday, the C.U.P. decided to act to force the restoration of the constitution in cables sent to the authorities. He hundred men and began to demand the restoration of the constitution in cables sent to the authorities. He hundred men and began to demand the restoration of the constitution in cables sent to the authorities. However, he was an Albanian by birth.

When the Othmânîli Hürriyet Dînîyyeti (Ottoman Freedom Committee), which later merged with the Paris-based Ittihat ve Terakki Dînîyyeti [q.v.] (Committee of Union and Progress), began to spread among the officers of the Third Army, Niyazi was an early member. In July 1908, the Society suspected him of being a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, and he made a name for himself during the battle of Beğ pieniądze in 1897 Greek-Ottoman war. He was promoted to first lieutenant, captain and eventually adjutant-major, while serving with the Third Light Rifle Battalion in Ohrid and constantly engaged in combating the guerrilla warfare of Bulgarian bands in the area.

After the restoration of the constitution on 24 July, Niyazi, together with Enver, was launched by the Committee of Union and Progress in politics 1908-1914, the official group of the Young Turks, who, on the orders of the Committee, started an insurrection in Macedonia. On Friday, 3 July 1908 he took to the hills with about two hundred men and began to demand the restoration of the constitution in cables sent to the authorities. He was soon followed by other officers, such as Enver [q.v.].

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The term does not occur in the Kur'ân. It is found in canonical hadith, but the passages show that is has not yet acquired in this literature the technical meaning and limitation described above. The development of this technical use appears to have taken place gradually, probably aided by Jewish influence. In Jewish law, the kawâdîn has a function wholly analogous to the niyya. Al-Shâhî (d. 204/820) appears to have been acquainted with the niyya in its technical sense (Kîbîd al-Umm). In canonical hadith, the literature which, generally speaking, reflects the state of things up to the middle of the 2nd/8th century, neither the verb nàwâd nor the noun niyya appear to have any special technical connection with the 'ibâdât. On the contrary, niyya has here the common meaning of all intention.

In this sense, it is of great importance. Al-Bukhârî opens his collection with a tradition, which in this place is apparently meant as a motto. It runs: "All works are only rendered efficacious by their intention" (innamā 'l-ṣā‘āl bi-l-niyya or bi l-'niyyât). This tradition occurs frequently in the canonical collections. It constitutes a religious and moral criterion superior to that of the law. The value of an 'ibâdât, even if performed in complete accordance with the precepts of the law, depends upon the intention of the performer, and if this intention should be sinful, the work would be valueless. "For" adds the tradition just mentioned, "every man receives only what he has intended"; or "his wages shall be in accordance with his intention" (Mâlîk, Ḍā'îqah, tr. 36). In answer to the question how long the kifârā is open, tradition says: "There is no kifârā after the capture of Mecca, only holy war and intention" (al-Bukhârî, Manâkîb al-Ansâr, bâb 45; Dîhkâd, bâb 1, 27; Muslim, İmâra, tr. 85, 86, etc.). This higher criterion, once admitted, may suspend the law in several cases (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Islam and Phonograph, in Tbgkw, xii, 393 ff. = Verz. Geschriften, ii, 419 ff.). So the intention, in this sense, becomes a work of its own, just as the intention in its juridical application. Good intention is taken into account by God, even if not carried out; it heightens the value of the work. On the other hand, refraining from an evil intention is reckoned as a good work (al-
Bukhārī, Rīkā, bāb 31). In this connection, the (post-canonical) tradition can be understood, according to the intention of the faithful is better than his (canonical) tradition can be understood, according to Ihyd (Lisdn al-cwork iv, 31). In this connection, the (post-Bukhari, niyya comes near to the meaning of 330 ff., where this tradition is discussed). In similar branch of the Hephtalite confederation which had in northern India, that people known to the Arab Hindu Kush, from what is now Soviet Central Asia to Afghanistan and was looked upon as one of the most learned men of his age. He was also the murid (disciple) of Shaykh Husayn of Khārazm. His attainments procured him access to the court of Sulaymān, prince of Badakhshān, who conferred upon him the title of Kādī Khān. Subsequently, he left his master and went to India. At Kānpūr, he was introduced to the Mughal Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605). He received several presents, and was appointed Parsānūdi writer. Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a “Commander of One Thousand” (yak hazār). He also bestowed upon him the title of Ghāzī Khān after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions. He died in Oudh at the age of seventy in 992/1584. He is the author of the following works: 1. Ḥāagtay Shah ʿAbāʾīd, a commentary on al-Taftazānī’s commentary on the ‘Ākāʾid of Nasafi; 2. several treatises on Sūfism.


NIẒAM AL-DĪN AHMAD B. MUḤAMMAD MUḤKĪM AL-HARAWĪ (d. 1003/1594), a Persian historian, author of the celebrated Tabakāt-i Akbarshāhī. He was a descendant of the famous ṣuyūṭ of Harāt, ʿAbd Allāh Ansāri. His father Khāṇā Mulk Harawī was major-domo to Bābur (932-7/1526-30) and later vizier to the governor of Gudjarat Mūlza (97) to the 37th year of Akbar’s reign (1001/1593). The later held several high military offices under the Great Mughal Akbar and became in 993/1585 Bakhshī of Gudjarat and in 1001/1593 even Bakhshī of the whole empire. According to Bākdāni (ii, 397), he died on 23 Šaʿar 1003/18 October 1594, aged 45. At his father’s instigation he took up historical studies while quite a boy. His fondness for this subject increased as time went on and induced him to try writing himself. The lack of a complete history of India made him decide to fill the gap, and thus arose his celebrated work, called the Tabakāt-i Akbarshāhī or Tabakāt-i Akbarī or Taʾrīkh-i Niẓamī which was finished in 1001/1593. Niẓām al-Dīn used 27 different sources for this work, all of which he mentions by name, and in this way produced a very thorough piece of work on which all his successors have relied. He deals with the history of India from the Arab conquests of the 7th century (366-87/977-97) to the 37th year of Akbar’s reign (1001/1593). The work is divided into a mukaddima which deals with the Ghaznawids, and nine tabakāt: 1. the Sultans of Dihlī from Muʿīzz al-Dīn Ghausī to Akbar (574-1002/1178-1594); at the end of this part are biographies of famous men at Akbar’s court, amirs, ālumā, poets, writers and ṣuyūṭīs, 2. the rulers of the Deccan (748-1002/1347-1594); the Bahmani, Niẓamshāhī, ʿAdilshāhī and Kutbshāhī ones; 3. the rulers of
Gujarat (793-980/1390-1572); 4. the rulers of Gudjarat (784-881/1379-1476); 5. the rulers of Bengal (741-984/1340-1576); 6. the Sharqi dynasty of Daspur (784-881/1379-1476); 7. the rulers of a pan-Indian position, was by his title Nizam al-Din. His grandfather had [q.v. ca. (in U.P.) born at Badaun died in Dihl in 18 Rabi II '725/3 April 1325.

His chief successor and directed him to settle in Dihli [q.v.], Hiddya. pulled out during the stress of awliya*, appalling poverty. At the age of twenty he left for his memory. During this early period Nizam al-Din lived UsulT gave instruction on the works of al-Kudur and was a welfare centre where free food was khdnakdh. Ala° al-Dln taught him the Kurgan, and Mawlana c of tender age. His mother, Bibi Zulaykha, a lady of c of the country. Shaykh Nizam al-Dln Awliya, he sent 700 deputies to different parts of the country, Shaykh Farid al-Dln Gandj-i Shakar was a welfare centre where free food was served to all visitors, and money was distributed to the needy and the poor on a very large scale. Enormous futil (unasked-for gifts) came to him, but he distributed everything and kept nothing for himself. Barani (Ta'rif-i Firuz-Shah, 345-7) has given a graphic account of his popularity in Dihli.

The Shaykh's way of thinking was to regard mankind as a topographical description of India, but it was apparently never finished by the author. Bibliography: Rieu, B.M. catalogue, 220a-222a. Biography of the author: Elliot and Dowson, History of India, v, 178-80. Synopsis of contents, ibid., v, 177-476. In shops and on the market in 1841. Fourth Editions: lith. Lucknow 1870; B. De, The Tabakat-I Akbari (as A History of India from the early Muslim invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar) (with Eng.tr.), Calcutta 1913 (Bihl. Indica, New Ser. 199). For ms., see Storey, i, 433-5.

NIZAM AL-DIN, MULLA MUHAMMAD

Shaykh, a widely venerated saint of the CishtT order [see CishtT], who raised his temple to a pan-Indian position, was born at Badaun [q.v. ] ca. 640-1/1243-4. He was given the name Muhammad but became known by his title Nizam al-Din. His grandfather had migrated to India from Bukhara under the stress of Mongol invasions. His father died when he was a boy of tender age. His mother, Bibi Zulaykha, a lady of c, a woman of fervent piety, brought him up and moulded his thought and character. In Badaun, Shadii Mukri taught him the KurTn, and Mawlana Ala° al-Dln Uthman gave instruction on the works of al-Kudur and Mawlana Fakhr al-Din Zarradi, eminent scholars of the period, were among his disciples. Firuz Shah Tughluk referred to him as Sultdn al-mashiyikh ("King of the saints"), and throughout the centuries people of all walks of life have paid respectful homage to his memory.

The site where Humayun's tomb now stands was once a village known as Ghiyathpur, and the Shaykh had his hospice there. Part of his khanaka, the Cilla-khana, still stands (Bhayazid Bayat, Ta'rif-i Humayun wa Akbar, Calcutta 1941, 234).

Bibliography: Two collections of his utterances —the Fawa'id al-fu'did, compiled by Hasan Siqdel (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1884), and Durar-i-Nizmi, compiled by Ali Dindar (ms. Sallar Djang Museum, Haydarabad 61/5-99), and two biographical accounts—Kis'am al-sak'did by Djamal Kiwm-al-Din (ms. Osmania University Library, Haydarabad) and Siyar al-auliya' of Mir Khudw (Mubibbi-Hind Press, Dihli 1885) supply all the basic details about his life, thought and activities. For other sources, Barani, Ta'rif-i Firuz Shahi; Calcutta 1860; Hamid Kalandar. Kayr al-madjalis, ed. K. Ghaziuddin, 1927. (K. A. NIZAMI)
Nizām al-Dīn, who was fourteen at the time of his father's death, studied under Mullās ʿAlī Kuli of Dā'īya, Amān Allāh of Benares and Naqshband of Lucknow. On finishing his education he established the teaching tradition in Farangī Mahall, including amongst his many pupils not only members of his own family and the forerunners of the Khayrābād school of maṣūlīt studies but also students from Bengal and much of Awadh. At the same time through his powerful relationship with the illustrious Kādīrī mystic, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāk of Bansa (d. 5 Shawwal 1153/27 June 1742) he established his family's connection with the Dīna-i Nizāmiyya, the leading Indian scholar of his day.


NIZĀM AL-MULK, ʿAbū ʿAli al-HASAN b. ʿAli b. ISMĀK AL-Tūsī, the celebrated minister of the Saljūqīd sultans Alp Arslān [q.v.] and Malikshāh [q.v.]; According to most authorities, he was born on Friday 21 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 408/10 April 1018, though the 6th/12th century Tašqī-ī Bayhāqī of Ibn Fudūk al-Bayhaqī [q.v.], which alone supplies us with detailed information about his family, places his birth in 410/1019-20. His birth-place was Rādkān, a village in the neighbourhood of Tūs, of which his father was revenue agent on behalf of the Ghznavīd government. Little is recorded of his early life. The Wāṣīyāt-yi ʿAbū ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī ʿAlī al-Mulk, however (for a discussion of the credibility of which see JRAI [1931], The Sar-ṣūrawshi-yi ʿAṣiyād, etc.), contains several anecdotes of his childhood, and is also responsible for the statement that he became a pupil in Niẓāmāpur of a well-known Shāfīʿī doctor Hibāt Allāh al-Muwaffāk. On the defeat of Masʿūd of Ghzna at Dandānkān [q.v. in Suppl.] in 431/1040, when most of Khurasān fell into the hands of the Saljūqīs, Niẓām al-Mulk's father ʿAlī fled from Tūs to Khusravīdīr in his native Bakhshās, and there was heard of him no more. Niẓām al-Mulk accompanied him, and whilst in Ghzna appears to have obtained a post in a government office. Within three or four years, however, he left the Ghznavīd for the Saljūq service, first attaching himself to Caghri-Beg's [q.v.] commandant in Balkh (which had fallen to a Saljūqīd force in 432/1040-1), and later, probably about 445/1053-4, moving to Caghri's own headquarters at Marw. It seems to have been now, or soon after, that he first entered the service of Alp Arslān (then acting as his father's lieutenant in eastern Khurāsān) under his wazīr, ʿAbū ʿAlī Ahmad b. Shāḥshān. And he so far won Alp Arslān's regard as on Ibn Shāhīd's death to be appointed wazīr in his stead (then, probably, receiving his best-known lakab). During the period between the death of Caghri-Beg in 451/1059 and that of Tughrīl-Beg in 455/1063, therefore, Niẓām al-Mulk had the administration of all Khurāsān in his hands.

The fame which he thereby acquired, and the fact that by now Alp Arslān was firmly attached to him, played a considerable part in prompting Tughrīl-Beg's wazīr al-Kundūrsī [q.v.], first, before his master's death, to scheme for the throne to pass to Caghri's youngest son Sulaymān, and then, after it,
insisting at the outset on the execution of Kawurd, and, later, on the blinding and imprisonment of Malikshāh’s brother Tekēgh. He also reversed during the earlier part of Malikshāh’s reign the conciliatory policy originally pursued under Alp Arslān towards the caliph. He had been rewarded for the friendly attitude he first evinced—which formed a welcome contrast to that of Al-Kundurī—by the receipt from Al-Kā‘im of two new lakāds, viz. Ku‘ām al-Dīn and Ṭaḥtār ‘Alī al-Mu‘āmin (the latter believed to be the earliest of this type in the case of a wa‘zir); and up to 460/1068, his relations with the caliph’s son Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djahir [see QAJIRI, BANU] became more and more cordial; so much so, indeed, that Al-Kā‘im in that year dismissed Ibn Djahir, chiefly on account of his too-subservient attitude to the Saldjuk court. To secure this attitude in the caliph’s wa‘zir was, however, the very aim of Nizām al-Mulk; and on Fakhr al-Dawla’s dismissal he sought to impose a nominee of his own in a certain al-Rūdhawari, and subsequently in the latter’s son Abū Shudja Al-Kā‘im, to avoid this he appointed Fakhr al-Dawla, though on condition that his relations with the Saldjukids should in future be more correct. In fact, they soon grew strained, till Nizām al-Mulk came to attribute any unwelcome event in Baghdad to Fakhr al-Dawla’s influence. For many years, matters were prevented from coming to a head by the tact of Fakhr al-Dawla’s son, ‘Amid al-Dawla [see QAJIRI, BANU], who won Nizām al-Mulk’s favour so far as to marry in turn two of his daughters, Nafsā and Zubayda; but in 471/1078 Nizām al-Mulk demanded Fakhr al-Dawla’s dismissal, which the caliph al-Muktaḍā [q.v.] (who had succeeded in 467/1075), was obliged to grant. Nizām al-Mulk now hoped to obtain the office for his own son Mu‘ayyid al-Mulk, but to this al-Muktaḍā would not agree. Henceforward, accordingly, his dislike was deflected to al-Muktaḍā himself, and to Abū Shudja, his former protégé, whom the caliph now created deputy wa‘zir in an effort to conciliate him, leaving the vizierate itself unoccupied till the next year, when he appointed ‘Amid al-Dawla. But in 474/1082 Nizām al-Mulk in turn demanded the dismissal and banishment of Abū Shudja, and at the same time composed his quarrel with Fakhr al-Dawla, when the latter was sent on a mission to Isfahan, concerting with him a plan by which Fakhr al-Dawla should watch his interests at Baghdad. As a result, al-Muktaḍā, who gave in with a bad grace, lost all confidence in the Banū Djahir, and two years later replaced ‘Amid al-Dawla with the offensive Abū Shudja; whereupon Fakhr al-Dawla and ‘Amid al-Dawla fled to the Saldjukid headquarters. Nizām al-Mulk, on this, vowed vengeance on al-Muktaḍā, and at first seems even to have contemplated the abolition of the caliphate (see Sibt Ibn al-Ḍawārizi, Mir‘āt al-samā‘), as a prelude to which he commissioned Fakhr al-Dawla to conquer Dīyar Bârak from the Marwānids [q.v.], the sole remaining Sunnī tributaries of any consequence. The Marwānids were duly ousted by 478/1085, whilst al-Muktaḍā, on his side, showed himself consistently hostile to Nizām al-Mulk. But the latter’s feelings towards the caliph were in the following year completely transformed as a consequence of his first visit in turn to Baghdad (for the wedding of al-Muktaḍā to Malikshāh’s daughter). The caliph received him very graciously; and thenceforward he became a champion of the caliphate in face of the enmity which developed between al-Muktaḍā and Malikshāh as a result of the marriage. The celebrity of Nizām al-Mulk is really due to the fact that he was in all but name a monarch, and ruled...
his empire with striking success. It was not his aim to innovate. On the contrary, it was to model the new state as closely as possible on that of the Ghaznavids, in which he had been born and brought up. His position was similar to that of the Buyid rulers, the Bar-

makids [see BAKIRA], and the notable Būyid waṣīrī, the Sāhib Isma‘īl b. ‘Abdāb [q.v.]. All three may be said to have represented the old Persian civilisation (progressively Islamised, of course) in the face of a rise to empire of barbarian conquerors, Arab, Daylamī and now Türkmen. The monarchs were in each case equalled, if not surpassed, by their waṣaris, and most of all in the case of Nizām al-Mulk, for with him the invaders aspired to an emperor’s position whilst still quite unacclimatised to their new habitat, so that his superiority in culture was the more marked (cf. Barthold, Turkestan, 308). But in revenge, the Saldjūks’ lack of acclimatisation stood in the way of a complete realisation by Nizām al-Mulk of the now traditional Perso-Muslim state. Hence the lamentations that recur in the Siyāsāt-ī-nāma.

The Siyāsāt-ī-nāma was written by Nizām al-Mulk in 484/1091 with the addition of eleven chapters in the following year, is in a sense a survey of what he had failed to accomplish. It scarcely touches upon the organisation of the diwān, for instance, partly, it is true, because the book was intended as a monarch’s primer, but also because Nizām al-Mulk, having absolute control of the diwān, as opposed to the dārgāh (cf. again Barthold, 227), had succeeded with the assistance of his two principal coadjutors, the muta‘aṣṣī Sharaf al-Mulk and the mānṣūḥ Kamāl al-Dawla, in exactly modelling this, his special department, on traditional lines. Of the dārgāh, on the other hand, Nizām al-Mulk complains that the sultans failed to maintain a sufficient majesty. They were neither magnificent (though he approves their daily free provision of food), formal, nor awe-inspiring enough. At their court, accordingly, the formerly important offices of bādīgūb, waṣāqīt and amīr-i hāras had declined in prestige. Nor, as had his model potestates, would they maintain a sound intelligence service, whereby corruption might be revealed and rebellion forestalled. The Siyāsāt-ī-nāma consists in all of fifty chapters of advice illustrated by historical anecdotes. The last eleven chapters, added shortly before the waṣāqīt’s assassination, deal with dangers that threatened the empire at the time of writing, in particular from the Ismā‘īlīs (on the work, see Bibl., 3).

Nizām al-Mulk’s situation resembled that of the Būyid administrators in another respect. He was faced, as they had been, with the problem of supporting a largely tribal army, and solved it likewise by a partial abandonment of the traditional tax-farming system of revenue collection for that of the ikta’ or fief [q.v.], whereby military commanders supported themselves and their troops on the yield of lands allotted to them. Since in the decay of the ‘Abbāsid power provincial amīrs had tended to assume the originally distinct and profitable office of sāmil, the way for this development had been paved. The Būyids had later attempted to restore the older system; but the establishment of numerous local minor dynasties had favoured the new. Nizām al-Mulk now systematised it in the larger field open to him. In the Siyāsāt-ī-nāma he raises, however, on the necessity of limiting the rights of fief-holders to the collection of fixed dues, and of setting a short time-limit to their tenures (see on this subject, Becker, Steuerpacht und Lehnsteuer, in Isl., v [1914], 81-92, and Ṭa‘ṣā‘).

In the absence of the intelligence service he desired, Nizām al-Mulk contrived to intimate potential rebels and suppress local tyranny by a judicious display of the might and mobility of the Saldjūk arms. He also insisted on the periodic appearance at court of learned figures, the Bar-

makids [see BAKIRA], and the notable Būyid waṣīrī, the Sāhib Isma‘īl b. ‘Abdāb [q.v.]. All three may be said to have represented the old Persian civilisation (progressively Islamised, of course) in the face of a rise to empire of barbarian conquerors, Arab, Daylamī and now Türkmen. The monarchs were in each case equalled, if not surpassed, by their waṣaris, and most of all in the case of Nizām al-Mulk, for with him the invaders aspired to an emperor’s position whilst still quite unacclimatised to their new habitat, so that his superiority in culture was the more marked (cf. Barthold, Turkestan, 308). But in revenge, the Saldjūks’ lack of acclimatisation stood in the way of a complete realisation by Nizām al-Mulk of the now traditional Perso-Muslim state. Hence the lamentations that recur in the Siyāsāt-ī-nāma.

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endowing madrasas and associated institutions like hostels for students, such as the Hanafi official of Alp Arslán's, to the mustafla of Tādj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghāna'īm (d. 485/1093), founder of the Tājdiyya college there (see G. Makedis, Mîstûm institûtûn of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad, in BSOAS, xxiv [1961], 1-56; C. E. Bosworth, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v-vi, 70-4). Nizām al-Mulk may have intended to give an impetus to the spread of the Şī'ite faith in this region. Thus, in addition to the greater vitality), but it seems reasonable to impute to him a wider vision of a Sunni political, cultural and intellectual revival in the central and eastern lands of Islam, in which his own colleges would play a contributory role.

For the first seven years of Malikşah's reign, Nizām al-Mulk's authority went altogether unchallenged. In 472/1079-80, however, two Turkish officers of the court instigated Malikşah into killing a protégé of the waṣīr, and in 473/1080-1, again, the sultan insisted on disbanding a contingent of Armenian mercenaries against Nizām al-Mulk's advice. Malikşah now began to hope, indeed, for the overthrown main wazir. Nizām al-Mulk was in 473/1080-1 and 480/1087. She was eager for Mahmūd to be formally declared heir. Nizām al-Mulk, however, was in 473/1080-1, and a new set of verses by al-Nahlās quoted in the Raḥlat al-sudur of Râwandi, and really composed after the waṣīr's death.)

Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated on 10 Ramaḍān 485/14 October 1092 near Sīhāna, between Kangwuar and Bāsusūn, as the court was on its way from Iṣfahān to Baghūd. His murderer, who was disguised as a court jester, named Djamāl al-Mulk, who had taken Dašfārak's execution into his own hands (475/1082). After the fall of Sayyid al-Ru'asā in 476/1083-4, however, the sultan left plotting till, some years later, a new favourite, Tādj al-Mulk, caught his fancy. All went well with Nizām al-Mulk till 483/1090-1. In the 6th/12th century, NIZAMIYYA.

See further, on the sons and descendants of Nizām al-Mulk in the 6th/12th century, NIZAMIYYA.

Bibliography: 1. For the Arabic and Persian primary sources, see the Bibl. of the EP article of H. Bowen.


(H. Bowen—C.E. Bosworth)

NIZĀM AL-MULK CĪN KILK KĀHN, KĀMAR AL-NOBĀT, in order to seal the Indian Muslim state of Haydarābād in the early 12th/18th century and a dominant figure in the military affairs of the decaying Mughal empire from his appointment as governor of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukh-siyar [q. v.] till his death in 1611/1748. In the early years of his governorship he was the deadly foe of his rivals for influence in the empire, the Bāṛa Sayyids [q. v. in Suppl.], and after his victory over them at Shakarkhelda in 1137/1724, virtually independent ruler in Haydarābād with the additional title of Asaf Djāh. For further details, see Haydarābād, b. Haydarābād state, and Muḥammad Shāh b. Dājma Shāh.

Bibliography: T.W. Haig (ed.), The Cambridge history of India, iv, The Mughul period, 331, 336, 341-3, 346-50, 377 ff., and see the bibls. to the articles mentioned above. (Eo.)

NIZĀM-SHAHI (i.e. Nizām-Shāhī “ambassador of the Nizām-Shāh” of the Dakhan), a Persian historian whose real name was Khūrshāh b. Kubād al-Husaynī. Born in Persian ʿIrāk, he entered the service of Sultan Burhan b. Shīrāz or see nizām-sāginis. The latter being converted to the Shīʿa, sent Khūrshāh as ambassador to Tāḥmāsp Shāh Safāwī. Reaching Rāy b. Rājāb 952/September 1545, he accompanied the Shāh to Georgia and Shīrāz during the campaigns of 954 and 956 against Aḥkām Mīrzā. He stayed in Persia till 971/1563, perhaps with occasional breaks. He died at Golkonda on 25 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 972/24 June 1565.

Khūrshāh’s chief work is the Taʾrīkh-i ʿIrā-zi Nizām-shāh, a general history from the time of Adam based on such sources as al-Tabari, al-Baydawi, Taʾrīkh-i guzida, Zafar-nāma, Ḥabib al-siyar, the ‘Memoirs of Shāh-Tāḥmāsp’ etc. The book is divided into a prologue and seven nakalā, each of which is again divided into several gulfār. It is the most important part of this work is that which refers to the reign of Tāḥmāsp Shāh (in the Brit. Mus. ms. Or. 153, written in 972/1565, the events come down to 969/1561-2) and to the local dynasties of the Caspian provinces: Māzandarān, Gilān, Shīrāz. The two manuscripts in the British Museum show differences in their contents: Add. 23,513 (written in 1095/1684) has a narrative of the campaign of 1101 and a story of the Doṭān-ārā of Ahmad b. Muḥammad Ghaf-ārī. The later additions of Or. 153 come down as late as 1200/1786.

According to Firuţta, “Shāh Khūrshāh”, during the reign of Ibrāhīm Kūt-Shāh of the Deccan (957-988/1550-80) also wrote a history of the Kūt-Shāhs [q. v.]. It is difficult to reconcile this with a continuous stay in Persia from 952 to 971.

Bibliography: Rieu, Catalogue, 107-11; Schefer, in his Christo-mathiae persane, Paris 1885, ii, 56-103 (notes 65-133), printed the sections relating to the Caspian provinces. See also Storey-Bregel, 406-8. (V. Minošsky)

NIZĀM SHĀHĪS, one of five Deccani dynasties, with their capital at Ahmadnagar [q. v.] which emerged in South India as the Bahmani [q. v.]. kingdom disintegrated. The chronicles of the Nizām Shāhīs emphasise territorial and power disputes and religious (and possibly racial) tensions. The history of the dynasty splits into four periods. Under the first four rulers, 989-994/1480-1586, there was the vigorous establishment of the kingdom. Under the five rulers from 994-1008/1586-1600, there was intensive internal dissension. The period from 1008-35/1600-26, although with Nizām Shāhī rulers on the throne, was dominated by a Habashī (of black African origins) prime minister who restored much of the kingdom’s economic and political viability. By 1041/1632 the kingdom, decisively destroyed, with formal dispersal of the territories of the Ahmadnagar kingdom occurring in 1046/1636.

The founder of the dynasty, later known as Ahmad Nizām Shāh Bahri, was the son of a high official in the Bahmani court. He held various posts under the Bahmanis and in 989/1480 he declared independence from them and consolidated the areas in northern and western Mahrārshartra under his rule as Ahmad Nizām Shāh. Under the first four rulers (Ahmad, 989-994/1480-1510; Burhān I, 915-91/1505-1513; Ḥusayn I, 961-72/1554-65; and Murad I, 972-97/1565-88) the kingdom prospered despite military skirmishing with neighbouring Islamic successor states, with the Hindu state of Vidjiyānagar, and with the first Mughal incursions in the 990s/1580s. Burhān I converted to Shīʿism, the choice reflecting to some extent the underlying tension between those considered natives (darşāris) and those considered outsiders (pardaşāris). Potentially, there were racial implications as well. Many of the foreigners were generally fairer than the Deccanis, but there were many Habashī officers in the court and the exact causes for the continuous realignment of loyalties are rarely clear.

Militarily, the high point of this period came in Du‘mādā II 972/January 1565. The six major Dec- cani states aligned and realigned themselves attempting to extend their influence. The armies of Vidjiyānagar became particularly rapacious and the Islamic kingdoms reached an accommodation. The major armies gathered in Talikota to organise an assault on the Vidjiyānagar forces and also, apparently, for a certain amount of pre-battle carousing. In Du‘mādā II 972/January 1565 the forces marched out of Talikota and moved against the enemy, decisively destroying, with formal putting an end to that kingdom.

The rapid turnover in Nizām Shāhī rulers from 996/1588 to 1008/1600 reflects the disension and turmoil in the higher ranks of the Ahmadnagar court. Ḥusayn II, a parricide, ruled between 997-8/1588-9. He was succeeded by a paternal cousin, Ismā‘īl, who ruled in 998-9/1589-91. Ismā‘īl was succeeded by his own father, Burhān II, 999-1003/1591-5, who had been a member of the Mughal court for some years but, having manoeuvred his way on to the Nizām Shāhī throne, had to deal with serious Mughal forays into the Deccan. Burhān II was succeeded by his son and Ismā‘īl’s brother, Ibrāhīm, for four months in 1003/1595. Rival leaders put forth different candidates for the throne, and Bahadur, son of Ibrāhīm and strongly backed by Čand Bābī, was finally declared ruler only to be captured and imprisoned by
the Mughals after the fall of Ahmadnagar in Safar 1009/August 1600. Cand Bibi was a daughter of Husayn I and, as part of unending Deccani negotiations and realignments, had been married to ‘All Ādil Shāh of Bijapur [q.v.]. After his assassination in 1580, she was regent to their young son, Ibrahim ‘Ādil Shāh II. Later in the 1580s and in the early 1590s, Cand Bibi went back and forth between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar as a sort of “emissary for safe keeping”, as various leaders struck different bargains. After Burhān II was shot in 1595 and in 1596, the latter of which who still supported his grandson Bahādur to succeed him. By December of that year, the Mughals (led by Akbar’s son Mürād [q.v.], who died in Shawwal 1007/May 1599 in the Deccan), who had been skirmishing, raiding, and attempting to seize territory in the Deccan, began the siege of Ahmadnagar. In Dhumādār II 1009/February 1596 they successfully mined one of the walls of the fort, and Cand Bibi valiantly led the retaking of that wall. She emerged with enough stature to unite some of the feuding Ahmadnagar leaders and became a local heroine. In March, the occupants of the fort sued for peace and the Mughals withdrew.

In 1007/1599 the Mughals took Burhānpūr in Berār [q.v.] which then served as their base of operations for attacking the Deccani states. The following year, accompanied by Akbar, the Mughals again set siege to Ahmadnagar, this time led by his son Dānīyāl (died in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1012/April 1604 in the Deccan). In the town and fort of Ahmadnagar, the internal feuding had reached such a pitch that one faction accused Cand Bibi of planning to betray the Nizām Shāhi forces and incited a mob which killed her. In Safar 1009/August 1600 the Mughals took Ahmadnagar.

The third period of Nizām Shāhī history was dominated by Malik ‘Anbār [q.v.], an Abyssinian slave who was in the Nizām Shāhī armies, then went to Bijapur as a soldier, and finally returned to Ahmadnagar in the 1590s. He fought for the Nizām Shāhī against the Mughals and oversaw the installation of the first two of the last three rulers, Murtūdā II (1008-19/1600-10) and Burhān III (1019-41/1616-32), followed by Husayn III (1014-2/1613-32). The bickering and skirmishing continued in the Deccan, and Malik ‘Anbār, an able general and politician, carved out larger territories for the Nizām Shāhī. He formed new alliances, embracing Hindu leaders who were later to become leaders of the Marāthā [q.v.] forces. With these leaders, more effective ways of waging war were developed, and swift moving, mounted soldiers of the Nizām Shāhī armies would quickly attack the Mughal forces and then retreat into the hills and prepare for the next swift attack and retreat. Dissension among the sons of Dāhāngīr pervaded the Mughal court, which was also embroiled in power and territorial disputes, and helped to frustrate repeated Mughal attempts to occupy the Deccan. In the meantime, Malik ‘Anbār embarked on a major land reform, similar to that done by Rādāj Todār Māli [q.v.] for Akbar. In 1026/1616 the Mughals put Ahmadnagar under siege a fourth time against which they were still extant. The early rulers and nobility commissioned many canals as well as palaces/pleasure houses/gardens. Indeed, a tomb near the impressive tomb of Ahmad I is reputed to mark the burial site of the elephant which captured the ruler of Vijayanagar (until 972/1565) reputedly paid the full price assessed at embarkation for every horse delivered to them whether alive or dead.

The Nizām Shāhī and many of their high officials commissioned palaces, mosques, gardens, tanks, canals, bath houses, hospices, hospitals, tombs, etc., the remains of which are still extant. The early rulers and nobility commissioned many canals as well as palaces/pleasure houses/gardens. Indeed, a tomb near the impressive tomb of Ahmad I is reputed to mark the burial site of the elephant which captured the ruler of Vijayanagar in 1565. The most famous Nizām Shāhī architect and builder was Schāhāb Khān II, an official under Murtūdā I and Husayn II. He not only extended the system of canals and tanks, but
rebuilt the Farah Baksh Gardens. His own tomb is outside the city on a hill; unlike other tombs of the period, it is an extremely tall building with stairs to the top. It is said he wished to make it even higher so that he could see as far as Daulatabad [q.v.].

There was an interest in literature and painting as well; an illustrated Ta'rif-i Husayn Shahi (ca. 972-6/a. 1565-9) survives at the Bharata Ithasa Samshodhana Mandala in Poona and a portrait of Burhan II is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Some other miniatures have been attributed to the Nizam Shahi court and all the Surgeon and the Surgeon in the Mughals, to the latter by the Nizam Shahi one. Unfortunately, the wars with Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Some other

no doubt illustrated, that must have been in Nizam Shahi mosques, schools, and homes.

Bibliography: Firigha; Sayyid A'li Tabataba'i; Burhan-i ma'durr (tr. and abridged T. Wolseley, Haig, in The Indian Antiquary (1920-3)); Radhey Shyam, The kingdom of Ahmadnagar, Varanasi 1966, with bibl. (Marie H. Martin)

NIZAM-I DJEDID (t.), literally, "new system, new re-organisation", the new military units created by the Ottoman sultan Selim III (1203-22/1793-1807 [q.v.]).

The Treaty of Sistova between the Ottoman Empire and Austria (August 1791) and that of Jassy (March 1792) comprised three regiments, with barracks well-removed from the valleys. Hence by the end of 1806 the Nizam-i Djedid comprised 1,590 officers and 22,685 men, roughly half of them stationed in Anatolia and half in Istanbul. A large contingent of the new troops helped in the successful defence of Acre in Palestine led by Ahmed Djezzar Pasha [see Abdul-Hamid I, GOR, vi, 552-3].

The Treaty of Jassy, which was more successful in the newer, more technical arms: the artillery, the mortar-throwers, the mine-throwers, the gunboats, was more successful, but reform attempted in 1808 by the Mustafa Pasha Bayrakdar secret to reconstitute the Nizam-i Djedid under the designation of Nizam-i Asker, with the Austrian renaissance Süleyman Ağña, who had previously commanded the corps stationed at Lewend Çiftlik, charged with this task, but without success. It was only after the murder of the imprisoned former sultan Selim and the overthrow of the feeble puppet Mustafa in favour of Mahmoud II [q.v.], son of Selim's predecessor 'Abd al-Hamid I [q.v.], that more successful and more lasting measures in the direction of modernising the Ottoman Empire, its administration and armed forces, could eventually be embarked upon. For by then it had become clear that the previous Nizam-i Djedid had represented merely a tinkering with an old system which was incapable of being transformed into a modern one; a totally new start was necessary.

Bibliography: Djeddet, Ta'rifh, is the main primary source. See also: Zinkeisen, GOR, vii, 323, 342, 458 ff., 464, 471, 552; Jorga, GOR, v, 117 ff.; C. von Sax, Geschichte des Machteinsfalls Türkei, Vienna 1908, 133-4; Enver Ziya Karal, Nizam-i-
Nizâm-i Ḍjedīd — Nizám-i Gandjawī


(F. Bârînger—C. E. Bosworth)

Nizâm-i 'Arûdî Samâkandî, Abû Muhammad Ilyâs b. 'Ubîd al-Dîn. 'Arûdî (or 'Arûdî) was the poet who composed the Mathnâwî, the titles of which have not survived. He was a court poet who served faithfully the Ghûrîd princes for 45 years (he would thus be at the end of the 5th/11th century), according to what he tells us at the beginning of the Čâhrâ makâlât, the only work by him that has come down to us. His verse has been lost, at least except for fragments; what he tells us at the beginning of the Čâhrâ makâlât, which does not seem to be by him.

The earliest notice of Firdawîs and the only contemporary reference to Khayâm is found in the lost 'Arûdî's work. He tells us that the Čâhrâ makâlât, which he thinks is different from the 'Arûdîs which Bjowne says is almost unequalled in Persian. The number of these anecdotes, which form the most interesting and valuable part of the work, is about forty; some give valuable information on the literary and scientific state of Persia. We may say that the "Four Discourses" (especially the second) and "Awîl's Lubâh are the two old works which deal systematically with Persian poetry. Dâwlatshâh made a great deal of use of it (cf. Browne, Sources of Dâwlatshâh, in JRAŠ [1899], 37-69). We may specially point out that it is to Nizâmî that we owe the earliest notice of Firdawîs and the only contemporary reference to Khayâm. On the other hand, we must point out the historical inaccuracy of certain passages, even in the case of events in which Nizâmî claims to have taken part. His book is mentioned or quoted by "Awîl (Lubâh), Ibrâhîm ibn Isâ'îyâr (Hist. of Tahâristân), Mustawfî Kazwînî (Târîkh-î gûzîd), Dâwlatshâh al-dâhabî, Ghâfârî (Nîqarîstân). Hâddîdî Khâlîfa speaks of a Mâdîmâ-âl-nawâ'îdî which he thinks is different from the Čâhrâ makâlât; but Mirzâ Muhammad Kazwînî has shown that this is another title of the same book.


(H. Mâssî)

Nizâmî Gandjawî, Dâmâl al-Dîn Abû Muhammad Ilyâs b. Yûsuf b. Zâki Mu'mayyad, one of the greatest Persian poets and thinkers. He was born and spent most, if not all, of his life in Gandjâ (called Elisavetpol and Kirovabad during the Imperial Russian and Soviet periods), Nizâmî being his pen-name. In recognition of his vast knowledge and brilliant mind, the honorific title of balkâm, "learned doctor," was bestowed upon him by scholars. From his poetry, it is evident that he was learned not only in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, jurisprudence, history, and philosophy but also in music and the arts. His work is a synthesis of Persian literary achievements up to his time.

The traditional biographers, and some modern researchers, think that six years about the exact date of his birth (535-40/1141-6), and as much as thirty-seven years about the date of his death (575-613/1180-1217). Now there is no doubt, however, that he died in the 7th/13th century, and the earlier dates must be discarded as erroneous. UNESCO recognised the 1141 date as his birth date and declared 1991 the year of Nizâmî. To honour the 850th anniversary of his birth, there were international Nizâmî congresses held in 1981 in Washington, Los Angeles, London and Tabriz.

Usually, there is more precise biographical information about the Persian court poets, but Nizâmî was not a court poet; he feared loss of integrity in this role and craved primarily for the freedom of artistic creation. His five masterpieces are known collectively as the Khamasa, Qâned, or the Pandj gandj, The Five Treasures. The five epic poems represent a total of close to 30,000 couplets and they constitute a breakthrough in Persian literature. Nizâmî was a master in the genre of the romantic epic. In erotic sensuous verse, he explains what makes human beings behave as they do, revealing their follies and their glories, all their struggles, unbridled passions and tragedies.

Though he did not write for the stage, he could be
called a master dramatist. The plot in his romantic stories is carefully constructed to enhance the stories’ psychological complexities. The characters work and grow under the stress of action to discover things about themselves and others and to make swift decisions. He delineated simple people with as much insight and compassion as the princely heroes in his Maḥzan al-asrār. Artisans were particularly dear to him. Painters, sculptors, architects and musicians are carefully portrayed and often play crucial roles. The romance of Khusrav and Shīrīn is a very important source of information about the role of artists in pre-Mongol Persia as well as the education and training methods of the artists. The Khamsa serves as a principal source of our knowledge of 6th/12th century Persian musical composition and instruments. There have been few poets other than Nizāmī in the long and rich history of Persian literature who have had such an influence and impact on poets, calligraphers, miniature painters, musicians and, in recent times, on people of the theatre, film and ballet, and his influence has extended beyond Persia proper to such adjacent regions as Central Asia, the Caucasus, Asia Minor and Muslim India.

Considered as one of the greatest poems of the Near and Middle East, the number of imitations of, and selections from, the Khamsa or the separate poems of it is without precedent. The most popular have always been the three romantic epics: Khusrav wa Shīrīn, Laylā wa Majnūn, and Ḥafṣ ṭaykar. Besides the Khamsa, an incomplete Divān of Nizāmī’s poetry exists.

Maḥzan al-asrār, The Treasury of Mysteries, is the first maḥnawi poem in Nizāmī’s Khamsa. It is a didactic-philosophical poem with mystical overtones. It is the shortest maḥnawi of the quintet and is comprised of some 2,260 couplets written in the arzī maṭnī ma’ānī metre. Most probably it was completed in the year 582/1184–5, though the majority of scholars have tended to consider the year 570 or 572 as the date of its completion, and was dedicated to a patron of art and culture, Fakhr al-Dīn Bahramshāh of the Turcoman Mengüjdeği [q.v.].

Khusraw was a pious Muslim, but he tolerated and respected the Jews and the Christians. He was a pious Muslim, but he tolerated and respected the Jews and the Christians. He was well educated, independent, fearless, resourceful, imaginative, erotic and humorous. His loyalty knows no bounds. The Muslim community is, perhaps, a reflection of his geographical proximity to Gandja, and he is, like the Byzantine Maryam, a Christian. Nizāmī made a powerful commentary on human behaviour.

Shīrīn’s sense of justice is so great that she forswears Khusrav’s love until he should regain his throne, thus fulfilling his responsibility to his people. Even after they are married, she continues to exert a formidable influence on him throughout the East; in Persia alone, there were about forty first-class imitations of Maḥzan al-asrār.

Although some scholars consider Maḥzan al-asrār a mystical poem, the mysticism with its symbolism is apparent only in the introduction, which is infused with the essence of Sufr thought. In the main body of the book one can detect scattered mystical overtones, but it is up to the reader to arrive at the final interpretation.

Structurally, the poem begins with a large body of introductory matter which contains about 825 couplets or a little more than one-third of the whole book. Here, Nizāmī established a pattern for the introductory chapters of his later epics but also for almost all epics written thereafter. They include verses in worship of God, followed by a chapter of praise and veneration of the Prophet and a description of Muhammad’s ascension to the heavens. The twenty mukalats or discourses that follow cover some 1,400 couplets.

Khusrav wa Shīrīn is the second poem of Nizāmī’s Khamsa and the first of his romantic epics. Its protagonists are Khusrav II (590–628), the last great Sasanid monarch, known as Parwiz [q.v.], the Victorious, and his mistress Shīrīn. Their love was recorded by many subsequent Islamic writers, and Firdawṣ devoted more than 4,000 couplets to Khusrav II’s reign in his Shāh-nāma. It was Nizāmī, however, who gave the story a real structural unity. Infusing it with his own profound experience of love and expanding it with his thoughts on religion, philosophy, and government, he created a romance of great dramatic intensity. The story has a constant forward drive with exposition, challenge, mystery, crisis, climax, resolution, and finally, catastrophe. The action increases in complexity as the protagonists face mounting complications. Khusrav and Shīrīn are not able to meet for a long time, despite their untiring efforts and the help of their confidant. Then, after they do meet, they are forced apart by the political marriage of Khusrav and Maryam. When Khusrav promises Shīrīn to Farhād as a prize for completing a feat of daring and endurance, the story nearly comes to a premature conclusion.

After the death of Maryam and the murder-suicide of Farhād, it seems that all obstacles are removed and the lovers will be united. But Nizāmī introduces an affair between Khusrav and a girl from Isfahān that further complicates and delays his union with Shīrīn. Finally, on the lovers’ wedding night, Nizāmī creates a bizarre episode, a humorous entr’acte that gives the reader or listener a chance to take a deep breath before the epic’s tragic climax. Khusrav gets drunk and Shīrīn replaces her presence in the nuptial chamber with that of a knotty, wizened old crone. Through these dramatic devices, Nizāmī makes a powerful commentary on human behaviour.

Nizāmī’s deep understanding of women is strongly expressed in Khusrav wa Shīrīn. Shīrīn is the central character and there is no question that she is a poetic tribute to Nizāmī’s wife Afāk. She is well educated, independent, fearless, resourceful, imaginative, erotic and humorous. Her loyalty knows no bounds. That she is a queen rather than a commoner, as is the case in Firdawṣ’s Shāh-nāma, gives the story a stately quality. Her association with Armenia is, perhaps, a reflection of its geographical proximity to Gandja, and she is, like the Byzantine Maryam, a Christian. Nizāmī was a pious Muslim, but he tolerated and respected other religions.

Shīrīn’s sense of justice is so great that she forswears Khusrav’s love until he should regain his throne, thus fulfilling his responsibility to his people. Even after they are married, she continues to exert a
strong influence on Khusraw, educating him as always through example and love; as a result, the country flourished, justice was observed and the personality, creating from the fragmentary versions a full-scale dramatic poem.

For centuries, the legend of Layla and Majnun had been a popular theme of the short love poems and songs of the Bedouins, and during the early days of the Muslim era, it had been absorbed and embellished by the Persians. Majnun is traditionally identified with a poet known as Kays b. al-Mulawwah, who probably lived in the second half of the 1st/7th century in the Najjd desert of Arabia. Although it is probable that there was more than one love-crazed poet called Majnun, possessed by a djinn or a genie, the Russian scholar Krajkovič in 1946 erased most doubts as to his historical identity.

Neither the arid desert setting nor the spare plot of Majnun and Layla's romance inspired Niẓāmī's poetic vision, but he could not refuse the royal commission. And so he expanded and deepened the plot and the personalities, creating from the fragmentary versions a full-scale dramatic poem.

For his romance, Niẓāmī chose an easy metre, the short hazird musaddas. Layla wa Majnun is comprised of at least 4,000 distichs. Niẓāmī wrote that it took him "less than four months" to compose it, which implies a trance-like state of writing. The exact number of distichs has long been a source of controversy, especially since those that are considered apocryphal alter the plot significantly. Wahid Dastgiri's critical edition, based on thirty manuscripts copied between the 8th/14th and 11th/17th centuries, totals 4,650 distichs, of which Dastgiri considers 600 to be spurious, added by later writers and scribes, who also transposed an additional 400 distichs to cover their handwork. Others, as was common in copied manuscripts, give both dates. The earlier year is supported in the text by an abbreviated dating. Whatever its length and its exact date of completion, there is no doubt that Niẓāmī used all the material, written and oral, available to him, adding, altering and transforming as his poetic genius prompted, in order to create this tragic masterpiece.

Niẓāmī's originality lies in his psychological portrayal of the richness and complexity of the human soul when confronted with intense and abiding love. Majnun's compulsions, anxieties, frustrations, and passions are not slighted as he moves inexorably toward an ideal love that involves renunciation and, ultimately, transcendence. Many critics have interpreted this as mystical love; but if there is a mystic strain in Niẓāmī, it is subtle and covert; it never destroys or blurs the sharp psychological and the physical identity of its protagonist. It is virtually impossible to draw a clear line in Niẓāmī's poetry between the mystical and the erotic, the sacred and the profane. The psychological profile of Layla is less deeply drawn, but her enduring love is no less extraordinary than an achievement.

Layla and Majnun are scourged by separation, social ostracism, self-denial, and spiritual and physical suffering from the very beginning until their tragic ends. It is quite possible that, to soften the tragedy, Niẓāmī wrote a second version, weaving into it the love story of Zayd for his cousin Zaynab, which parallels that of Majnun and Layla; the couples become messengers for one another and to some degree are able to mitigate the relentless curse of separation.

The expanded version of Layla wa Majnun closes with a vivid dream sequence of Paradise. Majnun and Layla, sitting on an magnificent carpet, embrace and greatly embrace, the cup in hand. Many scholars believe this to be an interpolation, but if its date can be drawn from the moving dedication to the Shirvān-Shāh's crown prince, in which Niẓāmī counsels his own son Muhammad, addressing him as a boy of fourteen, the entire Zayd-Zaynab addition may well be Niẓāmī's own work.
listed by the hundreds, and the romance is popular even today. According to Bertels and A.A. Ḥikmat, counting only the most famous volumes, there are twenty in Persian, forty in Turkish, three in Uzbek, one in Kurdish and two in Tajik [see further, MĀRĪNĪN-LAVĀ].

Haft paykar is the fourth and the most intricate poem of Nizāmī’s Khamsa. It is a bedazzling exploration of the pleasures of love. At the same time, it can be interpreted as mystical. The seven stories told by the seven princesses can be interpreted as the seven stations of the mystic way. In fact, the title of the story can be translated as the “Seven Portraits”, the “Seven Effigies”, as well as the “Seven Princesses”. The poem is also known as the Haft gun-bad or “Seven Domes”.

In Islamic cosmology, the earth was placed in the centre of the seven planets: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. These were regarded as “emanations of God, and in their motion influenced beings and events on earth. Nizāmī firmly believed as well that the unity of the world could be achieved. At the same time, it can be interpreted as mystical. The seven stories told by the seven princesses can be interpreted as the seven stations of the mystic way. In fact, the title of the story can be translated as the “Seven Portraits”, the “Seven Effigies”, as well as the “Seven Princesses”. The poem is also known as the Haft gun-bad or “Seven Domes”.

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In Haft paykar, the phantasmagoric movement of its hero, Bahram Gōr, as he visits each princess, covers a symbolic path between black, or the hidden majesty of the Divine, and white, or purity and unity. The princesses and their pavilions are manifestations of specific planets, specific climes, colours, and days. The pavilions are domed, representing the structure of the heavens. Nizāmī illustrates the harmony of the universe, the affinity of the sacred and the profane, and the concordance of ancient and Islamic Iran.

The number seven casts its magic spell throughout the Haft paykar. Completed in the year 593/1197, the Haft paykar was commissioned by and dedicated to the prince of Maragha, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kurp Arslan, who allowed the already famous Nizāmī a free hand in choosing his theme. The poet chose an historical and situational humour, philosophy is counteracted by romanticism, and nationalism is softened by cosmopolitan ideals of Islam. The virtuosity of Nizāmī’s storytelling and his unbridled fantasy are matched by the brilliance of his language which is full of dazzling imagery and extended metaphor.

Nizāmī’s account of the adventures of Alexander the Great is probably the first work in Persian literature that is divided into two parts. The first half is called Sharaf-nāma (The Book of Honour) and the second part Ishāl-nāma (The Book of Wisdom). The two parts are also known, especially in India, as the Iskandar-nāma-yi barri (The Adventures of Alexander by Land), and the Iskandar-nāma-yi bahri (The Adventures of Alexander by Sea). The two parts, although constituting a full span of Alexander’s life from birth to death under the general title of Iskandar-nāma, are treated by the poet as two separate entities, each covering a cycle in Alexander’s life. In the first cycle, Alexander appears as the conqueror of the world, in the second, as the philosopher and prophet.

The introduction to the first part of the Iskandar-nāma is a little more than twice as long as the introduction to the second part. The introductions reflect the length of both parts; the Sharaf-nāma contains about 6,800 couplets and the Ishāl-nāma about 3,680 couplets, bringing Iskandar-nāma with about 10,580 couplets, the longest poem of Nizāmī’s Khamsa.

Confusion has been created among scholars by various dates given for the completion of the poem, as well as by the various people to whom it or its parts are dedicated in the available manuscripts. Some of them have considered the Iskandar-nāma to be the fourth of Nizāmī’s epic quintet, written in 587/1191 and dedicated to ‘Īzz al-Dīn Masūd I, the Zangid ruler of Mosul (572-89/1176-93). But because this date is contrary to many references and events in the text which would indicate a later date, some scholars believe that the work was dedicated to ‘Īzz al-Dīn Masūd II, of the same dynasty (607-15/1211-18). If this is the case, then the span of Nizāmī’s life would have to be stretched and the date of his death moved from the traditional one of 599/1203 or 605/1209 to some time after 587/1191, the date of completion of Haft paykar.

In the preface to the Sharaf-nāma, Nizāmī declares that he has already completed four mathnawis. This would indicate that the Iskandar-nāma was the fifth and last of his epic poems and was, therefore, composed after 593/1197, the date of completion of Haft paykar.

Those whose names have come down to us in association with the manuscripts are: Nuṣrāt al-Dīn
Djahān Pahlawān from the rulers of Adharbāyjān, Izz al-Dīn Māsūd from the rulers of Mawṣūl, and Nusrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr Pishkīn (Bīghān) from the rulers in the Caucasus. No doubt, Firdawṣī’s account of the life of Alexander was known to Nizāmī [see ISKANDAR NAMA], but it was, however, Firdawṣī who was his source of inspiration in composing the ISKANDAR NAMA. He, therefore, chose for it the heroic epic mutaḵārīn metre which Firdawṣī had employed in his Šāh-nāma. The ŠARAF-nāma, the first portion of the ISKANDAR nāma, is devoted to Alexander’s conquest of the world. His conquest, however, was already shaped by the idea of his future prophetic mission. It was, therefore, not for conquest, however, was already shaped by the idea of his future prophetic mission. It was, therefore, not for

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The Sharaf-nāma, the first portion of the Iskandar-nāma, is devoted to Alexander’s conquest of the world. His conquest, however, was already shaped by the idea of his future prophetic mission. It was, therefore, not for conquest, however, was already shaped by the idea of

The second part of the ISKANDAR NAMA, the ISKANDAR NAMA, portrays Alexander as a great sage and prophet. With the advent of Islam, Alexander found his place as Dhu ‘l-Karnān in Kur ‘ān, XVIII, 83/82-98, which encouraged Muslims to glorify him. After the conquest of the world, Alexander devoted his time to the spiritual gains of his conquests. He transported scholarly tomes from all parts of the known world to translate for his library and surrounded himself with the greatest minds in the ancient world. Nizāmī is not specific in describing Alexander’s religion, but it is a kind of monotheism which prepares the way for Islam. Like Caesar who conquered the future lands of Christendom, Alexander conquered the future domain of Islam, so that he is the archetype of the ideal ruler and a wise prophet.

By comparison with his other maqānasī, the ISKANDAR NAMA is very uneven. In the stories not directly related to the main current are held together structurally, giving an impression of wholeness, whereas in the ISKANDAR NAMA they are loosely woven into the massive structure.


Muhammad Kufi to shaykh in Nishapur, he went on the advice of his Ghurid Sultans and began, in 602/1206, his great Tadj. al-mathir fi 'l-tarikh, historical work which forced him to leave Ghazni, and he went to Dihli were brought him great fame. It deals with the history of the first three sultans of Dihli—the Ghurid Muham-

Kutb al-Din Aybak (602-7/1206-10) and Shams al-Din Muhammad as governor of Lahore (614/1217). An Appendix contains a panegyric of Iltutmish and his campaigns of conquest. The work was very highly

587/1191 and ends with the appointment of Nasir al-

style. It is written in high-flown and difficult language can be extricated from the medley of rhetoric, but in it. It is only with Mirkhând that the historical facts can be extracted from the medley of rhetoric, but nevertheless the book is of undeniable value for the history of India and Afghanistan.

Bibliography: Rieu, Catalogue, i, 239; Eliot and Dowson, History of India, ii, 204-43; N. Lees, in JRAS (1868), 433; Flügel, Cat. Vienna, ii, 173 (no. 951); W. Persch, Die persischen Handschriften der...


NIZAMIYYA, a term often used in the sources for Saldjük history to designate the partisans and pro-
tèges of the great vizier Nizam al-Mulk [q.v.], after his death attached to and operating with the sons and descendants of the vizier. The influence of these partisans was especially notable in the years just after Sultan Malik Shâh’s death in 485/1092, when they actively promoted the cause of and secured the sultanate for Berk-yaruk b. Malik Shâh [q.v.] against his infant half-brother Mahmûd, the candidate of Malik Shâh’s widow Terken Khâtûn and her ally the vizier Tadj al-Mulk Abu 1-Ghanâm. In this present study, it is the descendants of Nizam al-Mulk, who filled many important civil and military offices of the Great Saldjük sultans and also, at times, of the ‘Abbâsid caliphs, who will be considered.

At least nine of Nizam al-Mulk’s sons achieved some office, civil and/or military, in the decades after his assassination in 485/1092. There was a distinct feeling among contemporaries that, in accordance with the belief that the arcana and the expertise of certain professions or skills were handed down within the families of their original exponents, the supreme capability of Nizam al-Mulk would manifest itself in his progeny. On the whole, this faith was unjustified.

Shams al-Mulk Uthmân was ʿaṣir al-djaysh for Sultan Muhammad b. Malik Shâh [q.v.], and then mustawfi and an inefficient vizier for Sultan Mahmûd b. Muhammad [q.v.] in the years 516-17/1122-3. No fewer than three of Nizam al-Mulk’s sons served Berk-yaruk as vizier: Muʿayyid al-Mulk ʿUbayd Allah, Fakhr al-Mulk-Muzaffar and the drunken and incompetent ʿIzz al-Mulk Hasan. Fakhr al-Mulk also served Sandjar b. Malik Shâh [q.v.] as vizier until his assassination in Khurasân in 500/1106 by a Bâtîni. Muʿayyid al-Mulk was probably the most talented and competent of the sons of Nizam al-Mulk, but was dismissed by the sultan in 488/1095 through the intrigues of Berk-yaruk’s mother Zubayda Khâtûn and Muʿayyid’s rival Madjd al-Mulk al-Shirazi. The vizier of Nizam al-Mulk’s son Nasîr al-Dîn Tâhir (see above), his assassination in Khurasân in 502/1107, the governor of Balkh, in 504/1109. Another of Nizam al-Mulk’s sons, Shams al-Mulk b. Malik Shâh as vizier until Berk-yaruk defeated his brother in battle at Hamâdân in 494/1101 and executed his former vizier as a renegade. Fakhr al-Mulk had served Tutuš b. Alp Arslan [q.v.], Saldjük ruler in Syria, before entering the service of Berk-yaruk, and subsequently went to serve Sandjar until 500/1107 (his son Nasîr al-Dîn Tâhir was also later to serve as Sandjar’s vizier from 571/1173 till his own death in 548/1153). Djamal al-Mulk Muhammad b. Nizam al-Mulk (d. 475/1080-1) was governor of Balkh during his father’s lifetime; and ‘Imâd al-Mulk Abu ʿI-Kâsim was vizier for Malik Shâh’s brother Bûri Bars (d. 488/1095), the governor of Herat.

Of the next generations, in addition to Fakhr al-

Mulk’s son Nasîr al-Dîn Tâhir (see above), his brother Kiwâm al-Mulk Sadîr al-Dîn Muhammad served Sandjar 500-11/1107-17, whilst Nasîr al-Dîn Tâhir’s son Nizam al-Mulk Kiwâm al-Dîn Hasan served Sulaymân Shâh b. Muhammad, briefly sultan in Baghâdîd 555-6/1160-1. Another of Nizam al-

Mulk’s great-grandsons, Shams al-Dîn Yaḵûb b. Ishâk b. Fakhr al-Mulk, is mentioned as a patron of the local historian of Bayhaḵ, ʿAli b. Zayd Ibn Fun-
dük [q. v.] (Yükü, Işığd, v, 216); with this generation, the descendants of Nizâm al-Mulk fade from public life and from mention in the sources.

Finally, on the great vizier's own authority his brother Abu 1-Kâsim 'Abd Allâh's son Abu 'l-Mahâsin Shâhâb al-Dîn functioned as Sandjâr's vizier 511-15/1117-21; and Ibn Funduk mentions several other collateral relatives as living in the Bayhâk district in the later half of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: See M. F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Sahîfîq empire*, Calcula 1938, 40 ff.; 'Abbas Ikbâl, Wizarât dar 'ashîd-i sahbân-i bazzar sadûkî, Tehran 1939/1959, 414-22; cf. Ibn Hîshâm, *Sâhîh*, ed. Wüstenfeld, P. 15) belonging to the Kuraysh. The line in Umayya b. Abî 'l-Sâlî, Schulthess, i, 105, in which the descent of the Thakîf from Nizâr is celebrated, is apocryphal and is connected with the well-known dispute regarding the origin of the Thakîf. The story of the verdict of al-Akârâ b. Hâbis al-Tamîmî in favour of Djarîr b. 'Abd Allâh al-Badjâlî against Khâlid b. Arrât al-Kalîbi (Nakâzîd, ed. Bevan, 141-2; cf. Ibn Hîshâm, Sînâ, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50), in which there is a reference to Nizâr and which is placed before Islam, is not less suspect; its object is to defend the northern origin of the Badjîla (descendants of Annâr), often disputed, as well as that of their brethren the Khâthâm [q. v.], and to refuse the same origin to the Kalb, descendants of the Kûdâ, to which it was attributed just at the time of the strife that raged around the succession to Yazîd I. The *raziq* verses quoted by Ibn Hîshâm, Sînâ, 49 (and often elsewhere; they are sometimes attributed to 'Amr b. Murra al-Djûhani, a contemporary of the Prophet, and sometimes to a certain al-Aflâb b. Ya'bûb, otherwise unknown), in which we find used, with reference to Kûdâ, the verb *tanazzara* "to announce oneself to be descended from Nizâr" may be regarded as apocryphal. No stress need be laid on the isolated reference in al-Baladhuri (*Fâtâh*, ed. de Goje, 276, 16) to the quarters (*khiyat*) of the Banû Nizâr in Kûfâ contrasted with those of the Yamanîs; his language simply reflects the position in the author's time or that of his sources, later than the great upheavals of the first century A.H.

It is only from this period, and, to be more exact, after the battle of Manad Râhî (65/684 [q. v.] won by the Kalb over the Kays, that we begin to find the name Nizâr recurring with increasing frequency. It occurs mainly in political poetry: Djarîr, al-Farazdak, al-Alî, al-Kutâmî and Zufar b. al-Harith use it to designate the common source of the tribes of the north, contrasting it with the terms "Yaman" or "Kahtân." The expression *Ibn Nizâr* "the two sons of Nizâr" becomes regular; it indicates the Mudâr (Kays *'Aylân*) and the Râbîa* as belonging to one ethnic group; they are often referred to by one another as "the sons of Nizâr" and "the two sons of Nizâr." In the latter, the reigning dynasty, claiming descent from Kuraysh (themselves, consequently, Nizâris) had as their henchmen the Kalb, one of the most powerful Yamanî tribes, while the Azd, another tribe of the south, was incorporated with that of their most illustrious representatives, the Muha$$ta$$lîdîs [q. v.], were sometimes on the side of the Umayyads and sometimes against them. It was this complicated position that gave rise to the attempt to separate the Kûdâ (i.e. the Kalb) from the southern stock in order to make them descendants of Nizâr. The story told in *Aghânî*, i, 160-1, al-Bakrî, Mu'âdam,
ed. Wüstenfeld, 14-15, is intended to explain the separation of the Kūfātā from the rest of the NizārīYYa as a result of the murder of the Nizārī Yadhkur b. ʿAnaza by the Nizārī b. Nahād. The lines in Ḍiartin (Naṭaʾid, 994) sum up very completely the way in which the Kūfātā-Kalb were connected with the NizārīYYa, while elsewhere (e.g. ibid., 261: al-Ḥarazdak) Kūfātā and NizārīYYa are opposed. Later, at the end of the Umayyad period and especially in the struggle in Khūraṣān which was the prelude to the fall of the dynasty, NizārīYYa (also in the form Nizāriyya) became the representative of a new designation with its offshoots in Syria, formed a new grouping together of a number of tribes of different origin. Nizār is simply a fictitious invention, a great ethnic groups of the Arabs was nourished, continued down to a quite a late date, especially among the ZaydīYYa of the Yaman.

From what has been said, it is evident that we cannot speak of NizārīYYa as a tribe which had a real historical existence nor, as is the case with the Maʿadd, as a comprehensive term indicating an effective grouping together of a number of tribes of different origin. Nizār is simply a fictitious invention, a label intended to serve political interests. One must, however, ask whence the name came and what were the precedents which suggested its use in the sense above outlined. It is possible that the history of the four sons of Nizār (cf. above), a popular story, the nature and diffusion of which seem to take it back to a very early period and which originally had nothing to do with genealogical tradition, supplied the names on which the nassdbun later gave their imagination free play. But this is a pure supposition, which would have to be confirmed by definite proofs.


NIZĀR b. AL-MUSTAṢİR, Fātimid claimant, born on 10 Rabīʿ 2 1437/26 September 1045. On the death of his father, having been displaced by his youngest brother al-Mustaʿilī [q. v.], Nizār fled to Alexandria, took the title of al-Mustaṣir al-Dīn Allāh, and rose in revolt early in 488/1096 with the assistance of the governor, Naṣr al-Dawla Aftakīn, who was jealous of al-ʾAdžl, and the population of the city. He was at first successful in driving back al-ʾAdžl and advanced as far as the outskirts of Cairo, supported by Arab auxiliaries. Al-ʾAdžl again took the field against him, and after a short siege in Alexandria he surrendered towards the end of the same year, was taken to Cairo, and there immured by order of al-Mustaṣirī. By the IsmaʿilīYYa, and the Maʿadd and the IsmaʿilīYYa] Nizār was recognised as the rightful successor of al-Mustaṣirī, and this, with its offshoots in Syria, formed a new group (al-daʾwa al-qadīda), opposed to the MustaṣiliYYan group (al-daʾwa al-khadima), now known as Khūdās [q. v.] and Bohorās [q. v.] respectively. A party of the Nizāriyya at first held to the belief that Nizār was not dead and would return as the Mahdī or in company with him, but the majority held that the line of Nizār was continued by the Grand Masters of Alamūt [q. v.].


NIZĀRĪ KUHISTĀNĪ, Ḥakkīm Saʿd al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad, Persian poet, born 645/1247-8 in Birdjand [q. v.], where he died in 720/1320-1. The name Nizārī was not only his nom-de-guerre as a poet, but also seems to indicate the loyalty of his family to Nizār [q. v.], the pretender to the Fatimid imamate in the late 9th/10th century whose claim was supported by most Persian IsmaʿilīYYa. Reliably born in 660/1262-3, NizārīYYa remained in his own works. According to Borodin, followed by Rykpa, he would have been attached to the court of the Kart [q. v.] Malik of Herat, but Bayburdi identified the patrons mentioned by NizārīYYa as local rulers and Mongol officials in the near vicinity of his native Kuhistan. The most important were Shams al-Dīn ʿAli Shāh (reigned 688-709/1290-1308), who belonged to a dynasty ruling over Sistan, and the usāzʿ ʿAlī al-Dīn Hindi, the representative of the Il-Khāns in Khurasan. He worked for them both as an official and as a court poet. In 679-8/1280-1 he made a journey to the Transcaucasian lands, in his days the centre of Mongol power. In the Magdilān al-ʿushshāk of Kamāl al-Dīn Gāzurgāhī mention is made of two encounters with Saʿdī [q. v.], which however belong to the realm of biographical fiction. The same applies probably to the statement in the same source that he ended his life as a humble farmer.

The literary output of NizārīYYa was considerable, but it has only been preserved in few copies. The most important are the manuscripts of his collected works extant in libraries of St. Petersburg (Public State Library, dated 837/1434) and Dushambé (Academy of Sciences, dated 972/1564-5). They are both divided into fifteen parts, comprising volumes of kusādas, ghazals, quatrains and other lyric forms, as well as several mathnawīs. His earliest work, the Safār-nāma, contains a lively and valuable description of his journey to Transcaucasia. Adab-nāma (695/1295-6), in the metre mutakārīb, is a didactical poem after the fashion of SaʿdīYYa Būṣām. The romance Azhar u Mustak [written about 700/1300-1], a poem in haẓāf of about 10,000 lines, is situated in the Arabian desert. The plot was inspired by the Rāsūl-nāma of Farīd al-Dīn Ṭartī [q. v.]. A romance between Night and Day, in the metre ḍzāf, was written by NizārīYYa to vindicate himself when he was accused of heretical convictions. Dastār-nāma (710/1310) is a short didactical work in mutakārīb (edited and translated by Ye.E. Bertel's in Vostocniy Sbornik, Leningrad 1926, i, 37-104).

NizārīYYa′s name remained relatively obscure in the history of Persian literature. His IsmaʿilīYYa background is noticeable in his works although this is often hidden behind IsmaʿilīYYa formulations more acceptable to his environment. There is also a strong Sūfī element, especially in the ghazals, which constitute the most important part of his lyrical poetry. Some of these poems were cited by the mediaeval anthropologists ʿĀdājmī [q. v.] and Dawlabshāh. A competent critic like Dāmī [q. v.] compared his poetic "taste" (salīka) to that of Hāfīz [q. v.]. Modern Russian and Tadjik

**NIZARIYYA**, a major branch of the Ismâ‘îlîyya [q.v.], whose beginnings can be traced to the succession dispute following the death of the Fâtimîd [q.v.] Imam and caliph al-Mustansîr bi-llâh (d. 487/1094). Those who gave their allegiance to Nizât, al-Mustansîr’s eldest son, as the designated successor and imâm, and subsequently to those claiming descent from him, were called Nizâriyya. One of the most important figures in consolidating Nizârî identity in its early phase, particularly in Persia, was the well-known figure and dâ‘î Hasân-i Șâbbâb [q.v.], under whose leadership the Nizâris were able to establish a confederation of principalities in Persia and other parts of the region to the north and east of the Oxus, which was held together by the velayât of Alamût [q.v.]. The period also marks a reinterpretation of Fâtimîd Ismâ‘îlî doctrine, with a greater emphasis on the role of the Imâm as the authoritative interpreter of Muslim doctrine and practice.

The Nizârî polity in Persia lasted over 150 years, before its brutal destruction by the Mongols, ending in 654/1256. The various communities in Syria and Persia, subjected to a succession of adverse conditions, and much of their history and development during this period is little known. However, the dâ‘î was successfully initiated missionary activity leading to the emergence of a community in the Indian Subcontinent, principally in Pânjâb, Sind and Gujrat, referred to as the Khôdjas [q.v.]. Over the next centuries, sporadic contact was maintained between the Imâm, living in different parts of Persia, and the Nizârî communities in Syria, the Subcontinent and Central Asia, each with their own distinctive literary heritage and tradition.

In its modern phase, Nizârî history has been distinguished by the transference of the imâm from Persia to British India in the 19th century and then to Europe, where the present headquarters of the current Imâm, Shâh Karâm, Aga Khân (Agha Khân [q.v.]) is located. Nizârî communities are found today in over 25 countries in Asia and Africa, as well as in Great Britain, Europe and the United States and Canada, where, based on a common constitution, they have organised strong community institutions. These are complemented by a development network headed by their Imâm, concerned primarily with the development of the countries and peoples in which they live. **Bibliography** (in addition to works and bibl. cited in Ismâ‘îlîyya): F. Daftary, *The Ismâ‘îlîs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990; Azim Nanji, *The Nizârî Ismâ‘îlî tradition in the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent*, New York 1978; and for their literature, see I. Poonaivala, *Bibliography of Ismâ‘îlî literature*, Malibu 1977. (Azim Nanji)

**NIZIB**, Nizîb, the Ottoman Turkish forms for modern Turkish Nizip, a town and district of southeastern Turkey, lying in the plain to the southeast of the Kurt Dağlari mountain chain on the Nizîb river, a right-bank tributary of the Euphrates, 17 km/10 miles to the west of Birecik [see BIRECİK], in lat. 37° 02' N. and long. 37° 47' E. at an altitude of 534 m/1750 feet. Nizîb and its surrounding district, extending to Kilis and the Syrian frontier, have long been famed for their extensive olive groves and sesame fields.

Ewliîâ Celebi visited Nizib in the 11th/17th century and describes it as “an inhabited town in the middle of an unfortified district on the edge of a high hill, with inns, mosques, baths and a small market but without vineyards or gardens”. Nizib at this period was the residence of a judge on the salary scale of 150 akêtes.

During the war (1831-40) between the Turks and Egypt under Muhammad ‘Ali, Nizib became the scene of a celebrated battle. İbrahim Paşa, adopted stepson and general of Muhammad ‘Ali, had crossed the Syrian frontier by the end of 1831 and after several victories advanced as far as Konya, where he inflicted such a defeat on the Turks at the end of 1832 that they had to cede by the peace of Kütâhiya (1833) the whole of Syria to Muhammad ‘Ali and the government of Adana to İbrahim himself, both recognising the sovereignty of the sultan. But neither the sultan nor Muhammad ‘Ali were satisfied with this, and both made preparations for another war. For this purpose, Mahmud II combined the four wilâyets of Diyarbakr, Karshup, Rakkâ and Siwâs under one governor with the title of vizier, Çerkes Hâfez Mehemd Paşa (on his career, see Sûdîlî-i şômânî, i, 99-100), and commanded him to cross the Euphrates at the beginning of 1839. It was not till some time later, however, that fighting actually began. Molîke and the military experts in Çerkes Hâfez Mehemd’s army then advised him not to cross the river but only to display his strength and frighten the Egyptian army into retreating; but Mehemd Paşa would not take this advice, crossed the Euphrates and fought a battle at Nizib, where he was completely defeated by İbrahim Paşa on 24 June 1839.

Besides this great defeat on land, the Turks a few days later suffered an equally severe loss at sea. Thetraitorous Kapudân-i Deryâ Ahmîd Fevzi Paşa, known as Fârî (i.e. ‘fugitive’, ‘deserter’; details in Sûdîlî-i şômânî, i, 99-100), led the Turkish fleet, which was sent to Syrian waters at the time of the battle of Nizib, to Alexandria and handed it over to Muhammad ‘Ali. The Egyptians, however, were unable to take advantage of the victory at Nizib because the Great Powers intervened and Muham- mad ‘Ali’s aspirations were in 1841 limited to the hereditary governorship of Egypt. The defeat at Nizib
led in the domestic politics of Turkey to the speedy proclamation of the tanzimât reforms [q.v.].

The modern town of Nizip is in the îl or province of Gaziantep and is the chef-lieu of an îlahi or district of the same name comprising 115 villages. In 1960, the estimated population of the town was 19,300 and of the district 68,200. Nizip is the administrative centre of the Gaziantep district.


NIZWA, a town of inner Ümân. It lies in an oasis on the eastern side of the Djabal âlî Djebril in central Ümân, and is the chef-lieu of a kasaba or district of the district of Gaziantep and is the chef-lieu of an îlahi or district of Gaziantep and is the chef-lieu of an îlahi or district of the province of Gaziantep.

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Steppes. In the administrative aspect, the majority lived within the boundaries of the Dagestan Autonomous S.S.R., whilst others fell under the jurisdiction of Ceceno-Ingushetia and the Stavropol’skiy kray. All these regions belonged to the Russian Federation of the Soviet Union, but their administrative future within Russia, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, is unknown.

1. Ethnogenesis and early habitations. The stabilisation of the Noghay ethnos went hand in hand with the formation of the Noghay state. The latter was formed by Edigii (in Russian sources, Edigei), the famous military commander of the Tatar state of the Golden Horde. The Noghay ulus (appanage) seceded from the Golden Horde in the 1390s, their original homeland being the vast pasture lands between the Emba and Yaiyk (now Ural) rivers. During the reign of Nür al-Din, son of Edigii (1426-40), the Noghay tribes began to extend towards the Volga, and up to the 1530s they occupied the large territory between the Yar-Aul and Lower Volga rivers. In the 15th-16th centuries the Noghay Horde was a significant Tatar state, one of the successor states of the Golden Horde, comprising various Turco-Mongolian tribes which later took on an active part in the formation of numerous modern Turkic peoples, including the Kazakhs, the Karakalpaks, the Bashkirs and the Kazan Tatars.

The leading political force of the Noghay Horde was undoubtedly the Mangit tribe, from which Edigii himself, the founder of the state originated. That is why even their self-appellation during the first century of their stately independence was Mangii [g.v.].

The Noghay ethnos was formed of various Turkic and Turkicised Mongol tribes coming together under the sovereignty of Edigii’s successors. Even the Mangit tribe was of Mongol origin, although the family genealogy of the Edigii clan, obviously due to pious Muslim influence, traced back their alleged descent to the Prophet Muhammad’s time. The widest extension of the Noghay Horde was in the first half of the 16th century, when its historical rôle was at its zenith, and they actively participated in the wars of Muscovy, the Kazan and the Crimean Khanates.

The application of the name Noghay to the Mangit Horde continued, as it was the Mangit tribe who first established the political structure under Edigii. The term Noghay was first used for the Muslim sayyids, religious dignitaries, especially the sayyids, also an important role in the formation of the new ethnonym Noghay.

3. Noghay-Russian contacts. From 1489 onwards, exchanges of envoys had become regular between Russia and the Noghay Horde. After Ismail’s death (1563), the heyday of the Noghay Horde was over and it soon dissolved. Part of them accepted Russian suzerainty, other tribes fell under Crimean Tatar and Ottoman rule, while the eastern part was assimilated by the Kazaks. In the 17th-18th centuries, a few Noghay groups were numerous (e.g. the Yedisan, the Djembolyuk, etc.), lingering between the Russian and Ottoman great powers. In the 1780s, subsequent to the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by the Russians, most Noghay groups fell under Russian jurisdiction. In 1858-66 a mass emigration of the Noghays to Turkey took place, but most of them were disappointed in their new homeland and returned to Russia. From the 1870s onwards, the Noghays have gradually been settled and forced to abandon their nomadism for agriculture. The vicissitudes of the Noghays continued in the Soviet era, their administrative borders being changed several times. During the past few years they have been struggling for more cultural and regional autonomy within the Russian Federation.

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enough from the Senegal River to escape inundations like that of 1950. Several plans of urban design were put forward even before independence was conceded to Mauritania (1960), and construction work, begun in 1958, has not ceased since that date in order to respond to a rapidly-increasing demographic growth because of the tendency of the nomads to become sedentarised and fixed and because of the massive migration of the peoples of the interior, driven forth by the desiccation which became severe during the years 1968-73 and searching for work. With an estimated population in 1974 of 100,000, the number of inhabitants rose to 600,000 by 1992.

Situated in the midst of sand dunes, 7 km from the ocean, Nouakchott is the only real town of the country, and comprises three parts: a westernised official and business centre (ministries, embassies, banks, trading establishments), better-quality residential quarters and, further out, the area of more or less precarious habitations of the less favoured population (trading establishments), better-quality residential and business centre (ministries, embassies, banks, etc.). There remains an interesting question: the origin of the name Nouakchott, which even the Mauritanian government, which uses the French language, customarily spells thus. Its etymology has given rise to apparently endless controversies. For Mokhtar Ould Hamdoud, "that of a-n-wakshut, i.e. in Berber, "woods". In reality, the Arabic form Anwakshut normally unvoiced to pass into Arabic as /). It shouldakeshshua, a noun, and the improvised landing-strips which many places were the heredi-


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His biographers attribute to him “some” books, but it is only known that he left behind a Kitāb al-Fitan wa 'l-malāthfīm, of which there is a ms. in the B.L., London (9449) and which was abridged by Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Munīn al-Tanūkī (604-73/1207-74; see F. al-Bustānī, Dīrāsh al-ma’nī, s.v. Ibn Shukār, iii, 263c, who does not however cite this abridgement).


NOUAKCHOTT — NU‘AYM b. HAMMĀD

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and ihre Überlieferung in Spanien, in Nautila Tu-
bingensis. Studia in honorem Antonii Toar, Tübingen
1984; Zirkli, ix, 14; Kabhâla, xix, 97; Sezgin,
GAS, i, 104-5.

NU'AYMA, MIKHÂ'IL (spelled Naimy in
English language publications), modern Arabic
author (b. 1889, Biskinta, Lebanon, d. 1989 in
Lebanon). He received his schooling at the “Rus-
sian” school founded by the “Russian Imperial
Orthodox Palestine Society” in Biskinta, the training
college instituted by the same society in Nazareth
and the Diocesan Seminary in Poltava. In 1941
he joined his emigrant brothers in the USA, who
financed his studies at the University of Washing-
ton in Seattle. There he became a member of the “Free
Syria” movement which stood for an independent
Syria and Lebanon under French protection. Later,
he would become secretary of this movement in which
most of Nu'ayma’s literary friends took part. It may
be regarded as a forerunner of al-Ra’biṭa al-talamiyā.

Mikhâ’īl Nu’ayma obtained bachelor degrees in
Law and in English Literature in 1916 and went to
New York where his old-time friend Nasib ʿĀrida
was publishing the Arabic literary magazine al-Funūn
(“The Arts”). In New York he established contacts with
Ḍubrân Khalîl Ḍubrân [see Ḍubrân Khalîl Ḍubrân], Rashîd Ayûbû and Ilyâ Abû Mâdi. For his living
he worked for the Russian delegation at the
Bethlehem Steel Factories to purchase arms until
Russia withdrew from the war in November 1917. He
was then conscripted into the USA army and sent to
France where he witnessed the last battles of the
war. Early in 1919 he returned to New York and in 1920
he founded with his literary friends al-Ra’biṭa al-
talamiyā (English, Arrabita = “The Pen League”).
He earned his living as a travelling salesman. In 1929
he returned to Lebanon to devote himself to his pen.
Nu'ayma’s literary career started in Poltava, where
he became acquainted with the works of the great
Russian authors of that time. He especially admired
Tolstoy and his Yasnaya Polyana. He composed
poetry during this period and he kept a diary. During
his stay in Seattle he began to contribute critical essays
to al-Funūn, calling for drastic changes in Arabic
poetry and in criticism. He also contributed a
serialised play al-Abâ wa ʾl-ḥamâni (Parents and akkaḍ)
Childhood) which appeared in book form in 1917
in New York. His critical essays were published in al-
Ghīrâl (The “Sieve”) in 1923 at Cairo with a
foreword by Mahmûd ʿAbbâs al-ʿAkkâd [q.v. in Suppl.]. In Seattle he became acquainted with the
theorists of toosophy which were to have a perma-
nent influence on his writings, culminating in the
English-language publication The book of Mirdât,
Beirut 1948, translated by the author as Kalb Mirdât,
Beirut 1952, and in books like al-Yāmâ al-akharî
(“The last day”), Beirut 1963. Ṭayyâ (Job), Beirut 1967
and Yaʾb ʿAdam (“O son of ʾAdam”), Beirut 1969.

Nu'ayma published one collection of poetry Hams al-
ghuyân (“Eyelids' whispering”) Beirut [1943],
which inspired Muhammad Mandîr [q.v.] to call this
new type of poetry shîr mahmûs (“whispered
poetry”). Nu'ayma further wrote some 80 stories which
he collected in the volumes Kan yâyi ʾl-ḥaqqî (“Once
upon a time”), Beirut 1937. Ṭakbir (“Notables”), Beirut 1956 and Abî Ṭâṭṣ (“The fat-calved man”),
Beirut 1959.

Nu'ayma’s biography of Ḍubrân (Arabic edition,
Beirut 1934, English edition, New York 1950),
showing the weaker sides of Ḍubrân, produced a fierce
shock to those who had already lifted Ḍubrân beyond
good and evil. Nu'ayma’s most impressive work is his
autobiography Sab'ūn (“Seventy”), Beirut 1959-60,
in which he describes his early years in Biskinta,
Nazareth and Poltava (vol. i), his life in the USA and
the formation of Arrabita (vol. ii), and his life in
Lebanon from 1932 until 1959 (vol. iii).

Other works by Nu'ayma include: al-Marâhî
(“Stages”), Beirut 1933, Zâd al-maṣād (“Food for
the road”), Cairo 1936; al-Aswâq (“The idols”), Beirut
1946; Kârâm ʿalā darb (“A vineyard by the road”),
Cairo 1946; Lîkâ, Beirut 1946, translated as Tell we
meet ..., Beirut 1957; Sâwâl al-ʾālam (“The voice of
the world”), Cairo 1949; Mudhakkârât al-ʾarâsâb, Beirut
1949, translated as Memoirs of a vagrant soul, Beirut 1952;
al-Nîr wa t-dajîn (“Light and darkness”), Beirut
1950; Fi maḥabb ʾr-rîh (“Windward”), Beirut 1953;
Dârûb (“Roads”), Beirut 1954; Aṭîd min Mûskî wa-ʾi-
Wâshîntun (“Very far from Moscow and
from Washington”), Beirut 1957; Ḥanâmîsh (“Marga-
inals”), Beirut 1965; Fi l-gîrîbâl al-djâjdî (“In
the new sieve”), Beirut 1972; Nadîqû al-ġâhrûb (“Confi-dential whispers at sunset”), Beirut 1975; al-
Maḍîmûs-as-ʾâlîmî (The complete works) 8 vols.,
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Nu’ayma, in OM, xlix (1969), 301-7; N. Nu’mayn,
Mikhail Nu'mayn. An introduction, Beirut 1967;
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d-Sayyid, Mikhail Nu’ayma, [Cairo] 1972; Nadra
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World”), Cairo 1973; C. Nijland, Mikhail
Nu’aymah, promotor of the Arabic literary revival,
Istanbul 1975; Nadim Nu’ayma, Mikhail Nu’ayma, ṭarîq
al-ḥûth iî al-ḥûth (“M.N. The way from the self
to the self”), Beirut 1978; Nabil I. Matar, Adam
and the serpent: notes on the theology of Mikhail
Nu'mayn, in JXL, xi (1980), 56-61; Nijland,
Mikhail Nu’ayma: the biography of Gbân and the
autobiography, in al-ʿArabiyya, xv (1982), 7-15;
A. Ghaiţ, La pensée religieuse chez Gbân Hallî
Gubran et Mikhail Nu’ayma, Louvain 1990.

M. N. NIBLAND

Nûbâ, the mediaeval Islamic form for the
land of Nubia, lying to the south of Egypt, and its
peoples.

1. Definition

The names Nubia, Nubian, Nûba are commonly
used without scientific precision and it is only in the
linguistic sense that they have an unambiguous
meaning. The frontier separating Nubia from Egypt
proper is well defined as the first cataract of the Nile in the
neighbourhood of Aswân, and the area where Nubian
is spoken nowadays ends in the vicinity of the 18th
cataract, but the southern limit of Nubia is sometimes
placed as far south as the junction of the Atbara and
the Nile or even the confluence of the two Niles.
Nubia is often sub-divided into Lower Nubia from
Aswân to Wâdi Halfa and Upper Nubia from Wâdi
Halfa southwards, but neither term has any political
or administrative significance.

The mediaeval Arabic writers are equally vague
about the extent of Nubia: the region immediately
bordering on Egypt, which bore the name of Maris [q.v.],
seems to have been regarded as Nubia par excellence
to the south of it lay Mukurra with
its capital at Dongola (Dunkula, Dumkula), and
immediately bordering on Egypt, which bore the
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to the south of it lay Mukurra with
its capital at Dongola (Dunkula, Dumkula), and

Allāh b. Ahmad b. Sulīm (Sulaym?), quoted by al-Makrizī. Marīs and Mūkūrā had distinct languages, and the frontier between them was situated three post-stations (kārid) to the south of the Third Qatarāt; politically, however, Marīs formed part of Mūkūrā and this probably accounts for the fact that Ibīn Sulīm immediately afterwards places the commencement of Mūkūrā at a day's journey from Asswān. The frontier between Mūkūrā and ʿAlwā was the district of al-Abwāʾ, a name still in use for the country round Kabūghiyā in Berber province. ʿAlwā is generally placed outside Nubia, and the preamble to the treaty which governed the political relations between Nubians and Arabs makes its provisions incumbent on "the chief of the Nubians and all people of his dominions .... from the frontier of Asswān to the frontier of ʿAlwā"; yet al-Maṣʿūdī speaks of ʿAlwā as part of Nubia and states that it is under the political suzerainty of Mūkūrā. According to Yakū b. Balḍān, ed. Beirut, v, 308-9, Nubia extends along the Nile a distance of eighty days journey, Dongola being situated halfway at forty days' distance from Asswān; of ʿAlwā he speaks, with obvious exaggeration of the distance, as a people beyond Nubia three months' journey from the king of the Nūba, whose official title is "King of Mūkūrā and Nūba".

Bibliography: E. Quatremère, Mémoire sur la Nubie (= Mémoires géogr. et hist. sur l'Égypte, ii), Paris 1811, contains tr. of all the important passages from Arabic authors; J. Marquart, Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde, Leiden 1913, pp. cxxviii ff. See also ʿAlwā, Dongola, AL-MU-KURĀ. (S. Hillelson)

2. History
(a) Up to the Fāṭimid period
Nubia was called in Pharaonic times the Land of Kūsth [q.v.], and is vaguely mentioned in Herodotus and other Greek authors as part of the land of the Aethiopes; the name Nūba has been used since mediaeval times (see W.Y. Adams, Princeton 1977, 13). In the Arabic sources it is "land of the blacks", although the term Sudan is "land of the blacks", although the term Sudan

... continues to be distinguished in the terminology of the European researchers and writers by the Pharaohs and the Potelimes as mercenaries. In Roman times, there were military campaigns in Dodekaschoinos, i.e. the northernmost part of Nubia, but the Roman military presence ended in 298 A.D. when Diocletian withdrew the last Roman guards from the region and established the Roman frontier at Syene (modern Asswān). Meanwhile, the rest of Nubia formed a separate kingdom, already in existence since 750 B.C., inhabited by an African people and with its capital first at Napata and then at Meroe. But the latter state collapsed in the mid-4th century with the invasion of king Eṣānā of Axum, after which various unknown peoples came in and merged with the existing population of Nubia, and amongst all these ethnic groups the names of the Blemmyes and Noubades are notable (see V. Christides, Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D., in Litty Filologice, ciii [1980], 129-43; L. Török, Late Antique Nubia, Budapest 1986, 27 ff.). In spite of their rivalry, these two groups seem to have tried to unite against the Byzantines in the mid-3rd century, but the Byzantine emperors used Nubia in a grandiose plan to dominate the Red Sea region and extend their influence as far as Yemen (see Christides, in Annales d'Éthiopie, ix [1972], 115-46). Within Nubia south of Dodekaschoinos three independent kingdoms emerged, viz. Nobāṭ, Mukūrā or Mūkūrā [q.v.] and Alodia or ʿAlwā [q.v.].

The Arab conquest of Egypt inevitably affected Nubia, and according to the Fath al-Bahnaṣṣ, Bēja-Blemmyes [see Bēja] and Noubades participated in the Byzantine defence of Upper Egypt against the Arabs (see J. Jarry, in Annales Islamologiques, ix [1970], 19-20). The first Arab raids against Nubia took place before the final conquest of Egypt in 645 A.D., but these were probably defensive actions against the har-ryings of the Nubians rather than evidence of a definite plan to invade the distinctly inhospitable region of Nubia, just as the Arabs' use of the shipyard at Clyisma or Kulzum [q.v.] was aimed at safeguarding the flow of grain across the Red Sea against Bēja-Blemmyes pirates there. An Arab raid under Nāṣīr b. ʿAbd al-Kays al-Fihri took place in 21/641-2, and another by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sarh in 31/651-2, when the Muslims penetrated as far as Dongola [q.v.], destroying its basilica. After this, a truce was made between the Arabs and the Nubians, sealed by the celebrated bakt [q.v.], and also P. Forand, Early Muslim relations with Nubia, in Islam., xlvii [1971], and M. Hinds and H. Sakkout, in Wadād al-Qādī (ed.), Studia Arabicia et Islamica (Diploma für das 75. Geburtstag von Dr. Marquardt, Beirut 1981, 210 ff.). This comprised a trade agreement but was also a bilateral treaty of non-aggression and non-intervention between the two powers, and in future times was to play a significant role in Arab-Nubian relations.

During the Umayyad period, trade relations were important: Egyptian exports to Nubia included cereals and wine, whilst Nubia exported mainly slaves but also iron and camels, furnished by the Bēja-Blemmyes. An Arabic papyrus of 141/758, just after the fall of the Umayyads, sent from the governor of Egypt to the king of Nubia, refers to the mistreatment of Arab merchants (see Hinds and Sakkout, op. cit.; J.M. Plumley, An eighth-century Arabic letter to the King of Nubia, in Hans al-Qadīl [ed.], Procs. of the Seventh International Conference for Nubian Studies, Geneva 1980). Towards the end of the Umayyad period, the king Kiyrtaks invaded Egypt in order to release the Patriarch Anba Mīẖāʾīl, who had been imprisoned by the Muslims; and it was to Nubia that two children of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II [q.v.], fled after the ʿAbīsād Revolution (see Y.F. Hasan, The Arabs in the Sudan, Edinburgh 1967, 28 ff.; G. Vantini, Christiannity in the Sudan, Verona 1981, 75 ff.).

During the ʿAbīsād period, Nobāṭa gradually became incorporated in Mūkūrā, whilst ʿAlwā followed a similar cultural pattern to the other states, so that a degree of homogeneity was achieved throughout Nubia; it was not however until the 9th century that the Bēja-Blemmyes seem to have formed an organised kingdom, when we hear of a punitive raid into their land of 218/831 under the Arab general ʿAbd Allāh b. Dījam (q.v.) by a peace agreement in which an annual tribute to the Arabs of camels was promised (see al-Yaʾqūbī, Taʾrīḵī, i, 218; al-Makrizī, Khīṭat, ed. Wiet, Cairo 1927, iii, 272-5; Hasan, The Arabs and the Sudan, 38-41). Later in this century, the presence of gold mines in their land seems to have become generally known to the Muslims, for al-Mutawakkil in 241/855-6 sent his general Muḥam-mad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kummi on a successful expedi-
tion against the Beja in order to secure access to the gold mines in their country on the western shores of the Red Sea (al-Tabari, iii, 1428-33, tr. J.L. Kramér, Albany 1989, 141-5).

Over the next centuries, relations between Nubia and the Muslims revolved round the twin facts of the bakt, with disputes over the number of black slaves to be delivered to the caliphs and with the penetration of Muslim traders into Nubia and the land of the Beja-Blemmyes (see in the number of Arabic inscriptions on tomb stones there from the mid-3rd/9th century onwards), and with the constant interference of the rulers of Nubia in the Christian church affairs of Egypt, since the Nubian kingdom was deeply theocratic, with the ruler as priest-king.

Under the Fātīmids of Egypt, the bakt continued to be sent, with the conqueror Dāwhar sending an immediate embassy to King George II of Nubia (969-1002) regarding it, although the emphasis now seems to have been on the sending of beasts and exotica (see Subh, iii, 468-9, 524). The Christian Church in Nubia continued to be dependent on the Patriarchate of Alexandria, with Monophysitism in the ascendant in Nubia after the Arab conquest of Egypt but with the emergence of a stronger Melkite element in the more tolerant Fātīmid times, reflected in Nubia also; see U. Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia cristiana, Rome 1938, 128 ff.


From the Ayyuvid period to the early 10th century

With the advent to power in Egypt of the Ayyūbid s [q.v.] in 567/1171, Nubian affairs came into some prominence when in 568/1172-3 a coalition of the dispossessed Fātīmid’s black troops (al-sūdân) and the Nubians attacked an island just south of Aswān, provoking intervention by the troops of Šalāḥ al-Dīn under the sultan’s brother Ǧāns al-Dawlâ Tūrān (d.712/1312), who devastated it (wi-Fih) and apparently reverted to Nubian control since the Ikhshidīd capture of it in 345/957 and carried off a large number of captives. Soon after this, in ca. 1208, Āḥū Sāliḥ al-Armanī (see on him, Graf, GICAL, ii, 338-40) composed his account of the churches and monasteries of Egypt (ed. and tr. B.T.A. Evetts and A.J. Butler, Oxford 1894-5), which contains some interesting details about Māris, al-Mukurra, and ’Alwa, but must be used with caution owing to the confusion in the writer’s mind between Nubia and Abyssinia and his uncritical use of older authorities.

The factors which brought about the disintegration of the Nubian kingdom and the islamisation of the country were the immigration of Arab tribes, the rise of the Banū ’l-Kanz [q.v.], and the intervention in Nubian affairs of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt, especially during the reigns of al-Zāhir Baybars [q.v.] and al-Maṣrūq al-Kawāwī [q.v.].

The Banū ’l-Kanz are first heard of in 397/1007 when the Fātīmid caliph al-Hākim, as a reward for services rendered, conferred the hereditary title of Kanz al-Dawlâ on Abū Makārīm Hībat Allāh, a chief of the Rabī’i Arabs who had settled on the borderland between Egypt and the Sudān. Already in the 4th/10th century the Rabī’i had gained control of the mines of al-Ālākī and imposed their rule on the Beja [q.v.] with whom they allied themselves by intermarriage, but the short-lived union, settled near Aswān, fraternised with the local Nubian tribes, and the tribe, formed by this amalgamation and ruled by the Kanz al-Dawlâ dynasty, came to be known as the Banū ’l-Kanz; they are represented by the Kenuz of the present day. During the period of the Mamlūks, they were virtually in independent control of Upper Egypt, alternately in alliance with or in revolt against the Mamlūk government, and though repressed at times with a heavy hand, they remained a powerful tribe until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Before this event, however, they had played their part, together with nomad Arabs and Mamlūk troops, in the destruction of Nubian independence.

The Bahri Mamlūks, for reasons not apparent in our sources, departed from the traditional policy of Muslim Egypt, and actively intervened in Nubian affairs. The pretext for the expeditions undertaken by the generals of Baybars and Kalawun was the payment of the tribute and, more frequently, the championship of Nubian pretenders who had solicited Egyptian support in order to gain the throne. On several occasions, such protégés of the Mamlūk government were installed in Dongola [q.v.] only to lose the throne again as soon as the Egyptian troops withdrew.

A formal treaty concluded with one of these kings virtually established an Egyptian protectorate. Meanwhile, the disintegration of the kingdom went on under the pressure of Arab immigration, and Arab chiefs who married into the royal house took advantage of the matriarchal line of succession to grasp at the throne. The age-long Christianity of Nubia was gradually undermined and in the 8th/14th century Muslim kings begin to appear. The first king to bear a Muslim name, Siyāf al-Dīn ’Abd Allâh Bârgamîbû, a nephew of the Christian king David, who was installed by a Mamlūk force sent out by Sultan al-Nâṣir Muḥammad b. Kalâwûn under ’Īzā al-Dīn Ayyāk in 716/1316; the new king ’Abd Allâh was, however, speedily overthrown by Kanz al-Dawlâ. From the manual for secretaries, al-Tarīṣf bi ’l-musâlah al-sharīf of Ibn Naḍîr Allâh al-Šumârî [q.v.] (written in 741/1340), we learn that at this date Christian kings still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Baṭṭûta in 753/1352 (iv, 396) speaks of the Nubians as Christians, but mentions a Muslim king (Ibn Kanz al-Din). Of the conversion of the common people we have no details: no doubt it was brought about by the absorption of the native inhabitants, or those who survived, in the Arab tribes.

The immigration itself has left little trace in the pages of the historians, though the outlines of the process can be reconstructed from occasional references and from oral tradition. The nomads who had entered Egypt in the wake of the first conquest can never have found that country congenial to their mode of life, and the rise of non-Arab dynasties tended to make conditions still less attractive, while the Sudân seemed to offer all the advantages, from the nomads’ point of view, that Egypt denied. For a long time, the
kingdom of Dongola formed an effective barrier to southward expansion, but a gradual infiltration of Arabs must have begun at a comparatively early date, even though the eastward end of the process was not accomplished for several centuries.

The early stages of the movement are seen in the conditions depicted in the story of Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-ʿUmarī, the events of which are laid in the reign of Abū Alī Mūsā b. Tūlūn (i.e. the later 3rd/9th century) (al-Makrizī's Kitāb al-Mukaffā, quoted by Quatremère, Memoire sur la Nubie, ii, 59-80). Arabs of Raḥsā and Djuhayna, led into the Sudan by that adventurous prince, have fraternised with the Bedja and exploit the mines of the Eastern Desert, but the Nile is forbidden them and Nubia is too strong to be attempted by force of arms. A fratricidal struggle in the Nubian royal house provides an opportunity for an alliance between the Arabs and a princely pretender to the throne. Acts of unblushing treachery are committed on both sides and in the end the Arabs have the worst of the encounter. The end of the process is seen in the 8th/14th century, when the kingdom of Nubia ceased to exist except as a puppet state controlled by the Muslim Arab tribes who gradually overran the country, a process noted by Ibn Khaldūn (Ibn Khaldūn, ʿIbar, Beirut 1956-71, v, 922-3) as having led to something like anarchy in Nubia. The ascendancy of the nomads clearly affected Nubian Christianity adversely. The Churches of Alexandria and Nubia gradually became disassociated with each other, and churches and monasteries in Nubia must have been looted and dispersed at this time, although Nubian pilgrims were noted in Jerusalem (where in the 14th century the Nubians possessed a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which soon, however, passed to the Armenians and then the Georgians) as late as ca. 1480.

Of ʿAlwa [q.v.] further to the south, little is heard at this time. It was a reservoir of slave manpower, frequented by Muslim slave traders and by merchants from al-Mukurra to the north who came to collect slaves to pay the baqt. Mamlik pressure on al-Mukurra (see above) was felt in ʿAlwa, and already in the time of Ibn Khaldūn (later 8th/14th century) we hear of branches of Djuhayna "close to the Abyssinian border". It is to be noted that on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile in the southern Dżazīra the kingdom of ʿAlwa nevertheless lingered on precariously and Nubian Christianity was still a living memory in the time of the Portuguese Alvarez (1520-7), but in ca. 1500 the capital Sōba fell to an alliance of Kawāsmā Arabs (a branch of Rufāʾa-Djuhayna) and the negroid Fundj [q.v.], who here for the first time appear in history.

The 9th/15th century is almost completely barren of records relating to Nubia, and the historical memory of the present inhabitants remembers little of pre-Fundj days. With the coming of the Fundj, who soon extended their influence to Dongola, the history of Nubia is merged in that of the Sudān, and the Nubians, now Muslims and deeply affected by racial mixture with their conquerors, survive only as a linguistic minority on the northern fringe of their ancient kingdom.

Lower Nubia, however, was politically separated from the Fundj kingdom by the Ottoman sultan Selim I, who annexed the country south of Aswān as far as the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, and garnisoned it with Turkish and Bosnian mercenaries (called Quzz by the people of the Sudān).

For the subsequent history of the region, see Fundj; al-Mahdiyya; al-Sudān.


(S.Hillelson-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Languages

The name Nub(J)a is first attested in Eratosthenes (ca. 200 B.C.). Its etymology is probably an autochthonous word for "slave". The term Nūba was originally applied by the Arabs to the Nilo Nubians and later extended to cover other enslaved groups. It has since come to represent an ambiguous linguistic designation based on geography. About 50 tribes living in the Nūba Mountains (Dīr Nūba) of Southern Kordofan province, Sudan (an area of about 30,000 square miles), can be denoted as Nūba. Many are from diverse racial and linguistic backgrounds, having fled to the region as a result of the Arab slave trade of the 17th-19th centuries. Almost all are Muslims, except for some Hill groups. Many Nūba tribes are named after the hills in which they reside.

The Nūba (Mountains) languages belong to two families: (1) (Niger-)Kordofanian, and (2) the East Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan, which contains Songhai, Fur, Maban, etc.

(Niger-)Kordofanian is subdivided into Niger-Congo, the Kadugu-Krongo group (thought by some to be Nilo-Saharan), and Kordofanian proper. The latter, whose linguistic development occurred in the Nūba Mountains, has the longest history. Among the better known Kordofanian languages are the Heiban group, Moro and Otoro. Some Kordofanian languages go by different designations: thus Koalib (30,000 speakers) is also called Ka/owment, Ngiirere, Reese, Nuba, etc., and has a 67% lexical similarity with Ratdna, originally an Arabic pejorative label (< A. ratdna "gibberish"), and has a 67% lexical similarity with Nobiin; cf. Nubi or Ki-Nubi (rutdan nubi), an East African Arabic creole emanating from the Sudan in the 19th century.

More is known about the Nubian past than that of...
any other East Sudanic people. Although the Nubians established their Empire of Cush in ca. 850 B.C., with its capital at Meroe, Meroitic (written in a script derived from Egyptian Demotic) is unrelated to any form of Nubian. Lexicostatistics has shown that in the first millennium B.C., Nubians migrated from Dârfur to the Nile. Old Nubian developed in the 6th century A.D. with the rise of the Christian Nubian kingdoms. It is a direct ancestor of Nile Nubian and is closest to Nobiin. All Old Nubian texts (the last in 1484 A.D.) appear to come from the Nobiin north. The geographical distribution of the two major Nubian dialects continues to remain puzzling. The Kenuz, who inhabit Upper Egypt north of Wadi Halfa and came from Dongola, speak a Nubian dialect hardly distinguishable from the Dongolawâ. However, these two groups are separated by the Nobiin, who are located along the Nile between them. Bibliography: For older bibl., see Hillelson’s El† art. Of modern studies, see R. Thelwall and T.C. Schadberg, The Nubian Moun-
tains, in: Kultur und Geschichte in Afrika, v (1983), 219-31 (fundamental); Marianne Bechaus-Gerst, Sprachliche und historische Rekonstruktionen im Bereich des Nubienschen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nilnubi-
schen, in: ibid., vi-vii (1984), 7-134 (useful); Schadberg, Kordofanian, in The Niger-Congo languages, ed. J. Bendor-Samuel, Lanham, Maryland 1989, 67-80; J. Ross, A preliminary attempt at the reconstruction of Proto-Eastern Sudanic phonology and lexicon, Southern Illinois University, Carbon-
dale, M.A. thesis, 1991, unpubl.; Aleya Rouchdy, Nubians and the Nubian language in contemporary Egypt, Leiden 1991 (useful). (A.S. Kaye) 4. The modern peoples of Nubia The Barâbra, as a separate group from the Danâga, are collectively referred to by other Sudanese as Halfâwwiyin (literally: those who come from the town of Halfa). The term Nubiyin (Nubians), on the other hand, refers to both the Barâbra and the Danâga. The Barâbra live in Aswân Province in upper Egypt and the Northern State of Sudan. The Danâga live only in the Northern State. Both groups are small-scale cultivators, skilful boatmen and are renowned for their domestic service. Date-palms are grown as a cash crop and cultivators have taken an Egyptian Demotic) is irrigated to intro-
duced early this century, to cultivate more land with a variety of crops. The narrow strips of arable land on the banks of the Nile are insufficient to meet the demands of a rising population, hence the Barâbra and Danâga are forced to emigrate. They are adapt-
able and enterprising, the men seeking work oppor-
tunities in other parts of Egypt, Sudan and, more recently, in the oil-rich countries of the Arab world where they are engaged in various professions. Wherever they go they maintain a strong cultural identity and keep links with their homeland. Though the Barâbra and Danâga have been influenced by Arab culture and Islam, their cultural identity is manifest in their dialects, traditions and attitudes. Even in urban centres in Sudan and Egypt this identi-
ty is maintained in the social clubs which they have established. As a result of the agreement between Sudan and in Egypt in 1959 to resettle the Nubians affected by the creation of the High Dam reservoir lake (the Nubâ Lake in Sudan and Lake Nâsjîr in Egypt), it is estimated that about 50,000 Sudanese and 70,000 to 120,000 Egyptian Nubians lost their homes, land and their date-palms. The resettlement scheme, located in eastern Sudan along the upper Atbara River near the Sudan-Ethiopia border, known as Khashm al-Girba, absorbed 40,000 Sudanese Nubians in 1964-5. Here the relocated Nubians were granted landholdings and new homes; a new town was named Halfa al-Dâdida (New Halfa) as a replacement to old Halfa which was inundated by the reservoir lake. The new villages established by the scheme were named after those which had been inundated in their homeland. Many amenities were introduced and planners were anxious to recreate the traditional architecture and physical layout of the submerged villages. Despite their displacement, the Nubians have accepted the inevitable and established good relations with the neighbouring nomadic tribes. The Nubians in Egypt, who were affected by the inundation, were resettled in the region of Kom Ombo, about 60 km/35 miles north of Aswân, and the resettlement area was named New Nubia. Before and since Sudan’s independence in 1956, the Barâbra and Danâga have played a part in the country’s cultural development and politics. They are generally devoted to the arts and to the Mirgâniyya (Khatmiyya [q.v.] tarîka. They are keen to take advantage of education facilities and show an aptitude for the educational professions and business. Many have achieved prominent positions in government, politics, the arts and in the civil service. Three Nubian singers are popular and famous: the late Khalîl Farh, Muhammad Wardi and Hamza ‘Alâ al-Dîn. The most remarkable figure was Muhammad Abmad [q.v.], the Mahdi of the Sudan (d. 1885), who was a Dongolawâ, though his family claim to be sharîf. Another Dongolawâ who has gained political prominence is Da‘far Muhammad Numayrî, a military officer, who came to power through a military coup and ruled Sudan from 1969 until 1985. Bibliography: For older bibliography, see Hillelson, in: El†. S.F. Nadel, The Nub: An anthropological study of the hill tribes of Kordofan, Lon-
don 1947; D. Tothill (ed.), Agriculture in the Sudan, London 1948; R. Herzog, Die Nubi. Unter-
ment in the Sudan, Miami 1972; Marien Zenzel,

(AMMAL AL-SHAIR)

NÚBAR PASHA (1825-99), a high-ranking official, statesman, and reformer of Armenian origin who held positions under six viceroys of Egypt at a time when the country was falling under European influence and control. Born in Smyrna and educated in France and Switzerland, Núbar was translator for Ibrāhīm Paša [q.v.], Chief Translator for ʿAbbās Hilmi I [q.v.], Secretary and Director of Communications and Railways for Saīd Paša, and, under the Khedive Ismāʿīl Paša [q.v.], Chief Translator, Director of Public Works, Head of Foreign Affairs, and Director of Commerce. He also served as President of the Council of Ministers under Ismāʿīl and two subsequent viceroys, and was foreign minister in fact for over two decades. Núbar was personally involved in many of the major developments of the time, particularly the Alexandria-Cairo railway project (1851), the Suez Canal arbitration award (1864), the procuring of the 1873/xīrrān, the establishment of the Mixed Courts (1875), and the political crisis of 1875-9. He also served as an agent in negotiating some of the private and public loans taken out by Saīd and Ismāʿīl, and helped reorganise Egypt’s transportation system.

Crucial to Núbar’s rise and success were the well-placed connections of his family, which included in-laws in Istanbul and a powerful uncle in the Egyptian court, who secured him his first position; the support of European diplomatic representatives (something which occasionally brought him into the ruler’s disfavour); and his own extraordinary ability to make himself useful to viceroys in need of men who knew and understood Europe (Núbar was entirely Western in culture and spoke all the major languages of Europe).

In his memoirs, Núbar presents himself as a grand reformer and defender of Egypt. Declaring his aim to be that of limiting the power of both the European consuls and the viceroy, Núbar discusses his strategy for the independence and development of Egypt, which included an increase in its transit trade, the build-up of the ports of Alexandria and Suez, the introduction of European technicians and expertise, and the establishment of the rule of law by means of Mixed Courts, which, he claims, could have protected the country against exploitation.

Yet Núbar did more to advance the cause of Europe than any other official in the viceroy’s service. The Alexandria-Cairo railway project (which Núbar had suggested to ʿAbbās Hilmi I) increased British influence; the huge indemnity imposed upon Egypt by the Suez Canal arbitration enriched European money lenders and despoiled the Egyptian treasury; the loans Núbar helped negotiate led to Egypt’s bankruptcy and the establishment of European fiscal control (in his memoirs, Núbar denies all responsibility for Egypt’s debt); and the Mixed Courts became instruments of European political intervention. Between 1875 and 1879, Núbar allied himself with Europe in a successful effort to bring down the ruler, Ismāʿīl Paša, weakening the political structure and opening the way to a rebellion and the British occupation. Blinded by his own ambition to be maker of politicians, Núbar misjudged the amount of power that was left to local politicians and ended his days as an official in a British-controlled administration.


(F.R. HUNTER)

NÚBATA B. ʿABB DULLLH AL-HIMMĀNI AL-TAMIMĪ, Abu ‘1-Asad, minor poet of the early ʿAbbāsīd period whose verses are known only from citations in other works and whose dates of birth and death are unknown. A native of Dinawar in western Persia, he was in the circle of the caliph al-Mahdi’s vizier al-Fayd b. Abī Sāliḥ Shīrawy and was a companion of the famous singer ʿAllawāy [q.v. in Suppl.].

Bibl.: Djahbiyārī, Wazār, ed. al-Sakkā et alii, Cairo 1401/1980, 164; Aghānī, xvi, 62; Zirikli, Aʿlām, viii, 320. (Ed.)

NUBUWWA (A.), ‘prophecy’, Hebrew nāḥiʿa, substantive derived from nāḥiʿ (‘prophecy’, Hebrew nāḥiʿ), term denoting in the first instance the preconception given by the divinity (Yahweh, the Baʿl, Allāh) to the prophet and the prediction made by the latter of future contingencies. In the second instance, nubuwwa is identified with waḥyi, ‘revelation’, which simultaneously comprises dogmas, cultic regulations, moral education, precepts of social and political order. In fact, for the early Muslims, prophecy was regarded as being the source of all knowledge having any degree of superiority. ‘The Prophet is the way and the prophets are the guides,’ wrote al-Kisāʾī (quoted by Yākūt, s.v. nāḥiʿ, 316 ff.).

In early times, the later Muslim nāḥiʿ is almost identical to the Aramaic kāhāz and to the Hebrew nāʾēḥ (cf. T. Fahd, Divination, 112 ff.). I Samuel ix, 9, reads: ‘In former times, in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, he said ‘Come, let us go to the seer (nāʾēḥ); for he that is now called prophet (nāḥiʿ) was in former times called seer.’ It is for this reason that Muhammad had considerable difficulty convincing his fellow-citizens that his inspiration was fundamentally different from that of seers of various specialities (kāhāz, hāṣî, ʿarrāf, etc.). He himself, at the outset of his vocation, dreaded being a kāhāz (Ibn Saʿd, Tabakāt, i/1, 129-30). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, before his conversion, considered him as such (Usd, iv, 74). The intervention of revelation was required to convince him otherwise. ‘It is the word of an illustrious prophet,’ the Kurʾān states, ‘and it is the word of a poet, O men of little faith; nor is it that of a diviner, O men of little memory. It is a revelation (tanzīf) from the Master of the Universe’ (LXIX, 40-3; cf. LII, 39-34; LXXXI, 19-25). The characteristic features of the Kurʾānic text sowed doubt in the minds of his fellow-tribesmen; the latter observed, especially in the first revelations, the distinguishing marks of the oracles of soothsayers, these being rhythm, the arrangement of components of a phrase, the concern

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for verbal equilibrium, the choice of a vocabulary full of images, the use of uncommon words, as well as the manner of "veiling the head" at the moment of inspiration and of "enwrapping himself" (cf. LXXIII, I; LXXIV, I; Ibn Highâm, Sîra, 184; al-Tabâri, I, 1890, I, 10).

The triumph of Islam at Medina, followed by the conquest of Mecca, put an end to such reservations; the apostasy (ridda) of the Yemeni tribes of Madhhidj in 11/632, under the leadership of al-Aswad, soothsayer and conjuror, who "'entranced the hearts of the people' (Tabâri, I, 1796), was the last manifestation of an entire Arab pagan tradition to which Islam put an end by the principle lâ kihâna ba'd al-nubuwwa "no more divination after prophecy" (or rather, after "prophethood").

Henceforward, the gift of penetrating the mysteries of God is reserved for the Prophet and the djinns, who used to listen at the gates of Heaven, and inspire the kuhhdn, are prevented from doing so by angels entrusted with the task of pelting them with shooting stars (XV, 15-18; XXXV, 6-9; XLV, 12; LXVII, 5; Ibn Highâm, 129-30; Ibn Sa'd, I, 1, 110).

However, kiahâna [q.e.] is not formally forbidden either in the Kur'ân or in the Sunna; what is forbidden is, first, to visit a kâhin and believe what he says; this is to deny the revelation made to Muhammad (Wensinck, Concordance, iv, 196); and second, to charge a fee in the capacity of kâhin (op. cit., 505).

Nowhere in the Kur'ân is there a prohibition analogous to that of Leviticus, xix, 31, where it is written "Do not turn to those that evoke spirits nor to soothsayers; do not consult them lest you be defiled by them." "This reluctance of the Prophet to deny any intrinsic worth to the content of divination is due to the conception, current in his time, of prophecy and of its intermediaries" (T. Fahd, Divination, 68).

Prophecy was, in fact, regarded as an extension of divination. For Ibn Khaldûn, for example, "a veil separates men from the unknown which nobody knows, except he to whom God reveals it in dreams or through the path of saintliness" (ii, 177/205). According to him, the difference between the prophet and the soothsayer resides, in the first place, in the absence of the ecstatic state in the case of the soothsayer, an absence which renders him incapable of a universal vision of the created being and of contingencies, and of its intermediaries" (T. Fahd, Divination, 74 f.);

The concept of inspiration and revelation in the formative years of Islam was influenced by that of angelology and of demonology, which was rudimentary and anthropomorphic (cf. in this context, T. Fahd, Anges, démons et dijons en Islam, in Sources Orientsales, vii, Paris 1971, 155-213). The demeanour of the Prophet, at the moment of the onset of revelation, illustrates this point. Questioned about the processes of the revelation which he received, Muhammad replied, "Revelation came to me in two manners: either Djibril brought it to me and communicated it to me as a man communicates with another man, but this eluded me; or it came to me like the ringing of a bell, such that it penetrated into my heart; this no longer eluded me." (Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 131 f.; cf. al-Bukhârî, ii, 309 = 59 khâlî, 6). "His physical condition was affected: he grew mournful, and his face darkened; he had the appearance of someone intoxicated and felt a great weight, to such an extent that his camel cried out and its legs buckled beneath him" (Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; Fahd, Divination, 76).

Finally, it should be noted that the initial identity of the source of inspiration of the prophet and of the demon is further attested by the use of the verb uâhaba "to reveal", and its derivatives, for one as for the other, as emerges from Kur'ân, VI, 111, where it is stated, "Thus we have appointed against every prophet an adversary (who is none other than) demons of human kind and of djinn who reveal to one another pleasing disclosure (intended) to lead astray."

Still more suggestive regarding the manner of conceiving the phenomenon of prophecy in Islam are its "distinctive signs" (author, dasâ'dî, 1mâdâ' al-nubuwwa). An entire literature exists on this subject (cf. references in Fahd, Divination, 79, nn. 2 and 3). Ibn Khaldûn supplies a summary of these signs. "The divine revelation is opposed by the Kur'ân to prophecy in wakening as well as in sleep," and he adds, "My eye sleeps, but my heart is awake, and my heart is the eye" (Ibn Khaldûn, 118, 1st ed., ii, 1/1, 113; other references in Fahd, Divination, 77, n. 1).

Muslim authors, faced with the ambivalence of the divine message and its bearers, have established a distinction between "the angels of mercy", created from light, and "the angels of punishment", created from fire (al-Mu'tâhhar al-Makdisi, Badî', i, 160, quoting Ibn I'sâ'b), a distinction inspired by Kur'ân, LXVI, 6, which gives the impression that angels exist which are spiritual (nâhihil), corporeal (dîjîmûn), capable of growth (nâmit) and inanimate (dîjâmûn) (op. cit., 170), a notion comparable with the Neo-Platonic distinction between igneous and aerial demons and demons formed from earth (cf. Porphry, De Abst., ii, 46; Proclus, In Tim., ii, 11, 10; St. Augustin, De civitate Dei, x, 9, 2).

Demoniacal inspiration is opposed by the Kur'ân on account of the fascination which it exerts upon the minds of men. The typical example is that of poetic inspiration. Kur'ân, XXVI, 220-6, reads: "Shall I tell you to whom the demons (âbyâdûn) reveal? They reveal to every great liar and great sinner; they tell what they are supposed to have heard (at the gates of Heaven); but they are mostly liars. As for poets, they are followed only by the misled." It is not to be forgotten that the poets, described as kiahâl al-djîmûn "the dogs of the djinn", were originally givers of oracles for their tribes (al-Dîjâjî, Hayawân, vi, 71; Goldizher, Abhandlungen, i, 17; Fahd, Divination, 74 f.).
prehension which transcends the human faculty in an absolute manner. Then, from this ecstasy the man returns gradually towards a state of human awareness, either by hearing a sound of human speech or by seeing represented before him the image of a person who speaks to him of that which the person has brought from the presence of God. Then this state is dissipated, once the man has absorbed that which has been communicated to him" (i, 165-6/185).

The second mark of the prophet is the moral infallibility ("ismā'a), by virtue of which the man is naturally drawn to goodness and purity (iḥdāḍ Khiḍāḍī). The third mark is expressed in his activity on behalf of religion, of worship, prayer, alms and chastity, virtues which he practises and which he induces others to practise (i, 167/187). The fourth assumes that the man has absorbed that which has been communicated to him (ibid.). The fifth consists in miracles and marvels in words and in actions, adds Ḥāḍīḍ Khiḍāḍī (i, 171/194), which prove the veracity of his statements. The greatest miracle in Islam is the Kurʿān (i, 171/194).

For more thorough information concerning these marks, see, in particular, al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), K. Altām al-nabūwawwā, Cairo 1319/1901 ff.; Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, same title, extracts published by P. Kraus in Orientalia, n.s. v (1936), 35-56, 358-78; al-Dzhāhid (d. 255/869), K. Al-hudţā āl jī Ḥāstā al-nabūwawwā, ed. Sandūbi in Rasūl āl al-Dzhāhid, Cairo 1933; Abu 'l-Husayn al-Rawandi (d. 250/864), K al-Zamur, in which the author opposes the traditional doctrine of prophecy and introduces some foreign elements (cf. P. Kraus, in SSO, xiv [1933-4], 93-129, 335-79); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), Quelques aspects de la pensee avicennienne, in Revue Thomiste, xlv (1939), 714; Decker, op. cit., 16 ff. A brief analysis of Ibn Sinā’s doctrine concerning prophecy and the perception of the unknown is to be found in al-Shahrastānī, Milal, ed. Cureton, 309 ff. (Metaphysics) and 425 (Physics), German translation by Haarbrücker, ii, Halle 1851, 317-18, 327-32.

Al-Ghazālī accepted the doctrine of Ibn Sinā and developed it further. In fact, in the last six chapters of the Latin version of Makkāḍîd al-falāṣīf (tr. Dom. Gundisalvi, Venice 1506, of which the portion entitled Metaphysics has been edited by J. T. Muckel, Al-gazel’s Metaphysics, a medieval translation, Toronto 1933; Arabic text ed. Cairo 1331/1912), which deal with vision, prophecy and marvels, al-Ghazālī revives Avicennan ideas (which he is to refute the same year, in 488/1095, in the Talāfūt, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 255-67; L. Gauvrit, ibid., 1951, 41 f. and 514) and reveals them in a clear and expressive style. For him, the vision of the unknown, in the state of waking, is subject to two conditions. On the one hand the soul must free itself from corporeal links and remove itself from the veil of the senses by a force which is peculiar to it; it is then elevated to the higher world where things appear to it in an instant brief as a lightning-flash. This is the first mode of prophecy. The other mode, decidedly imperfect in comparison to the first, comes about in the normal exercise of the senses. In fact, the temperament predisposed to melancholy and amazement and easily alienated from the senses enables the soul to withdraw from the body and to see and hear with eyes open that which normally it sees and hears only through the opaque veil of the senses (cf. Metaphysics, ii, 5, 7, quoted by Decker, op. cit., 23 f.). This agreement of the theologian with the philosopher on the subject of prophecy remains an isolated phenomenon; in fact, as M. Horten writes (Texte zu dem Streite zwischen Glauben und Wissen in Islam. Die Lehre vom Propheten und der Offenbarung bei den islamischen Philosophen Farabi, Aviceanna und Avroes, Bonn 1913, 12), “in der Theorie über die
Prophetic studies in memory of Israel Abrahams, unknowable. According to him, prophecy is an i-iii, Paris 1856-66, Maimonides reveals at some length his opinion of pro-
alcilm al-ghayr kadim, which the species may attain, and this state is the op. cit., 124-58). This represents a fairly deep fissure (Tahdfut al-Tahdfut, anterior to its object: it is the knowledge from which the prophets, (op. cit., 532-3; on Ibn Rushd’s doctrine of prophecy, see L. Gauthier, op. cit., 124-58). This represents a fairly deep fissure in the rationalist system which bears his name, on account of his role as an arbiter in the conflict, then current, between theology and philosophy.

With Maimonides (d. 601/1204, see IBN MAYMUN), the brilliant disciple of Ibn Rushd, the Avicennan trend is revived. In fact, in chapters 32 to 48 of the second part of his monumental study of Jewish religious philosophy, intitled Dalälāt al-hārin (= Moreh Nebukim), edited and translated into French by S. Munk under the title Le guide des égarés. Traité de théologie et de philosophie, i-iii, Paris 1856-66, Maimonides reveals at some length his opinion of prophecy and the various modes of perceiving the unknowable. According to him, prophecy is an emanation from God which, through the intermediary of an active intellect, influences first the rational faculty and subsequently the imaginative faculty: it is the highest degree of man and the ultimate perfection which the species may attain, and this state is the highest perfection of the imaginative faculty (ch. 35, tr. ii, 281). It assumes the existence in the man of a natural disposition which makes of him “a superior man, perfect in his rational and moral qualities” (ch. 32, tr. ii, 261 f.). Three perfections are required of the prophet: perfection of the rational faculty, perfection of the imaginative faculty and perfection of morals (ch. 36, tr. ii, 287). Dream and prophecy both belong to “the highest and most noble” activity of the imaginative faculty, which takes place only when the senses are in repose and cease to function; it is then that there occurs a certain emanation (fayd) which is the origin of true dreams and of prophecy and which “differs only in quantity and not in quality” (“Gen. Rabba, c. 17, 44). In visions and in dreams, all the degrees of prophecy are contained (ch. 36, tr. ii, 282 ff. On Maimonides’ conception of prophecy, see Z. Diesendruck, Maimonides’ Lehre von der Prophetie, in Jewish studies in memory of Israel Abrahams, New York 1927, 82 ff.; Decker, Entwikkelung, 37-8).

This close connection established by Maimonides between dream and prophecy corresponds precisely to the conception current in the early days of Islam. In fact, Tradition relates that before acceding to the full light of revelation as such, Muhammad initially had dreams described as “veracious” (ruʿya sādika, sup-
plying to him, in the words of L. Massignon (Annuaire du College de France, 41st year, 85), “in the form of isolated touches, light and sound, which he was unable to coordinate, that alphabet of ecstasy which he attempted later to represent, in the form of isolated consonants, at the heading of certain sūras (such as, at least, he adds, the reconciliation that we suggest).” This statement is based on the testimony of Aʿīgha, “The beginning of the prophecy of the Messenger of God, when God wished to make him His agent and the instrument of His mercy towards creatures, (was manifested) by veracious dreams; every dream which he saw in his sleep was as clear as the dawn. This made him love solitude; nothing was more pleasant to him than to be alone’” (Ibn Highām, 151; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 129). Aʿīgha confirms this remark of Aʿīgha.

The Prophet is quoted as saying, “There exist no signs announcing prophecy other than the good dream; the Muslim sees it or it is seen for him” (Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 18; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 81/115). The term brūḥa in Kurʾān, X, 64, is interpreted as ruʿya harana (al-Tabari, Taṣfīr, xi, 84 ff.). These “signs” or “preambles” form an integral part of prophecy, since the dream is said to be ‘a part of prophecy’, an asser-
tion repeated by the prophet when he treated of the spiritual treatises. Ḥadīth goes further, specifying, following the Babylonian Talmud (Beraḥbāt, 57b, quoted by Maimonides, op. cit., ii, 36), the proportions whereby dream is related to prophecy. The Prophet is quoted as saying: “The dream of the Believer is one of the forty (sixty, in the Talmud) parts of prophecy,” a statement which al-Dinawari (al-kafrī fi l-ʻalbīr, ms. Paris, fol. 34b) explains as follows. “The Prophet means that the majority of prophetic messages were upon them!—did not see the angel, with the exception of a minority among them. It is during their sleep that they received the revelation.” This amounts to saying that the Prophet first came to prophecy at the lowest level, i.e. the dream. It was at Ḥira’ that he graduated, for the first time, from dream to prophecy. In the year of his vocation—his fortieth year—he withdrew for a month of annual retreat (taḥannuth), accompanied by his wife. As he slept, the angel Gabriel appeared to him with a piece of some kind of silken fabric on which there was writing (namat min dibdīd jīhī kitb). He said to him “Read!” “I cannot read” he replied. The angel stuffed the fabric into his mouth, almost suffocating him. “I believed,” he says, “that this was death!” Then he released him, repeated the same question and inflicted the same treatment on him a second time, then a third. The fourth time, to escape this torture, Muhammad asked him: “What must I read?”, and the angel made him recite the beginning of the sūra al-ʻAlaq (XCVI, 1-5).

Muhammad adds, “I recited that which he had said, then it was then that he finally left me. I woke up (khabuṭu min nawsī).” (This phrase) was then as if inscribed in my heart. I went forth (wandering) and when I reached the middle of the mountain I heard a voice from Heaven saying ‘O Muhammad, you are the Messenger of God and I am Gabriel’. I stopped, watching him, neither advancing nor retreating, then I looked away from him towards the horizon and the sky; whichever way I turned, I saw him just as he was. I remained in this position, neither advancing nor retreating, until Khadīja sent men to look for me. Her envoys arrived at the high places of Mecca and returned from them and I was still in the same posi-
tion. Then he parted from me and I parted from him, returning to my wife” (Ibn Highām, 152-3; cf. the vision of Ezekiel, i, 4 ff.).

This account, combining the triple appeal of the vocation of Samuel with the initiation, through absorption of the prophetic message, of Ezekiel (ii, 8 ff.; cf. Jeremiah, v, 10) comprises two parts: the
first took place in sleep, the second in a state of waking. Here there is a typical example of dreams of Muhammad, 255 ff. (1). The second took place in a state of consciousness, the first in a state of sleep, cf. Fahd, Die Vorsagen, 72-77, 96, 98, 108, 114, 125, 253 ff. (2).


**AL-NUDJAYR**, a fortress in Hadramawt [q.v.] where in 12/633 during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, the capital to Hadramawt via Marib. There al-Muhadjir marched on Hadramawt. The rebels, in particular of Banu Mu'awiya, a branch of Kinda (Mad'ad', 56, table 3), finally sought refuge in the fortress of al-NUDJayr. They could not, however, break out from the siege of the stronghold which was under the combined command of al-Muhajjir and Ziyád. The Banu Mu'awiya finally surrendered. Al-As'ath signed an agreement with the Muslim leaders, securing safe conduct for himself and his family. In return he opened the gates of al-NUDJayr. The Banu Mu'awiya blamed al-As'ath for his betrayal, as many of their number were killed. However, the agreement put an end to serious anti-Muslim rebellion in Hadramawt, which enjoyed much stronger hold over the area by the Muslim authorities.

al-NUDJayr is not mentioned further in the historical works and al-Hamdání (87), writing in the 4th/10th century, describes the place as a ruin.


A.T. AL-NUDJUM (A.), the stars. There are two words in Arabic carrying the notion of "star", *nadjum*, pl. *nadjum* (from the root *n-d-j*, "to rise", and *kaubak*, pl. *kaubak* (see *WKS*, i, 400 b 28; cf. already Baby. *kakabu*: a reduplication of a basic root *KB* "to burn, to shine"). For the etymologies of the two words, see Eilers [1], 96 ff., [2], 115; [3], 6 f. Both words occur frequently in the *Kur'an*. In LV, 6, it remains in dispute whether *nadjum* is to be understood as "the plants, or grasses" (as maintained by I.Y. Kračkovskij and A. Fischer) or as "the stars" (see the recent German translation by R. Paret, and his commentary, 465, also the English translation of R. Bell and his *A commentary on the Qur'án*, Manchester 1991, i, 330). *Al-nadjum* is also used, in Arabic, as an alternative name for the Pleiades (otherwise called *al-thurayyad*, see Kunztich [2], nos. 186, 306). The two words are used indiscriminately in the general sense of "star", but *kaubak* can mean "planet(s)" specifically, according to context.

The following article is subdivided into three sections, for the fixed stars, the planets and other celestial objects.

I. THE FIXED STARS

The Arabs—habitants of the Arabian Peninsula, mostly Bedouins—had a good knowledge of the stars since ancient times. They used the fixed stars for orientation in their nightly desert travails (*ihitad*), to determine seasons and to predict weather, especially rain. They had proper names for a good dozen prominent stars or other celestial objects, names of old standing, the meanings of most of which had been obscured or lost in the course of time so that they became the object of speculation of the Arabic philologists and lexicographers of later times. For these, no modern "translations" can be given, cf. al-*guyyúk* (al-Auriga, Capella), al-*gibhá* (al-Canis Majoris, Sirius) also mentioned in the *Kur'án*, LIII, 49), al-*simak* (al-s. al-rámí, "the lance-bearing Simak", a Bootis, Arcturus; and al-s. al-díaz, "the unmanned Simak", a Virginis, Spica), etc.; cf. Kunztich [2], 20 f. For some of these old names there exist parallels in Babylonian astronomy; cf. Kunztich [8].

In addition, several hundred names for smaller, less conspicuous stars and asterisms were invented, most probably by poets, at various times and in various tribes and regions; see the name lists in Kunztich [2] and [7]. All these names were later assembled by the Arabic philologists and lexicographers in the so-called *anwa* books (for these, see the bibliographies in *
ANWA₂ and AL-MANAZIL). In contrast to ancient Greek (and modern) astronomy, where large constellations are made up of numerous stars, in the indigenous Arabic traditions, one (the individual) represents two such individuals and a name in the plural represents a group of individuals. There are only a few Arabic constellations formed from a number of stars, such as e.g. the several al-Thrfî, “fireplace(s) formed by a triangle of three stones on the ground” (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 17-19). A classified survey of the astronomies of the old Arabs was given by Ideler. 407-28.

Of Iranian star names, only a few are known, and their astronomical identification remains uncertain; cf. Scherer 113 f., 118 f.; Eliens [1], [3]. Genuine Turkish star names are discussed by Bazzin and Roux.

In Islamic times the astronomers and poets of the Islamic world generally used the Arabic star names (but see the planets). Much of the Arabic stellar lore lived on into modern times although the astronomical identifications and the calendrical usage may now differ; see the modern studies cited in AL-MANAZIL and, for the Tuareg, Bnurs-Sudiyene.

Tradition has it that certain prominent fixed stars were worshipped by Arabic tribes in pre-Islamic times (cf. the allusion to Sirius, in Kur’an). In pre-Islamic times and modern astronomy as Orion; for more details, see Henninger.

Apart from perhaps some star names (see above), the old Arabs had also inherited from Babylonia—at unknown times, through unknown ways—some of the zodiacal constellations. But with them, several of these constellations were transferred to celestial areas different from their places in Babylonian and Greek (and modern) astronomy. Suffice it here to mention as a famous example al-Gwaziît (a female name of uncertain signification) which, in the series of the zodiacal constellations, corresponds to Gemini, but which is located in the stellar figure known in Greek (and modern) astronomy as Orion; for more details, see MINTAKAT AL-BURUDJ.

The old Arabs themselves developed a popular stellar system of so-called anwa₃ (sing. nau), stars and asterisms mostly situated near the path of Sun and Moon which were used for calendrical purposes and were known as star lore (one star mostly represents one) and were merged into the system of the 28 lunar mansions which the Arabs received from outside, perhaps from India, and which divided the ecliptic according to the Moon’s monthly revolution into 28 portions, each mansion being marked by a star or asterism carrying the name of the corresponding nau located in that place (see AL-MANAZIL; also Varisco).

The old Arabic stellar lore was much used in poetry. The poets like to cite star names and to use them for comparisons or for poetic allusions to calendrical and meteorological events connected with them, and the like; cf. Kunitzsch [10], items xxvi and xxviii; Kunitzsch-Ullmann.

The period of indigenous, old Arabic folk astronomy ended with the expansion of Islam, when the Arabs came into contact with ancient Greek and Hellenistic science. Through, and after, the translations from Greek (and sometimes Persian and Indian) into Arabic, the period of Greek-based “scientific” astronomy in the Islamic civilisation begins which, in some areas, continued down to the 19th century.

The knowledge of the fixed stars (al-kawâkit al-thâbita, or simply al-thawâbit) in the “scientific” astronomy of the Islamic period was completely based on and influenced by ancient Greek theory and material. The physical qualities and behaviour of the stars were understood according to the cosmological theories of Aristotle and Ptolemy: the stars were invariably known in the eighth sphere (beyond the planets), thus being unable to change places relative to each other, and were invariable in substance, size and colour. The eighth sphere (hence the stars fixed to it) performed a constant movement from West to East about the poles of the ecliptic, the so-called “precession” (hârakat or sayr al-kawâkit al-thâbita), which Ptolemy—following Hipparchus—assumed at a rate of 1° every 100 years. The astronomers of the caliph Al-Ma’mûn arrived at an improved rate of 1° in 66 1/2 years (al-Zidîq, al-umnat, Tabulat fabra), 214/829-30, which afterwards—simplified as 1° in 66 years—was adopted by most of the succeeding authors of star catalogues (al-Battânî, al-Sûfî and smaller star tables; another prominent value was 1° in 70 years (cf. the survey in Nallino, al-Battânî, Opus astronomia, i, 292 f.; see also Mercier [1]).

The iconographical and topographical division of the stellar sky into constellations was also completely taken over from the Greeks. Here the main source was the star catalogue in Ptolemy’s Almagest (epoch: A.D. 138) comprising 1,025 stars arranged in 48 constellations and registered with ecliptical coordinates, longitude and latitude, and (apparent) magnitudes. Of the Almagest several translations into Arabic were made from the late 8th to the late 9th centuries (cf. Kunitzsch [5], 15-82). The versions of al-Hadjîjâqî and of Ishâk b. Hunayn (the latter emended by Thabît b. Kurra) have survived into our time (the star catalogue from these two versions was edited by Kunitzsch [11], vol. i); the “old” version made before al-Hadjîjâqî’s was used in the star catalogue of al-Battânî, and many coordinate values from it are also cited by Ibn al-Salah. These sources supplied the Arabic-Islamic astronomers with the terminology and nomenclature of the 48 constellations and the 1,025 individual stars and provided them with the basic coordinate values for these stars (for a complete survey of the names of the 48 constellations, followed by Greek, Arabic and Latin indexes, see Kunitzsch [5], 169-212; the complete terminology for the individual stars, again followed by Greek, Arabic and Latin indexes, is given in ibid., 212-370). The Arabs also fixed to the eight constellations the titles of the constellations and cited from his Phaenomena and the Scholia in Aratum (cf. Sezgin, vi, 75-7; further, al-Birûnî, Tafîhîm, 72; Ibn al-Salah, 54 f., 71).

The Arabic term for “constellation” was kawâkab, pl. kawâkabû (adapted from Ptolemy’s ṣawârîmûs), or suara, pl. suwar.

Apart from the textual tradition, iconographic documents from (Late) Antiquity seem also to have reached the Islamic period conveying to the Muslim astronomers the outlines of the pictorial representation of the 48 classical constellations. An early example for the continuation of classical iconographic material into Islamic times is the fresco in the cupola of the bath in the desert castle of Kusâyîr ‘Amra (ca. 711-15 [see ARCHITECTURE]) showing a celestial hemisphere with constellation figures (cf. Saxl; Beer [1], [2], Almagro). Also, instruments such as celestial globes and astrolabes made in Arab lands are known and tradition must have reached the Muslims. Ibn al-Salah (18, 72 f.) mentions the description of a Greek globe datable ca. A.D. 738, and Ibn al-Kîfî (Tarîkh al-Hukamâ, 440) reports the existence of a globe made of copper (nukhâ), attributed to Ptolemy himself, in Cairo in 135/1064-5.

Several Islamic astronomers established star
catalogues in the manner of Ptolemy's catalogue: al-Battānī (only 533 out of Ptolemy's 1,025 stars; epoch A.D. 880; precession value = Ptolemy +11°10'; edited in Nallino, al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum; cf. Kunitzsch [10], item v; Ibn al-Ṣālāḥ, Appendix ii, 97 ff.); Abu ʾl-Husayn al-Ṣūfī (complete, accompanied by drawings of the constellations; epoch 964; precession value = Ptolemy +12°42'; Kitāb Suwar al-kauwātik, ed. Haydarābdād, 1373/1954, French tr. H.C.F.C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874, repr. Frankfurt-am-Main 1986; cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xi); al-Bīrūnī (complete, epoch 1040; precession value = Ptolemy +13°0; in al-Kānūn al-masʿūdī, ed. Haydarābdād, iii, 1375/1956, Russian tr. S.A. Krasnovaya and M.M. Rozhanskaya, in Istoriko-astro nomiceskiye issledovaniya, viii, Moscow 1962, 92-150, with comm. by B.A. Rosenfeld, in ibid., 177-86); and Ulugh Beg (complete; epoch 1437; textually depending on Nasir al-Dīn al-Tūsī's Persian translation of al-Ṣūfī's Book on the Constellations; astronomically claiming his own observation for the majority of the stars and dependence on al-Ṣūfī for the rest; edited by Th. Hyde, Oxford 1665; a modern recension of the coordinate values was made by Knobel; cf. further, Evans, 162-5; Shevchenko).

Besides these great, complete catalogues, innumerably smaller star tables were drawn up by Muslim astronomers of all times, mostly listing fundamental stars for use on astronomical instruments such as the astrolabe (see Kunitzsch [10], item i; for some edited specimens, see ibid., items ii-iv, and Kunitzsch [3], I A and XII A).

The pictorial representation of the 48 classical constellations in Islamic astronomy, in books, on celestial globes and elsewhere, mainly follows the patterns set up by the drawings in al-Ṣūfī's Book on the Constellations; al-Ṣūfī, in turn, must have followed traditions from Late Antiquity (for the textual description of the stars he generally follows the Almagest version by Iṣḥāq-Thābit; in the star coordinates he chooses between the various translations of the Almagest and faithfully repeats the Almagest values in his star tables, notwithstanding his criticism of many of them). For each constellation al-Ṣūfī gives two drawings, one as seen in the sky, the other as seen on the celestial globe (where the figures are viewed from outside, on the constellation's face and front side). The observer under all conditions).

The question, to what extent the star tables and catalogues of Muslim astronomers represent the result of their own independent observation, is not always easy to answer. It appears convincingly that a star table or catalogue with ecliptical coordinates, whose latitudes are identical to Ptolemy's and whose longitudes show a constant increase over Ptolemy's, was obtained by calculation rather than by observation. When the latitudes differ and the longitudes show varying differences against Ptolemy's, one could raise the objection that the author took the latter figures from the tables of his catalogue he merely repeated any new or "better" values found by himself, except for the magnitudes. Since most of the zīgās (astronomical handbooks with tables; cf. below) of the Islamic period are still unedited, it would be premature now to present final statements. It may be that in them one or another star table will be found that is built upon an author's own observations.

Surveys of the 48 Ptolemaic constellations are also
found—apart from the great star catalogues mentioned above—in some other works: Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Suhrāzī (ca. A.D. 980), Maṣḥaṭ al-Qalām, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 210-13; al-Bīrűnī, Taḥfīm 69-72 (on 77-81 follows a survey of indigenous old-Arabic star names, and on 81-5 the lunar mansions are listed); Zakariyyāʿ al-Kazwīnī, Šūfiʿ al-makhlūkūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 29-41 (this section is extracted from al-Šūfiʿ's Book on the Constellations; the section was separately edited and translated by L. Ideler and served as the nucleus for his voluminous study on the history of star names; on 41-54 follow the names of the 48 classical constellations (without adding the lunar mansions which is extracted from Ibn Kūtāyba's Kitāb al-Anwār, cf. ed. Haydärābād 1375/1956, 17 ff.). Some of the interest for the continuity of the tradition is Le traité sur les constellations by Severus Sebokht, in Syriac, written in A.D. 660, i.e. in early Islamic times, which must have been written before the famous Greek-Arabic translations; ed. F. Nau, in Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, xxvii (1931-2), 307-410, xxviii (1931-2), 85-100. About 600 years later another Syriac description of the 48 constellations was given by Bar Hebraeus (Abu l-Faraḍj b. al-Iṣbīrī) in his Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit, ed. Nau, Paris 1899-1900, text i, 110 ff., tr. ii, 44 ff., which now, however, is a mixed text including both Syriac and Arabic elements (cf. Kunitzsch [1], 32 f.).

A rare use of the 48 constellations was made by the Persian poet Fakhṛ al-Dīn Gūrānī in his epic Vis u Rāmūn (written ca. A.D. 1050), where he presents a horoscope which is greatly expanded by including all the constellations of the fixed stars in the astrological configuration (cf. Kunitzsch [10], item xxviii; in a subsequent article in Ist., lx [1983], 297-301, O. Neugebauer has dated this horoscope to A.D. 968). The Arab seafarers in the Indian Ocean in the 15th and 16th centuries, Ahmad b. Māḏjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, still knew and used some of the classical constellations and star names, though often in distorted form and in modified astronomical application. Especially Ibn Māḏjid (g.v.) takes pride in naming the classical books he had studied, among them al-Šūfiʿ's Book on the Constellations (here called Kitāb al-Taḏawūr). On the other hand, the star nomenclature of these muʿallāms contains several names of unknown and sometimes certainly non-Arabic origin. For discussion of these names, see the Index given in Kunitzsch [10], cxviii (1968), 297-314.

In astrology it was mostly the planets whose influence was considered. But since oldest times, the fixed stars could also be included in the astrological procedures. Already Ptolemy in his astrological handbook, the Tetrabiblos (Kitāb al-Arbaʿa), assigned to all the constellations and the major stars individually the "temperament" (στρογγυλ, Lai. complexio, temperamentum) of one or two planets, cf. Tetr. i, 9. Subsequently, lists of stars with their temperaments were drawn up, or in purely astronomical star tables the temperaments were added in a separate column. Further, to certain fixed stars was ascribed a bad influence on health, especially of the eyes, and also these stars were assembled in special lists. All this material reached the Arab-Islamic civilisation, in the same way as the astronomical knowledge, and we find it reproduced directly, or in various adaptations, in Arabic texts.

Of the Tetrabiblos several Arabic translations were made (not all edited until now; cf. Szegen, vii, 41 ff.). The famous astrologer Abū Māṣḥār included in his comprehensive al-Muḵbāl al-kahīr, i, 1, a survey of the 48 classical constellations (without adding the astronomical temperaments; see the facsimile ed.—made from ms. Istanbul, Carullah 1508, dated 327/938—by F. Szegen, Frankfurt-am-Main 1985, 111 ff.). For lists of stars doing harm to the eyes (cf. Tetrab., iii, 12) see again Abū Māṣḥār, Mukābal, vi, 20 = F. Szegen, Frankfurt 1851 f. (cf. Kunitzsch, apud Hüner 358 f.). Another list of unlucky stars of Abū Māṣḥār is given in Kunitzsch [10], item xvii, 113-19. A very recent specimen for a horoscope introducing the fixed stars is the horoscope of Asad Allāh Mirzā, 1830; cf. Elwell-Sutton (esp. 16-27, 94 f.). One ancient tradition on the "Thirty Bright Stars" appeared in Arabic under the name of Al-Manāṣir, i.e. "illuminations", in modified (Middle) Persian-medieval form, coming through (New Persian) biyādānīya as "desert stars", from New Persian biyādān "desert", in Taḥfīm, 46 (§ 125), was mere guesswork and popular etymology). The Hellenistic astrological compilation in five parts ascribed to Zoroaster also reached the Arabs through a Persian intermediate stage; the star names in the chapter on the fixed stars of its fifth part, Kitāb al-Mawādīdūt, were transformed into Persian and were retained in this form in the Arabic version; cf. the ed. of the chapter in Kunitzsch [13]. Another tradition, on stars causing weather disturbances, tempest, etc., containing star names of unknown origin and meaning, has been found until now only in Byzantine and mediaeval Latin versions and it is uncertain whether an Arabic stage was also involved in its transmission; cf. Kunitzsch [10], items xv-xvi.

Yet another use of star names occurred in lot books (kitāb al-fāʿ) where they took the role of "judges" answering questions or guiding the interrogator to further questions. An example is the Liber Alfadhol, a lot book attributed to Harūn al-Rašīd's astrologer al-Fadl b. Sahl, of which also Latin and old German versions exist and which contains 144 "judges" carrying star names (including a few astronomical terms); cf. Kunitzsch, apud Lutz, 321-36, and, in ZDMG., cvii (1967), 297-317, etc., also in the other texts of this kind cf. Kunitzsch, apud Lutz, 321 n. 1; Kunitzsch [6], esp. 281 f.; Wetzstein.

In addition, it may be mentioned that Arabic texts of all the kinds described were translated into Western languages, into Byzantine Greek from the 11th century onwards and into Latin, in Spain, from the late 19th century onwards. In this way, Arabic star and constellation names became widely known in mediaeval and Renaissance Western science, and more than 200 "Arabic star names" can still be found in modern star atlases and astronomical textbooks today.

Since it is impossible to give here lists of the many Arabic star and constellation names, once more the literature is cited where all these names are completely listed and explained: for indigenous old Arabic star names, see Kunitzsch [2] and [7]; for the lunar mansions, see AL-MANĀṢIR; for the zodiac, see MINTARĀT AL-BURŪḡ; for the nomenclature of stars and constellations derived from Greek sources, mostly the Almagest, see Kunitzsch [5]; for specimens of Arabic star names in Byzantine texts, see Kunitzsch [10], item ii (types I and II); for Arabic star names in mediaeval Western and modern astronomical use, see
Kunitzsch [1] and [3] and Kunitzsch-Smart; and for the special usage of names with the navigators of the Indian Ocean, see the Index in Kunitzsch [10], item xxv.

Arabic star names and their use in Western science have been the object of philological and historical studies over centuries, starting with G. Postellus' treatise Signorum coelestium vera configuratio aut asterismus, Paris 1553; cf. a short survey in Kunitzsch [1], 23 f. The Arabian matter in the popular book of R.H. Allen, Star-names and their meanings, New York 1899 (repr. New York 1963), is often incorrect and misleading, cf. the warnings in Kunitzsch [10], item xxiv. Also, modern Arabic authors have paid their tribute to the Arabic star names and their use in Western science. For example, the Arabic names were adopted by Arabic-Islamic astronomers and astrologers, see al-Bīrūnī, Taḥfīm, 199 (§ 329); Ullmann, 345 f. The Arabic names shown above (including the Western Arabic alternative names) were also retained in many mediaeval Latin translations from the Arabic, in astronomical and astrological contexts. The complete set of the seven names even appears in Wolfram of Eschenbach's epic Parzival (ca. A.D. 1210), 782, 6 ff.; see Kunitzsch [4].

Planetary theory in Arabic-Islamic astronomy was mainly based on the teachings of Ptolemy in his Almagest. The planets rotate on seven successive spheres (falsā [q.v.] ) about the earth, the Moon being the nearest to the earth, in the first sphere, and Saturn being the farthest, in the seventh sphere; the eighth sphere was held by the fixed stars. The lower planets (below the Sun), Moon, Mercury and Venus, were called al-kawākiḥ al-saftīyya, and the upper planets (beyond the Sun), Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, were al-kawākiḥ al-ṭulawīyya. The lowest point in a planet's orbit was called labīd, the farthest point was waqīf (from Sanskr. wakt, cfr. D. Pingree, in Viator, 1976, 161; afterwards Latinised as augmented aegis). The two points of intersection of a planet's orbit with the ecliptic were each called by the Persian term al-ṣawwah [q.v.] or—translated from Greek συνεκτικός—ṣekdā, node. The ascending node (awāṣaf or—translated from Greek ἀφανής) especially was called ra's (al-tannīn) "(the Dragon's) head, caput ( draconis)", and the descending node (awāṣaf or—translated from Greek ἀφανής) shanān (al-tannīn), "(the Dragon's) tail, cauda ( draconis)"). The planets performed a forward movement (istikāma) along the ecliptic (ilā tawdlt al-burāq), at certain times they became stationary (usikāf, ikīma) and then performed a retrogade movement (rujūd); this ended in a second stationary position after which they resumed the normal forward movement.

The knowledge about the planets' physical behaviour, their size, distances and motion, was mainly laid down in the so-called zīdās, i.e. comprehensive handbooks containing both theoretical chapters and the relevant tables. The word zīdā (pl. zīdāt, azṣadā, ẓiyādā) is of Persian origin (already in Pahlavi, zīd) and originally meant the thread(s) in weaving; from the arrangement of the threads in a piece of woven cloth it was extended to the network of lines drawn for astronomical tables and finally transferred upon complete works of tables with their introductory theoretical text. Very few such works have been edited so far, e.g. al-Zīdā al-ṣābī* of al-Battānī (ed. and tr. C.A. Nallino, i-iii, Milan 1899-1907); the Latin translation (by Adelard of Bath) of Maslama al-Maqrīzī's reduction of the zīdā of Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khārażmī (ed. A. Bjørnbo, R. Benthorn and H. Suter, Copenhagen 1914; Eng. tr. and comm. O. Neugebauer, Copenhagen 1962); al-Bīrūnī's al-ṭālīn al-tanīn (ed. Haydarākhād, i-ii, 1954-6; Russian tr. P.G. Bulganok et alii, i-i, Tashkent 1973-76); survey of the contents in English by E.S. Kennedy, in Al-Abhāth, xxiv [1971], 59-81. About 130 zīdāt were listed, and twelve of the most important abstracted, in Kennedy [1]. More abstracts are in Toomer [1]; Mercier [2]. Of great historical interest are also works such as The Book of the reasons behind astronomical tables (Kitāb fi 'ilāl al-zīdāt) of 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Ḥāshimi (ed.

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II. THE PLANETS

As in all civilisations, the five planets visible to the naked eye were also known to the old Arabs, because they had names for them which were obviously originally Arabic and were not obtained, through translation, from outside. There seems, however, not to have existed a special term for the planets (as distinct from the fixed stars) with the Arabs in their "pre-scientific" period. Some commentators assume that the terms al-khūnās and al-kūnās in Kurān, LXXXI, 15-16, may refer to the planets; cf. WKAS, i, 387 a 2 ff., 442 b 41 ff. (not to be confused with the term al-khūsān which, according to Ibn Durayd, Dīmāhara, 1, 67 a 1-3, s.r. kh-1-s, designates the stars around the (North) Pole that never set, i.e. the circumpolar stars). In the "scientific" period of Arabic-Islamic astronomy which was based on translations from Greek, the most common terms for the planets (οἱ πλανήμενοι, sc. ἀστέρες) were (al-kawākiḥ) al-mutabbāyiyya (referring to the five planets alone) and (al-kawākiḥ) al-sayyara (for the five planets plus Sun and Moon), cf. al-Khārażmī, Mafāṭīḥ, 210, 228; al-Bīrūnī, Kānsān, iii 987, WKAS, i, 442 b 28 ff., 35 ff. Other terms, in certain translated texts, were al-kawākiḥ al-muttaqiyya (WKAS, i, 442 b 39), al-k. al-sayyara, al-k. al-dījārīya and al-k. al-dālā (ibid., i, 580 b 27 ff.).

The following table shows the names of the planets in Arabic, adding some alternative names used in the Western Arabic and Spanish Arabic area, and in Persian:

Popular estimated values for the (sidereal) revolution of the planets are mentioned by Ibn Kutayba, Anwa? 2, 127. According to him, Saturn travels in each of the twelve zodiacal signs 32 years (i.e. a total revolution of 32 years); Jupiter 1 year (i.e. a total revolution of 12 years); Mars 45 days (i.e. a total of roughly 1 1/2 years); the Sun 1 month (i.e. a total of 1 year); Venus 27 days (i.e. a total of 324 days); Mercury 7 days (i.e. a total of 84 days); and the Moon 2 1/2 nights (i.e. a total of 28 nights). He also mentions that Venus and Jupiter are of bright white colour, Saturn is yellowish, Mars is red, and Mercury also red, but it is seen only rarely because of its vicinity to the Sun.

Scientific astronomy has received and continued to use the precise Greek data in the Almagest and has, in the course of time, improved upon many of them, based on new independent observation. For details, one has to consult the ziga? and their abstracts mentioned above.

While, on the whole, Ptolemaic astronomy remained valid in the Arabic-Islamic civilisation until the 13th century, modern astronomy began with modern Western astronomy, on the other hand serious criticism of Ptolemy’s planetary theory was brought forward by several Muslim astronomers. Among the names here to be mentioned are Ibn al-Haytham (in Egypt, d. shortly after 432/1041; cf. Sezgin, v, 251 ff.); Djâbir b. Alìfah (Gerber, Spain, 1st half 12th cent.; cf. R.P. Lorch, The Astronomy of Jâbir ibn Alîfah, in, xix [1955], 189-193); al-Majîd (Albucasis, Spain, 2nd half 13th cent.; i.e. the Smaller Magellanic Cloud); cf. I. Khoury, ed., Sulaymân al-Mahri’s works, iii, Damascus 1933/1972, 302. The assumption of L. Massingham that the asterism al-bakar “the Cows”, mentioned by al-Sufi (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 59 and 23), was identical with the Magellanic Clouds was rightly refuted by W. Petri, in Die Sterne, xxxviii (1962), 74-7.

b. Comets. The common Arabic term for a comet is (kastab) al-dhanah or kausah al-dhanah “star with a tail”. Also, the Greek term zouraya was translated as al-kawsah al-dhanah “rua’, i.e. the Larger Magellanic Cloud) and the other appears weak (gama?, i.e. the Smaller Magellanic Cloud); cf. I. Khoury, ed., Sulaymân al-Mahri’s works, iii, Damascus 1933/1972, 302. The assumption of L. Massingham that the asterism al-bakar “the Cows”, mentioned by al-Sufi (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 59 and 23), was identical with the Magellanic Clouds was rightly refuted by W. Petri, in Die Sterne, xxxviii (1962), 74-7.

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Islamic astronomers also devised—like Western scientists of late mediaeval and Renaissance times—systems for the demonstration of the planets’ movements, the so-called equatoria, see Kennedy [2], section “Equatoria”. 

For the use of the planets in astrology and some of their astrological properties, see MINTAKAT AL-BURUDJ.

III. OTHER CELESTIAL OBJECTS

a. Nebulae. Ptolemy in the star catalogue of the Almagest had described five of his 1,025 stars as “nebulous”. However, all of these were star clusters or double stars appearing to the naked eye as well as nebulous according to modern astronomical understanding. It was Abu l-Husayn al-Ṣufi who, in his Book of Constellations, independently and for the first time mentioned the Andromeda Nebula (M 31 = NGC 224), calling it latkha sababiyah, a “nebulous spot”. In one of the drawings of the constellation of Andromeda he marked the position of the nebula by a number of small dots; see Kunitzsch [9]. As for the Magellanic Clouds, in the southern celestial hemisphere, near the South Pole, invisible from the Arabian Peninsula, a first reference to them seems to be in the Almagist, al-Sufi al-bakar (the Cows), mentioned by al-Sufi (cf. Kunitzsch [2], nos. 59 and 23), was identical with the Magellanic Clouds was rightly refuted by W. Petri, in Die Sterne, xxxviii (1962), 74-7.

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...among the atmospherical phenomena of the sublunar sphere, see Aristote, Phys `l-sama, ed. Badawi, 18 ff.; Meteorologie, ed. Schoonheim, 74 ff.; Humayn b. Ishakh, Kompendium, loc. cit. above; Artius Arabus, loc. cit. above. The common Arabic terms for them were xshb, pl. xshub, and nayaq, pl. nayzak (of Persian origin); cf. C.A. Nallino, Raccolta di scritti, v, Rome 1944, 377-93 (first published in RSO, viii [1919-21]).

Their quick movement in the sky when falling towards the earth was well known and was described as inkdadh, inkdadh, etc. Shooting stars (shuhub) were several times mentioned in the Kura (XV, 18; XXXVII, 10; LXVII, 8-9); the implication here is that dinns or shaytdns who try to sat on the angels are driven away by throwing xshub at them. This myth or shaytdns etc. Shooting stars (shuhub) etc. Shooting stars (shuhub), insibdb, and shihdb, as towards the earth was well known and was described in astrology, shooting stars mostly ranged in the same rank with comets. Authors describing such phenomena such as comets. Authors describing such phenomena and of the sciences generally, Azophi [al-Sufi], etc.; for details, see Mohd. A.R. Khan, Names of thirteen Muslim personalities of outstanding fame in astronomy and through other channels, the paranatellonta and of the Moon (1651), Giovanni Baptista Riccioli introduced and vulgarised in the West through the translations of the 12th century in Spain; examples are Albatigenius [al-Battani], Alfarganus [al-Farghani], Aihazen [al-Hasan, Ibn al-Haytham], Almanon [the Abbásid caliph al-Ma'mun, famous as a patron of the translations from Greek into Arabic and of the sciences generally], Azophi [al-Sufi], etc.; for details, see Mohd. A.R. Khan, Names of thirteen Muslim

...some time afterwards al-Mu'tasim died. The report further says that al-Kindi had also maintained that the spot may have been caused by a passage of Venus in front of the Sun (kufid al-zuhara li-`l-dams wa-la`lakahu bih bhdhisi l-mudda).

f. Paranatellonta. The paranatellonta are constellations, or portions of constellations, co-ascending or reaching other fundamental points of the sphere together with the decans (i.e. sections of 10 degrees) of the zodiac. The observation of the paranatellonta has belonged to astrological practice since Antiquity. The constellations of the paranatellonta (tuwar) are similar to the classical Greek constellations, a number of exotic, Egyptian and other figures, the so-called sphaera barbara. Texts describing the paranatellonta are known, inter alia, from Teukros the Babylonian (perhaps 1st cent. A.D.), in Arabic Tankaluss, or Tankalgh al-Babili. An Arabic version of the paranatellonta for the 36 decans of the zodiac was inserted by Abû Ma`âghar in his astrological Kitâb al-Mukhalaf al-kabîr, Book vi, ch. 1. The text was edited by K. Dyroff as Appendix vi, apud F. Boll, Sphaera, Leipzig 1903, 482-539. Abû Ma`âghar gives as the epoch for the positions of the constellations in his text the year 1160 Seleucid era = Oct. 848-Sept. 849. For each decan (here called waghî) Abû Ma`âghar registers in a first section the paranatellonta (sawwar) according to the "Persians, Chaldaeans and Egyptians". The ascription to the Persians is correct insofar as Abû Ma`âghar used a Persian translation from a Greek reduction of Teukros' text probably dating from A.D. 542 and afterwards converted into new Persian (cf. Boll, op. cit., 416; see also Sezgin, Gâs, vii, 71 ff.). In a second section there follows the description of the paranatellonta according to the Indians. As Boll has shown, what there is described in this section are, however, not the paranatellonta, but rather the figures symbolising the decans themselves in Indian tradition (cf. Boll, 414 f.). The third section describes the paranatellonta formed from the 48 classical Ptolemaic constellations. Through Latin translations of Abû Ma`âghar's work and through other channels, the paranatellonta and their nomenclature became of considerable influence in mediaeval and Renaissance Western astrological speculation (see the survey in Boll, 419 ff.). The astrologer Ibn Hibinsâ also included a description of the paranatellonta in his genealogies of the stars of which, according to Sezgin, Gâs, vii, 71 f., offers—at least in parts—a better text than Abû Ma`âghar.

g. Modern nomenclature of objects on the Moon, the planets and their satellites. A last echo of the grandeur of the mediaeval Islamic astronomers is found in the modern nomenclature of features on the surfaces of the Moon, the planets and their satellites. In his map of the Moon (1651), Giovanni Baptista Riccioli produced as names for the craters on her visible side the names of famous astronomers and scientists from various nations and times, a nomenclature which became standard until now in international astronomy. Among them there are the names of thirteen personalities of outstanding fame in astronomy and the science from the Islamic Middle Ages (two of them were added in 1837 by J.H. Mädler). All these names are supplied in the Latinised form as tuwar which, according to Sezgin, Gâs, vii, 71 f., offers—at least in parts—a better text than Abû Ma`âghar.

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astronomers given to some natural features of the Moon, in IG, xxvi (1953), 78-85. In recent times, after the exploration of the far side of the Moon, this kind of historical nomenclature has been continued. Among the names set up here—and which are approved by of the International Astronomical Union—there are five more of the Islamic scientists: Abu'l-Wafa’i [Abu ‘l-Wafa’], al-Biruni [al-Bīrūnī], Avicenna [ Ibn Sīnā], Ibn Yunus [ Ibn Yūnus] and Omar Khayyam [‘Umar Khayyām]. With the exploration of the planets and their satellites by spacecraft, the naming of objects on their surfaces continues and will honour many more of the astronomers and scientists of Islamic civilisation.

At the end of this article, it should be mentioned that the textual tradition of the astronomical and astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations. In purely astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations. In purely astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations. In purely astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations. In purely astrological literature in the Islamic area was accompanied by a rich tradition of illustrations.


In East Africa.

The Swahili people living along the East Coast of Africa between Mogadishu and Mozambique have a long tradition of sailing the Indian Ocean, to fish and to trade. Thus, from the Middle Ages, they have been familiar with the major stars and constellations of the tropical region as well as with the planets and their movements. Some of this vast knowledge of the Swahili is still kept in traditional knowledge and in the Arabic script in Swahili. Some of these have survived and are now in the University Library, Dar es Salaam. In Swahili this science is called elimu ya ndujum or elimu ya nyota “knowledge of the stars”, to be distinguished from tanjimu “astrology”. So far, 105 Swahili names for planets, stars and constellations have been identified; the majority are adapted from Arabic. Native Swahili (i.e. Bantu) words are often used. For example, bahu “dragged”, referring to the tale of the ram which God made to “travel the path along which Ismail’s sheep was dragged”, Sumaili “the path along which Ismail’s sheep was dragged”, referring to the tale of the ram which God made to carry the message of the Holy Prophet. These names are all from Arabic: shahini because its appearance marks the moment when the Pleiades, lit. “What one cheers greet its appearance.” Loud cheers greet its appearance. swala “ascent”, though for the ascending node of a comet, is also used.

A few of the star names are of Persian origin, e.g. shakini “royal white falcon” (Alshain, Beta Aquilae); zana “knee” (Rukbat, Alpha Sagittarii); baha “shoulder” (Gamma Orionis).

Most curious is the fact that the Swahili people have a solar calendar based on the Persian model; it is not known how, or when, this calendar came to be adopted by the Swahili. The New Year is called nauruz, noruz or nauruzi (the latter form of this Persian word being the Indian alternant, though the English dictionary gives naury as the Parsi New Year). Each sign creates a particular character in the person whose appearance marks the moment when the rains should begin and so, the moment for the planting of millet.

Under the heading of natural astrology, numerous procedures exist. Two of these are well known: sim al-anas? denotes the knowledge of the periods defined by the heliacal rising and the acronymal setting of certain stars (see anwa?, also Sezgin, GAS, vii, 336 ff., and Fahd, Disination², 412-17). The art of inspecting the sky to detect any signs of rain was known in Oriental astrology. The Swahili names of the Planets are: Mercury, Uraniti; Venus, Zabura; Mars, Miriki; Jupiter, Mushitori; and Saturn, Zohali.


Al-Nudjûm (Ahrâm al-), “decrees of the stars”, expression denoting astrology [see also munâdjdjum].

Astrology comprises two branches: natural astrology, consisting in the observation of the influences of the stars on the natural elements, and judicial astrology, consisting in the observation of the influences of the stars on human destiny. The scientific term which describes them is Ptolemaism (derived from the astrological work of Ptolemy, entitled Kââhidhûmum â supported by the Sun and the Moon, or Kââhidhûmum, of the former form of this Per-
and Greco-Roman Antiquity (cf. ibid., 407-8). The pre-Islamic Arabs practised it; on account of its association with the astral cult, it was denounced by the Prophet (al-Bukhari, i, 136).

More important is the art of drawing indications (dal'at) from the totality of atmospheric phenomena; these indications are gathered together in books bearing the title malama. The best known is that attributed to the Prophet Daniel (see MALĀHIM, and Divination, 408-12).

This literary genre comprises a large number of astrological collections and agricultural almanacs, bringing together all the knowledge accumulated over the centuries in the region of the Near and Middle East, knowledge drawn from Arabic translation and adaptation of Sanskrit, Pahlavi, Greek and Syriac writings. One of these collections (Aya Sofya 2684, 139 fols., nakshī of 906/1499, 27.5 x 18 cm) has been described in Divination, 488-95. It is divided into three parts: (1) book of conjunctions, concerning relationships between the stars (fols. 1b-105a); (2) meteorological divination according to Daniel (fols. 106b-117a); and (3) the heliacal rising of Sirius according to Hermes (fols. 117-132). In an appendix, there is a compilation of indications drawn from the occasion of Nawruz [f. v.], of the Coptic month of meteorological divination according to Daniel (fols. 137a-139b).

For agricultural almanacs, see Fahl, Le calendrier des travaux agricoles d'après al-Filaha al-nabatiyya, in Tawba and the festival of Easter (fols. 137a-139b). In an appendix, two opuscules entitled al-Bukhari, i. 8, 106 (AHKAM AL-)NUDJUM and Greco-Roman Antiquity (cf. ibid., 407-8). The pre-Islamic Arabs practised it; on account of its association with the astral cult, it was denounced by the Prophet (al-Bukhari, i, 136). A third source is known and used by the Arab astrologers, this being the *'AvOoXoyiai* of Vettius Valens, an eminent astrologer of the period of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; this work was translated into Pahlavi under the title of *Visı̄ghāk* (anthology), annotated by Buzurjmidj, a courtier of Kārīr Anūṣhirwān (531-78), to whom it is attributed, and translated into Arabic as the K. al-Mawdīlīd (see Nallino, Raccolta, v, 238 ff.; Sezgin, GAS, vii, 38 ff.). The same title is also attributed to a Babylonian astrologer, Teukros, known to the Arabs as Tanḵalkūša, who lived at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and who is the author of an astrological work, called *Pērī tow paxarteklotov*, translated into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic in the 2nd or 3rd/8th or 9th century as K. al-Mawdīlīd *'alā l-'ukm wa l-'hudd*, used by Abū Ma'shar in his K. al-Mawdīlīd *al-kāhir*, according to an extract made by Rhetorios (6th century A.D.), which was translated and translated into German by K. Dyroff and F. Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 482-539 (cf. Sezgin, GAS, vii, 11 ff., 71-3, 80-1; Nallino, Raccolta, v, 246 ff.; idem, Tracce di opere greche giunte agli arabi per trafiau pheleveia, in *'Ajāb-nāma*, E. BROWNE Festschrift, Cambridge 1922, 345-63; AL-NUDJUM. III. f.).

A fourth source in Pahlavi was used by the Arab astrologers: this is the K. Zarduštshī fī *l-'uṣūṣ wa l-nudjum wa tahrīrātahu wa l-juhkm wa l-maordin*. On the Arabic writings attributed to Zarathustra, D. Pingree (quoted by Sezgin, GAS, vii, 84) writes: “Thus, as the original Zaradustshī text, having a Hellenic origin, was revised in Sassanian Iran in about 550 and then expanded with material from the Pahlavi Dorotheos in about 650, so the latter was revised in about 400, when it was expanded with material both from the Pahlavi Valens and from a Pahlavi translation of a Sanscrīt text” (*Māshīhālākh*: some Sassanian and Syriac sources, in Essays on Islamic philosophy and science, New York 1975, 5-14, cf. 8; V. Stegemann, *Astrologische Zaratustra—Fragmente bei den arabischen Astrologen Abī 'l-Ḥasan Allī b. Abī 'r-Ḥidayl (11. Jh.), in Orientalia, N.S., i/v [1937], 317-36).

From the Sanskrit, al-Bīrūnī (Ṭabīb mā bī l-Ḥind, 122 ff.) translated the K. al-Mawdīlīd al-saghir (ibid., 122) of Varāhaimhara, identified by D. Pingree (Astronomy and astrology in India and Iran, in Isti, liv [1963], 234) with the Laghuṣūkata, and cited the K. al-Mawdīlīd al-kāhir by the same author, as well as a K. al-Mawdīlīd by Kālion Buram al-Malīk (= Kaljana-Varnan). A K. al-Mawdīlīd is also attributed to Kānaka, astrologer at the court of Hūrūn al-Raglīd (ms. Čorum 500/5, fols. 156-159a, 11th/17th century; for the Pahlavi and Sanskrit writings, see Sezgin, vii, 68-97).

The first Arab astrologer to take an interest in genethlialogy is the eminent Jewish scholar Māshīhālākh (d. ca. 200/815 [f. v.]). Two works bear his name: K. al-Mawdīlīd, where the topics addressed are as follows: (1) knowledge of the beginning of the formation of the foetus and the observation of its stages before birth, (2) knowledge of the position of the heliacal star at the moment of birth, (3) education, (4) knowledge of the age by means of al-hulād (the altheia of the Europeans), its positions and those of the stars which are responsible for it, and (5) the form of the body, its external appearance and temperament. This work is often quoted by Arab astrologers dealing with this question. It has been the subject of two Latin

Ibn al-Nadim mentions a *K. al-Mawdall al-kabir* by the same author, comprising 14 chapters, which is known only from its Latin translation, made by Hugo de Santalla, with the title *Libellus de navitatibus 14 distinctus capitulis* (Oxford, Bodl. Savile 15, 72 fols.). A *K. Tahuril sini l-mawdall, quoted by Ibn al-Nadim, is known only from a Latin manuscript (B.N. Paris, K. Tahwil sini 'l-mawdlid, quoted by Ibn al-Nadim, is distinctus capitulis (Oxford, Bodl. Savile 15, 72 fols.). A

A summary composed by 'Umar b. al-Farrukhān using writings of Hermes, Dorotheos, Ptolemy and others, bearing the title *K. al-Mawdall* is known in ms. (cf. Carmody, loc. cit., 112). It was translated into Latin, under the title *De nativitatibus*, by Johannes Hispalensis (Carmody, 38-9) and edited by N. Pruckner as an appendix to *Firmicus maternus*, Basel 1551, 118-41.

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...
the days of the month with the comment "good" or "bad" for such-and-such a thing (ms. Esat Ef. 3554, *nakbb* of 1088/1677, 19.5 × 14 cm, attributed to Djalfar ad-Sciāke), enumeration of actions advisable or advisable during the lunar months and the choice of days in any month, with justification (ms. Saray, Revan 1741, fols. 98a-107a, *nakbb*, 20 × 15 cm). More complex is the procedure described in the Köprüli ms. Fazil Paşa 164, fols. 1-54b (*nakbb* of 871/1466-7, 18 × 14 cm) arranged in the following manner: (1) Explanation of the method of application (fols. 1b ff.); (2) double column of actions; (3) circle of months; (4) thirty columns relating to the month and to the rubrics; (5) thirty rubrics: names of prophets, questions, positions of the moon, judgment according to the lunar houses; and (6) the lunar houses (for details, see *Divination*, 487).

The majority of Arab astrologers have left behind treatises or chapters relating to hermology and menology. The following are the best known:

Abū ʿl-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAlī b. Abī ʿl-Ridjal, known to Europeans as Haly Aben Ragel or Abenragel or even Albohazan, author of popular astrological writings widely circulated in the East and the West. Attributed to him is *De electionibus* in 103 chapters (ms. Venice 1493, fols. 161-84; Thorndike, Cat., 734; on his work, see V. Stegemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Astrologie I*, Heidelberg 1935).


As has been mentioned, the two main areas of judicial astrology considered in this article were widely known and practised in the mediaeval East and West. The principles which govern them derive from the observation and interpretation of the connections and interactions of stars. Knowledge of these connections constitutes the essence of astrological divination, of theurgy and of the talismanic art (cf. on this topic, Fahd’s contribution to vol. vii of Sources Orientales, entitled *Lettres et sorciers en Islam*, Paris 1916, 157-204; summarised in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, art. *Magic*, reprinted in L.E. Sullivan (ed.), *Hidden truths. Magic, alchemy and the occult*, New York-London 1989, 122-30).

Šāliḥ, Lūt, Šuʿayb and Mūsā. ʿIbrāhīm is one of his following (ṣādiq) (XXXVII, 81). He is the perspicuous admonisher (nasīr mubnān, XI, 27; LXXI, 2), the rasūl amīn “the true messenger of God” (XXVI, 107), the ʾabd Shaykh, “the grateful servant of God” (XVII, 3).

God enters into a covenant with Nūh just as with Muhammad, ʿIbrāhīm, Mūsā and ʿĪsā (XXXVII, 81). He is the perspicuous ʿIsmāʿīl, Lūt, Šuʿayb and Mūsā. ʿIbrāhīm is fond of seeing himself reflected in the mouth of Nūh things that he would himself like to say and into the mouths of his opponents what he himself has heard from Nūh’s opponents. Nūh is reproached with being only one of the people (X, 72-4). God should rather have sent an angel (XXIII, 24). Nūh is wrong (VII, 58), is lying, deceiving (VII, 62), is possessed by ʿqīn (LIV, 9), only the lowest join him (XI, 29; XXVI, 111). When Nūh replies: “It is grievous to me, that I should live among you. I seek no reward, my reward is with God (X, 72-4; XI, 31); I do not claim to possess God’s treasures, to know his secrets, to be an angel and I cannot say to those whom ye despise, God shall not give you any good” (XI, 31-3), we have here an echo of Muhammad’s defence and embarrassment about many of his followers. The Kurʾānic pictures as events follows: God sends Nūh to the sinful people. Sūra LXXI, which bears his name, gives one of these sermons threatening punishment for which other analogies can be found. The people scorn him. Allah commands him to build an ark by divine inspiration. Then the “chaldron boils” (XI, 42; XXIX, 13, 14) is probably based on Gen. ix. 39, which says Nūh lived 950 years in all. When Nūh bIDS the waters be still, the ark lands on mount Ḍūqī (q.v.), XI, 27-51.

Not only Noah’s son but also his wife (with Lūt’s wife) are sinners (LXVI, 10). From the union of Kabil’s and Shith’s descendants it becomes a romance. It greatly, and in al-Kisāʾ it becomes a romance. From the union of ʿIbāl’s and Shīth’s descendants arises a sinful people which rejects Nūh’s warnings. He therefore at God’s command builds the Ark from trees which he has himself planted. As he is hammering and building the people mock him: “Once a prophet, now a carpenter?” “A ship for the mainland?” The Ark had a head and tail like a cock, a body like a bird (al-Thālābi). How was the Ark built? At the wish of the apostles, Jesus assures Sām (or Hām) b. Nūh from the dead and he describes the Ark and its arrangements in such a way that the quadrupeds, in the next the human beings and in the top the birds. Nūh brought the ant into the Ark first and the ass last; it was slow because Iblīs was clinging to its tail. Nūh called out impatiently: “Come in even if Satan is with thee”; so Iblīs also had to be taken in. The pig arose out of the tail of the elephant and the cat from the lion. How could the ox exist beside the lion, the goat alongside the wolf, or the dove beside the birds of prey? God tamed their instincts. The number of human beings in the Ark varies in legend between seven and eighty. ʿUḏī b. ʿAnāk was also saved along with the believers. ʿIbāl’s race was drowned. Nūh also took Adam’s body with him, which was used to separate the women from the men, for in the Ark continence was ordered, for man and beast. Only Hām transgressed, and for this was punished with a black skin. The whole world was covered with water and only the Haram (in al-Kisāʾ), also the site of the sanctuary in Jerusalem) was spared; the Kaʿba was taken up into heaven and Diḥrīl concealed the Black Stone (according to al-Kisāʾ, the stone was snow-white until the Flood). Nūh sent out the raven, but finding some carrion it forgot Nūh; then he sent the dove, which brought back an olive leaf in its bill and mud on its feet; as a reward it was given its collar and became a domestic bird. On the day of ʿAshūrāʾ every one came out of the Ark, men and beasts fasted and gave thanks to God. There are many contacts with the Haggada: the (different, it is true) partitioning of the Ark, Nūh’s anxiety about the animals, Hām’s sin and punishment (Sanhedrin, 108a-b). The story that the giant ʿOg escaped the Flood is also taken from the Haggada [see ʿOṯī b. ʿAnāk, But Muslim legend goes farther than the Bible and Haggada in depicting Muhammad, who sees himself in Nūh.

Continuing the anti-Shi'i reaction which marked the end of the reign of Nuh's father Nasr [q.v.], the early years of the new reign were dominated by the wars of the Seljuqs and the Fatimids. The Qawm al-Haram, led by Sunnil fath Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad Sulami, but very soon, ominous signs of decline began to appear in the state. There were revolts in the tributary kingdom of Khurāsān [q.v.] and in Khurāsān under its governor Abū ʿAlī Ǧahānī, whom Nūh attempted to replace by the Turkish command-er İbrahim b. Simджūr. In 335/947 Abū ʿAlī succeeded in temporarily placing on the throne at Aṣṭān Suqmandr İbrahim b. Slđur. In 335/947 the Amir al-Rady (“the Well-armed”) became the dominant role in the state and in external warfare during Nuh’s reign, with the army often going unpaid and the subjects complaining of increased taxation. When the army mutinied at the end of Nuh’s reign, with the army often going unpaid and the subjects complaining of increased taxation burdens. Hence Nūh left to his son and successor Abū al-Malik a divided and disaffected kingdom, whose fortunes since no subsequent amirs were able to restore.

**Bibliography:** The main primary sources are Gardizi and İbn al-Athir, both utilising material from the lost Tarżik Waṭi Khurāsān of Sallāmī; and Nārgahlī, Taʻṣīk-i Bukhāra, tr. Frye, 97-8. Of studies, see Barthold, Turkestan, 246-9; R. N. Frye, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, 151; Erdoğan Mercil, Sıncıriler. II. İbrahim b. Sıncır, in Tarih Estitüsü Dergisi, no. x-xi (1979-80), 91-6. See also Sāmānīs.

(Č. E. Bosworth)

**NUH (II) b. MANSUR b. NŪH, Sāmānīd amīr initially in Transoxania and Khurāsān, latterly in the first province only (366-87/977-97), given after his death the honorific al-Amir al-Rady (“the Well-armed”).**

The last of his line to enjoy a reign of any significa-nt length, Nūh succeeded his father Mανşur (I) [q.v.] at the age of 13, real power being in the hands of his mother and the vizier Abu ʿl-Husayn Ǧubayrī and the great military commanders, such as Abu ʿl-Hasan Simджūrī and his son Abū ʿAlī, Fāʾıḥ Khāṣṣa and Tāḥ. Warfare against the Büyids went badly, and only the death in 372/983 of Abū ʿAlī’s vizier prevented a Büyid invasion of Khurāsān. In the confusion, Abū ʿAlī secretly connived with Bughra Khān Hārūn, chief of the Turkish Karakhānids in the steps to the north of Transoxania [see tēr-khānīs], the partition the Sāmānīd kingdom, with Abū ʿAlī’s warlord the land south of the Oxus. Bughra Khān entered Bukhāra in 372/982, but soon withdrew. With Khurāsān also out of his control, Nūh remained ruler of the Zarafshān valley only, and in 383/993 he called in Sebūktīgīn [q.v.] from Ghazna [see Ǧanzənawīdīs] against Abū ʿAlī and Fāʾıḥ. Sebūktīgīn and his son Mahmūd [q.v.] established themselves in the former Sāmānīd dominions, now threatened by a further Karakhānī invasion from the north, but in 386/996 Sebūktīgīn and the Ghurids managed to make an agreement whereby the latter took over the whole basin of the Syr Darya, whilst Sebūktīgīn became master over Khurāsān. Nūh himself died in Radğab 387/July 997, with the final end of Sāmānīd rule in Transoxania only two years away.


(Č. E. Bosworth)

**NUH b. MUŞTAFA, Ottoman theologian and translator,** was born in Anatolia but migrated while still quite young to Cairo where he studied all branches of theology and attained a high reputation. He died there in 1070/1659. He wrote a series of theological treatises, some of which are detailed by Brockelmann, II, 407-8, S II, 432. His most important work, however, is his free translation and edition of Şahrastānī’s celebrated work on the sects, his *Terjemane-i Milal we-nihal* which he prepared at the suggest-}
metathesis. Also found are the terms nuhâd, nihâd, sur-kâd, and it is sometimes nicknamed râhu ‘l-md*khdb, and it is sometimes nicknamed rahu, as in Dozy, Supplement, ii, 19), the paralysis disappears. Hot tdlikun dipped in water drives flies off and prevents

According to Islamic law, consumption of the flesh of the flamingo is permitted; it is said to be, apparently, quite agreeable, not tasting excessively of copper (Cu). Known metals. The word is evidently common to all Semitic languages: Hebrew n’hâa’d, Aramaic n’hâfa’t, Ethiopian n’hbes; the Greek word χαλλυς appears in transliteration as khalkus. Because the alchemists wanted the materials they used to be kept secret, there exist many pseudonyms for copper, which moreover were often changed and are for the greater part incomprehensible. The alchemists attach it to the planet al-Zuhara, i.e. Venus (see the survey in E. Wiedemann, Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, ii, 603-4). Most of these pseudonyms cannot be defined unambiguously; they certainly do not only indicate pure copper but also copper minerals such as primary ore, secondary products of erosion or sedimentary formations. According to al-Bûnî, copper is called in Greek khalklos, in Syriac n’hâsad, in Arabic al-nuhâd, al-miz; in (‘Irak and Khurasan) and al-kür (i.e. brass) (K. al-Dimashkî fî ma‘rifat al-djianahîr, Haydarâbâd 1355/1936, 244-5). Shams al-Dîn al-Dimashkî distinguishes three kinds of copper: the red-white Greek one (rûmî), the red and dry Cypriot one (kubrus) and the blood-red one from Sus (in Khûzistân). He describes the extraction as follows: the quicksilver in the quarry having attracted and absorbed the sulphur, the heat in the quarry causes the sulphur to dominate the quicksilver; after that, the mass is transformed into a red rock which has a pungent taste. Fire or a long stay in the earth occasionally makes it slate-like, occasionally it oxidises into verdigris (zîndîj), or it acquires a surplus of sulphur in the quarry and then becomes antimony (rîndîjâdîg), which is pulversised to obtain the collyrium called râkûkhîq. Dipped several times in boiling mercury, it takes on a golden colour. A needle, sickle, knife or sword made from copper thus treated and dipped in the blood of a billy-goat (dam al-tays) causes incurable wounds, and the sickle prevents the herb from growing (al-Dimashkî, Nûkhbât al-dahr, ed. A.F. Mehren, Leiden 1874, repr. Amsterdam 1964, Ar. text 54, tr. 59-60).

Of primary importance for Arabic mineralogy became the so-called “Book of Stones of Aristotle”. Its influence can be perceived not only from the great number of manuscripts but also through the rich secondary tradition. In J. Ruska’s edition, Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles, the “stone” copper is described under no. 59, where the best among the numerous kinds of copper is said to be the red one, mixed with black. Verdigris (zindjir) is explained as a green substance hidden inside this kind of copper, which can be extracted by the use of vinegar. When brass (suf) is cast and vitrified (zâb) and rendered opaque, some others are added, something emerges which resembles gold and is solid as if it were gold. Food and drink taken from a brass vessel are harmful, occasionally lethal. If a victim of facial paralysis (laktûs) enters a darkened house and looks at himself in a mirror made of jâlûkân (a copper alloy = mêtallikûn, hardly xâthûlûn as in Dozy, Supplement, ii, 19), the paralysis disappears. Hot jâlûkân dipped in water drives flies off and prevents
eyelashes from growing again after they have been depilated with a pair of tweezers. For these qualities of the hair, which is also called "Chirning iron" (khānīn, hadīd sinī), see also J. Rusk (tr.), Das Steinbuch aus der Konsommgraphie des... al-Kazvinī, Kirchhain, N.L. 1896, 28, and M. Ullmann, Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 409 f.

Special healing properties were of old attributed to "burnt copper" (as islam), see Dioscorides, De materia medica, ed. M. Wellmann, v, 76, xαvαυρός y ναυδαρυκτας Arav. tr. ed. Ducreux and Térel, v, 59, al-nukkār, tr. hur-mukhār: this copper preparation possesses astrigent, dehydrating, diluting and purifying power and scars sores. Taken with honey, it is an emetic. This copper is made from nails coming from destroyed or sunken ships. The nails, sprinkled with sulphur and salt, are made white-hot in a kiln inside a closed melting-pot made of clay. According to the description, the ḍāṭo of Dioscorides (Greek text v, 102, Arab. tr. sūr, v, 84) is also a product of the copper quarry and resembles burnt copper.

Al-Tamimī describes how copper ore, set aglow in a kiln, disintegrates into its components, among which is copper; in the Niğhpırl region a copper quarry is said to exist, from which turquoise (faṛūzād) was extracted at the same time and therefore said to be a "copper-like" substance; next, al-Tamimī develops a theory on the nature of verdigris (see J. Schöfend, Über die Steine. Das 14. Kapitel aus dem "Kitāb al-Murid" des Tamimī, Freiburg 1976, 57, 81, 119).

According to the hadīsd al-islām, tr. Minorsky, there were layers of copper in the mountains of Bārzūdān in the province of Kirmān (65), in Farghana (115-16), Georgia (68), Kirmān (124), Sardān (Fārs), (129), Spain (154) and Tūs (103). Elsewhere, too, Persia is mentioned as the most important land of copper export: from Sardān it was exported to Basra and other places the first appearance of the Nukkar sect at the end of the 5th/11th century by Abu Zakariyya al-Ṭabarī, 13, § 168, n. 2, A.H. 14, § 11, (a) (with n. 3), 20; L. Massignon, in MIFAO, xxvii (1953), 51, 53; A. Musil, The Middle Euphrates, New York 1928, 39, n. 31; n. 32, 247, 329. (E. HONGMANN)

AL-NUKKĀR (AL-NAKKĀRA, AL-NAKKĀRĪYYA) "deniers": one of the main branches of the Khāridjī sect of the Ibadīyya sect [q.v.]. The existence of this sect has already been proved by E. Masqueray, A. de C. Motylnski and R. Strohmmtt; cf., however, the opinion of G. Levi della Vida, according to whom al-Nukkār is simply "an insulting epithet applied to Khāridjīs in general" [see supers]. The name al-Nukkār comes from the fact that the members of this sect refused to recognise the second Ibadī imām of Tāhārī, Ṭabī al-Wahlāb b. Ṭabī al-Rahmān b. Rustām [see rustamīds]. The other names given to this sect are: 1. al-Yazidiyya, from the name of the later name, which was used in the name of this sect: 2. Abū Ablāb b. Yazīd al-Fazārī al-Ibadī (cf. below), to be distinguished from another Ibadī sect which bears the same name and was founded by a certain Yazīd b. Anīsā. 2. al-Shaḥīyya; we believe this name should be derived from that of Shuʿyabī b. al-MuʿArrif (see below), 3. al-Mulhida (to be distinguished from another Muslim sect of this name = al-Bānishīyya), 4. al-Nukkādī (al-Nakārdī), the nīsāb from this name is al-Nakākī. 5. al-Naskṭiyūsa (and not as Strohmmtt writes it, Berber und Idāfīden, 274, n. 4). 6. Mistāun; this last name, which seems to be Berber (perhaps to be connected with the Berber tribe of Mεστa, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, Historie des Berberes, i, 182) was with the Nukkār the most used.

The Ibadī historical tradition of North Africa, fixed towards the end of the 5th/11th century by Abū Zakariyyā b. Vāyabī b. Abū Bakr al-Wargānī [q.v.], places the first appearance of the Nukkārīyya in the 13th century. The time of the election of Abū al-Wahlāb (in 16/784-5, according to Ibn Abīdhī, al-Bayān al-mughrīb, tr. Fagann, Algers 1901, 283), and names as the founder of this sect Abū Kūdāma Yazīd b. Fendīn al-Franī, who was later joined by a learned dissenting Ibadī from Cairo, Shuʿyabī b. al-MuʿArrīf. According to this tradition, the origins of the Nakkārī sect are closely connected with the Maghrib. On the other hand, from information supplied by the Ibadī theological

AL-NUKHAYLA, a town in 'Irāk, near al-Kūfā. It is known mainly from the accounts of the battle of Kādissiya [q.v.]. From the statements collected by Yākūt regarding its position, it appears that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished, namely one near al-Kūfā on the road to Syria, which is several times mentioned in the time of the caliphs ʿAlī and Muʿāwīya, and another, a waterfront station between al-Mughūthah and al-ʿAkaba, 3 mīls from al-Ḥufayr, to the right of the road to Mecca. Several encounters took place there during the second battle of Kādissiya, uging to Abū Kāblī in al-Bakrī, this al-Nukhayla was in the Syrian seat at al-bābīya). Ibn al-Fakīh also seems to be thinking of this region. Gaetani assumes that the reference in both cases is to the same place on the edge of the desert. According to Musil, it perhaps corresponds to the modern Kān Ibn Nukhaybat about 22 km/14 miles S. S. E. of Karbalā and 64 km/40 miles N. N. W. of al-Kūfā.

works, one may judge that there were other founders of the Nakkar sect in addition to Ibn Fendln and Shu’ayb. They are mentioned in a risala of Abū ‘Amr al-‘Azm (d. ca. 171/784-5), a member of the Banu ‘Abbās al-Shurd, who lived earlier than the 5th/11th century and refuted the Nakkarl doctrines in his various works.

Among the fugitives was Shu’ayb, who settled in Tripolitania. It was at this period that the complete rupture occurred between the Nukkar and the Wahhī section of the Ibadīyya, followed immediately by a bara’ or excommunication of Shu’ayb and his followers by the Wahhī doctors.

Soon the Nakkārī propaganda became very active, but it was not till the end of the 3rd/9th century, after the fall of the imāmat of Tāhert (in 296/908-9) and the establishment of the dynasty of the Fātimids in the Maghrib, that the Nukkarī acquired a preponderance among the Ibadīs of North Africa. The whole of the south of Tunisia and Algeria, from the Dījal Nūfūsa [q.v.] to Tāhert, became Nakkārī. The historians speak of a vigorous propaganda by the Nukkarī, the centres of which were the principalities of Tripolitania, the Dījal Awrās and the island of Djarba. As a result of this propaganda several Wahhī Ibadī districts were converted to the new sect. The Nakkārīs organised an imāmate separate from that of Tāhert. We know the name of a Nakkārī imām who lived towards the end of the 3rd/9th century: Abū ‘Ammār Abū ‘l-Hamīd al-Qāmī. It was his disciple Abū Yazīd Maḥmūd b. Kavdād [q.v.] who in the first half of the 4th/10th century was the leader of a formidable Nakkārī rising in the Maghrib, which almost succeeded in its endeavour to destroy the Fātimid state. Abū Yazīd was elected by the Nukkarīs in the Dījal Awrās as ‘the shaykh of the true believers’, Abū ‘Ammār giving place to him (in keeping with the teaching on al-asfāl). He tried to put into practice the teachings of Ibn Fendln; he formed a council of twelve members called asfālīn who were to rule in conjunction with him, the Nakkārī imāmate. But later he associated himself with the Khāridjī extremists by authorising iṣṣīrād [q.v.] or religious murder on the model of the Azrākīs [see AZĀRĪKA].

After the defeat and death of Abū Yazīd, the influence of the Nukkar diminished and several tribes went back to Wahhīsm. Nevertheless, the Nakkārīs again took part in the general rising of the Wahhīs against the Fātimids in 358/968-9 and later in 431/1039-40 we find them mentioned in connection with a great rising of this sect on the island of Djarba. In the 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries they are again mentioned in the district of Yefren to the east of Dījal Nūfūsa, on the island of Djarba, among the Banū Warghamma in southern Tunisia, and in the oases of Bilād al-Dījarī, Rīgh and Wārdīljīn. Remnants of the Nakkārī sect have survived in modern times. In a document of the 19th century, and according to A. C. de M. Cytoliński, Nukkar could be found ca. 1900 on Djarba and in Zawāgha.

Thanks to the exposition given by Abū ‘Amr, we are acquainted with the main principles which separated the Nukkar from the Wahhī Ibadīs. They number seven. Besides the doctrine regarding dhāri, mentioned above, a fundamental tenet of the Nukkar was their thesis that the names of God are created. Another Nakkārī tenet concerns the relations of man and woman. For other details of their teaching, see al-Barrādī, Khāt al-Dījarāh al-muntakābī, Cairo 1302, ii, 171-2.

Several Wahhī Ibadī theologians refuted the Nakkārī teachings in their works, some of them quite early. For example, al-Barrādī mentions the refutations of the thesis of Abū ‘Amr in his ‘Azm and Shu’ayb books, and al-Barrādī’s ‘Azm is named Abū ‘Amr al-Rabābī [q.v.] (Khāt al-Dījarāh, 172) and al-Wisāyīnī mentions a scholar of Sāḥil in Tunisia named Muhammad b. Abī Khālid who lived earlier than the 5th/11th century and refuted the Nakkārī doctrines in his various works.

Bibliography: Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārījānī, Khāt al-Sirat wa-ghībr al-‘a’mmā, ms. no. 23 in the Smogorzewski collection in the university of Lwów, fols. 17b-23a, 46a-50a, 51b-
AL-NUKKAR — NUKTAWIYYA


AL-NUKRA, a plain west of the Djabal Hawrân on the border of Trachontis in Transjordan. The name al-Nukra ("the cavity") is quite Jordan. The name al-Nukra belongs to the whole northern half of modern Jordan. In the wider sense, al-Nukra includes all the country from al-Ladjâ, Djaydur and al-Bal'à to the foot of the Djabal Hawrân, in the narrower sense only the southern part of this; in any case it stretches from al-Sânâmâyân to the Djabal al-Durât (Hawrân). To al-Nukra it is said that the whole northern half of modern Jordan.

In 1910, E.G. Browne published a work entitled Kitâb-i Nuqtatu 'l-Kâtî, a Persian history of the early Bâbî movement, based on a "unique" manuscript (Suppl. persan 1701) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This manuscript had been bought by the library in 1884, in a sale of books belonging to the late Comte de Gobineau. Authorship of the history was ascribed to the Bâbî leader Subh-î Azal [q.v.] to Hadjdjî Mirzá Dânjî, a Kashan merchant killer. Browne's text soon became the centre of a controversy that still continues. The Bâbâ'î leader, 'Abbâs Effendi 'Abd al-Bâhî, maintained that the work was a forgery produced by the Azâli Bâbî. This thesis was developed by the Bâbâ'î scholar Mirzá Abu 'l-Faḍl Gulpaygânî and his nephew Sayyid Mahdî in their Kašf al-ğidâ and, more recently, by H.M. Balyuzî. While this conspiracy theory is clearly unfounded, internal evidence suggests that the history was not written by the author, Mirzá Dânjî. Recent conjectures favour authorship by his son or nephew, possibly in collaboration with a brother, using notes prepared by him. Some version of the Nukât al-kâtî served as the basis for the later Bahânî Târîkh-i Dâjjîd and its recensions. In spite of the controversy, there can be no doubt that the Nukât al-kâtî remains one of the most important sources for the early history of Bâbism.

The designation Nuktawiyya is said to be taken from the doctrine that earth is the starting point (nukta) of all things, the remaining three elements being derived from it; the term may also refer, however, to the use of two, three, or four dots, variously arranged, as cryptic abbreviations in the writings of the sect. The designation Mahmûdiyya is also encountered, this being derived from the name of the founder, Mahmûd Pasîkhânî. Born at the village of Pasîkhân near Fûman in Ghân, Mahmûd followed Fâdî Allah Astarâbâdî (d. 796/1394), the founder of Hûrûfism, until he was expelled from the movement for alleged arrogance (hence the epithets Mahmûd-i marâdî "Mahmûd the rejected" and Mahmûd-i mâradî "Mahmûd the banished"). He is said to have proclaimed himself the Mahdî and the bringer of a new dispensation in 800/1397, i.e. at the beginning of the 9th Islamic century. Virtually nothing is known of his life other than that he was still residing in Astarâbâd in 818/1415 when he finished the writing of one of his books, Qâsâs al-îsh'îrân. He died in 831/1427-28, supposedly a suicide, having cast himself into the waters of the Aras, but this is dismissed as a calumny by the Nuktawîs themselves.

Mahmûd Pasîkhânî is said to have written sixteen books and 1,000 treatises (naskha) in exposition of his doctrines; none of these has ever been published in full (for extracts from his principal work, Mizân, see, however, Râsîh Râdâ-zâda Malik's notes to his edition of Kaykhursaw Islândîyâr, Dâbistân-i mardâghib, ii,
It was during the reign of Shâh Ismâ’îl I that the Nuktawi movement first surfaced, significantly enough in the village of Angjudân near Kâshân, a principal centre of post-Âlamûr Nizârî Ismâ’îlîsm. Shâh Tâhir, thirty-first Imâm of the Muhammad-Muhammad-Shâhî Nizârî line, is reported to have so angered Shâh Ismâ’îl by gathering around him in Angjudân Nuktawîs and other religious deviants that he had to flee precipitously to India (Mâ’sûm ’Alî Shâh Shârâzî, Tarâk’ al-bâka’î, ed. Muhammad Djâfar Mâhjudb, Tehran 1339 AH /1960, iii, 136). Another instance of Nuktawi- and Ismâ’îlî symbiosis is provided by Murûd Shah Shâhâbî, thirty-first Imâm of the Kâsim-Shâhî line, whose combined Nuktawi and Ismâ’îlî following in Angjudân was broken up by Shâh Tâhmâsp in 981-2/1573-4 and who was himself put to death (Ahmad Thattawi, Ta’rikh-i Afî, cited in Kiya, 36). Mention may also be made of two poets: Wûkî’i of Nîghâpûr whose beliefs are said to have been intermediate between Nuktawism and Ismâ’îlîsm (Kiya, 35), and Abu ’l-Kâsim Muhammad Khâpâyî’s Amrî Shirâzî, who praised two of the Kâsim-Shâhî Imâms in his Dîwân and may have been a crypto-Ismâ’îlî (W. Iwanow, A guide to Ismâ’îlî literature, London 1933, 108).

Amrî Shirâzî first came to the fore in the time of Shâh Tâhmâsp, who entrusted him with the administration of awkûf, belonging to the Haramayn but located in Persia, and who also employed his brother, Mawllânà Abu Turâb, famed as a master of the occult sciences, as court calligrapher. Denounced for heresy in 972/1565, the brothers were blinded and went into seclusion. In 984/1576, the last year of Tâhmâsp’s reign, still more Nuktawîs were apprehended in Kâshân; they included the poet Hayâtî, who was jailed for two years in Shirâz before making his way to India.

Other centres of Nuktawi activity were developing meanwhile in Sâwâ, Nâ’in, Isfahân and—most importantly—Kazân. Nuktawism was propagated in Kazân by Darwîsh Khûrsaw, the son of a well-digger, who had gone to Kâshân to learn the Nuktawi doctrines and established his headquarters in a mosque on his return. Denounced by the ‘alamàd, he was interrogated by Shâh Tâhmâsp but giving suitably evasive answers was released with instructions no longer to hold forth in the mosque. On the death of Tâhmâsp, he was treated with such success that he was able to build a takîya which came to house two hundred of his followers. Despite a further round of executions of Nuktawîs in Kâshân in 994/1586 which numbered among its victims two musicians, Âfîd Dâ-‘târî and Mir Bighâm, Darwîsh Khûrsaw remained unmolested throughout the reigns of Ismâ’îl II and Khudâbânda into the early years of rule by Shâh ‘Abbas I.

Shâh ‘Abbas began by establishing a friendly and even intimate relationship with Darwîsh Khûrsaw, and was even initiated into the Nuktawiyâ, with the grade of amîn, by Darwîsh Turâb and Darwîsh Kamâl Iklîdî. The Şafawî chroniclers (e.g. Iskandar Bûg Munghî, ’Alâm-ârî-yî Abbâsî, Tehran 1350 AH /1971, i, 444), followed by most later historians, maintained that Shâh ‘Abbas cultivated the Nuktawîs only as a means of service, but on the contrary it had a genuine interest in their teachings. They had already attempted to proclaim Shâh Tâhmâsp as the Mahdi, and when they made a similar connection between their chiliasm theories and the person of Shâh ‘Abbas, he may well have contemplated the possibility of using Nuktawism as a new ideological basis for the Şafawî state. It seems probable at the
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Mass arrests and executions of Nuktawi then ensued in other cities, including once again Kâshân, where the discovery of a list of leading Nuktawi adherents, including the brother of the poet Mir Sayyid Ahmad Kâshî permitted the sect to be uprooted from the area once and for all. Shah ‘Abbâs personally beheaded Kâshî when he was in the midst of reminding concerning a previous existence, and then deftly bisected his headless trunk before it fell to the ground. He had a further confrontation with Nuktawi during his pilgrimage to Maqshad in 1010/1600-1; he discovered that his caravan had been infiltrated by his erstwhile initiators or rebels; the sect, and they were accordingly put to death in the caravanserai at Izârâsh. The last Nuktawi to be executed during the reign of Shah ‘Abbâs was the astrologer Mullâ ‘Alî, put to death in 1020/1611.

Although curiously enough the Nuktawi continued to regard Shah ‘Abbâs as one of their own, discounting his hostility to them as a sign of immaturity, many of them found it prudent to take refuge in India. These refugees were instead endowed a great deal of respect by the Mughal emperor, he who moved Akbar to write a letter to Shah ‘Abbâs, fruitlessly urging on him the merits of religious tolerance. The emperor Dâhângir did not entirely turn his back on the Nuktawls, but their visible presence in India did not last long.

A brief resurgence of the Nuktawi movement took place in Persia during the reign of Shah Safi I. In Kâzâvin, a certain Darwish Ridâ who claimed alternately to be the Mahdi and his deputy gathered a vast following that allowed him to seize control of the city. The movement was bloodily suppressed and Darwish Ridâ himself was beheaded in 1024/1615. His followers found favour with the Mughal emperor and assisted him in the formulation of his imperial cult, the Dîn-i Lâhî. One of their number, Mir Sharîf Âlmî, even sat on the nineteen-member committee that elaborated the cult. It is possible, too, that Akbar’s chief confidant, Abu ‘l-Fadl Âllâhî, had Nuktawi sympathies; a letter from him was found among the papers of Mir Sayyid Ahmad Kâshî, and it was he who moved Akbar to write a letter to Shah ‘Abbâs, fruitlessly urging on him the merits of religious tolerance. The emperor Dâhângir did not entirely turn his back on the Nuktawls, but their visible presence in India did not last long.

This marked the end of the Nuktiawiyya as a movement with insurrectionary capabilities. Some thirty years later, Raphael du Mans remarked on the presence in Iṣfâhân of a ragged group of dervishes known as Mahmûdis (Estat de la Perse en 1660, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1890, 87-8), but they were evidently too insignificant to warrant suppression. Despite its impressive longevity in the face of repression, the Nuktawi movement never had a chance of long-term success, being composed almost entirely of artisans and literati in an age when the application of tribal power was decisive (the Ustâdji chieftain Budak Din-ghî was the sole member of the Safavid military aristocracy whom the Nuktawls were able to recruit).

A few vestiges of the Nuktiawiyya can nonetheless be traced in post-Safavid Persia. According to Muhammad ‘Ali Nâzîm al-Shârî‘a, Sayyid Muhammad ‘Ali the Bâb was taught the doctrines of Nuktawism during his confinement in Mâkû and incorporated them directly in his Bayân (Hadîdî muhammad, quoted in Kârâghûzî, Naghâ-î izzatî ‘in banândî’-î Nuktiawiyya, 38). This is unproven, but there
are undeniable similarities between Nuktawism and Bábism: a belief in metempsychosis, a fixation on the outward and the return journey. The reform of Fatimid doctrine undertaken by al-Mahdi immediately on proclamation of the caliphate in 297/310. This would, moreover, explain his rapid rise from being the modest judge-in-chief of al-Mansur b. Hayyān, as soon as he had arrived in al-Mansuriyya, to the chancery where a nomination patent was made out appointing him (khādji) kādālī in an office whose exact nature is unknown. The speed of his adhesion to the doctrine of the Shī‘a, as being undoubtedly the father of al-Nu‘mān and of consequently converting Muhammad b. Hayyān into Muhammad b. Hayyān.

Thus al-Mu‘izz’s famous judge seems to have been raised and educated in the doctrine of the Ahl al-Bayt by a father who had already long been won over to Shī‘ism, before the proclamation of the Fatimid caliphate in 297/310. This would, moreover, explain his rapid rise from being the modest kāfī of a province, Tripoli, to the highest office of supreme kāfī in 336/948. It was in fact from that town that the Fatimid caliph Ismā‘īl b. Manṣūr [q. v.] summoned him to his new capital, al-Mansūriyya, just after his triumph over the Kharidjī rebel Abu Yazīd [q. v.], the famous ‘man on the donkey’, in order to appoint him to this high office, in conditions which al-Nu‘mān himself describes in his Kiāb al-Madžlis wa l-musayrat: ‘Al-Nu‘mān, as soon as he had arrived in al-Mansūriyya, was solemnly invented one Friday by the caliph, who awarded him robes of honour woven in the royal workshops and ordered him to proceed immediately to Kayrawān, since al-Mansūriyya had not yet got a mosque which could allow him to lead the Friday worship in an agreed dāim’ and to give the kāfī a negative meaning.”

Al-Nu‘mān’s elevation to the most coveted position amongst the body of fākhs thus coincided with the consolidation of the state and of Fatimid power, after the crushing of Khāridjīsm, as also with the ensemble of the Sunnī party and the deterioration of relations between the central organisation of the Ismā‘īlī da‘wa at al-Mansūriyya with the Karmāšī of Bahrayn. The reform of Fatimid doctrine undertaken by al-Mahdi was only immediately on proclamation of the
caliphate, with the obvious aim of adapting Isma‘ilism to the realities of Kayrawān orthodoxy in order the better to create a state madhhab, became more pronounced during the last years of al-Mansur’s reign and became stronger all through the twenty years’ reign in Ifrīkiya of al-Mu‘izz. Al-Nu‘mān’s designation thus came at a specific moment when the supreme kādi was to have a prime role in the elaboration of the state doctrine. Whilst holding his office and giving to the position of kādi an exemplary image both by his own competence and by his high moral qualities, al-Nu‘mān was also to distinguish himself by his role as a fertile author who was to have the merit of constructing a juridical and doctrinal system accessible to the masses of Ifrīkiya. From now onwards, he was to owe his fame to the elaboration and the teaching of a simplified and moderate doctrine (samā‘ al-hikma), at the same time giving to the office of kādi ‘l-kuddūs amongst the Shi‘is the weightiness and effulgence which a Saḥḥān [q.v.] had given to the Mālik kādi2 a century earlier.

The exercise of his judicial function was to entail, for al-Nu‘mān, a didactic task. Since his high office meant that he was to fulfil, at the side of the Imam, the role of theoretician of Isma‘ilism with those of the texts which he elaborated, al-Nu‘mān wrote under his ultimate direction. For the construction of a juridical and legal system accessible and compatible to the universalist concept of the imāmate. Thus if the Isma‘ili supreme kādi offered the same image of simplicity and modesty, with the additional technical and moral qualities inherent in his office, as did the Sunni kādi ‘l-kuddūs, he nevertheless lived and worked within a total dependence of power. He ceased to be the mouthpiece of the ‘umma, the censor of the palace, listening to the sovereign and feared by the aristocracy. In this way, various texts contributed to the image of the figure of the supreme judge, who became in the Fātimid state an official personage, a man of law caught up in the service of a cause, that of the Ahl al-Bayt. Yet as a consummate theologian, a highly literate author and an official with recognised moral and technical qualities, al-Nu‘mān has the merit of being known as one of the most famous representatives of the Mālik and of preserving for the high office of kādi its dignity and lustre.


F. Dachraoui

AL-NU‘MĀN B. BASHĪR AL-ANSĀRĪ, Companion of the Prophet and governor of al-Kūfā and Hims. According to the K. al-Himma, the Fatimid jurist and author, al-Nu‘mān, the Fatimid jurist and author, was one of the most distinguished of the Companions, and his mother, ʿArʾamait Rawḥa, was the sister of the much-respected ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥa [q.v.]. After the assassination of ʿUthmān, al-Nu‘mān, who was devoted to him, refused to pay homage to Abī Ali. According to some stories which seem rather apocryphal, he brought the bloodstained shirt of the caliph, according to others, the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Naʿūla, to Damascus and these relics were exhibited by Muʿāwiya in the mosque. In the battle of Siffin [q.v.] he faithfully stood by Muʿāwiya and he was always a favourite with him while the other Anṣār were kept at a suitable distance from the Umayyad court. In the year 39/659-60 al-Nu‘mān, by order of Muʿāwiya, undertook an expedition against Mālik b. Kāb al-Arabī, who had occupied in ʿAtīs al-Tamr on the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia and began to besiege it, but had to retire without accomplishing anything. Twenty years later he was given the governorship of al-Kūfā. He was not really fitted for this post, because his pronounced antipathy to Abī Ali and his followers did not suit the Shi‘ī population of the town. In addition, he did not conceal his sympathy with the Anṣār, who were attacked by
After Yazid had come to the throne in 60 Radjab/April 680, he nevertheless left al-Nu'man in office; but the latter did not long remain there. Al-Nu'man is described as an ascetic, and he knew the teachings of the Qur'an thoroughly. But his asceticism was not of the strictest type, and his interest in musical entertainments was regarded as evidence of lack of dignity. In policy he proved very tolerant so long as it did not come to an open rising. When Muslim b. 'Aqil [q.v.], al-Husayn's partisan, appeared in al-Kufa to ascertain the feelings of the people and he found a number who were ready to pay homage to al-Husayn, al-Nu'man adopted a neutral attitude and took no steps to check the vigorous propaganda. As a result, the followers of the Umayyads in al-Kufa wrote to the caliph and called his attention to the fact that the threatening situation demanded a man of vigour who would be able to carry out the government's orders, while al-Nu'man, out of real or feigned weakness, was letting things take their course and only urging people to keep calm. When Yazid was discussing this with his councillors, notably the influential Ibn Sardjun, the latter showed him a document signed by Mu'awiya shortly before his death, containing the appointment of his nominal successor, the Banu 'Abd al-Baqi' b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad [q.v.] to the same office in al-Kufa. In spite of his antipathy to the proposal, Yazid carried out his father's wish and made 'Ubayd Allah governor of al-Kufa without removing him from his post in al-Asra', whereupon al-Nu'man hastened back to Syria. When the people of Medina rebelled at the beginning of the year 63/682 and drove all the Umayyads out of the town, Yazid wished to see what tact would do before resorting to arms and sent a mission to Medina under al-Nu'man to show the people the futility of armed resistance and to bring them to their senses. The mission was also instructed to go on to Mecca to induce the stubborn 'Abd Allâh b. Zubayar to pay homage. Al-Nu'man's warnings and threats had no effect on his countrymen, however, and there was nothing left for the caliph but to subdue the rebels in the two holy cities by force of arms [see Mu'awiyah]. After the death of Yazid in Rabii' 64/Nov. 683, al-Nu'man, who had in the meanwhile become governor of Hims, declared openly for 'Abd Allâh b. Zubayar. In Dhul 'Hijja of the same year/July-Aug. 684 and Mu'harram 65/Aug.-Sept. 684, however, the latter's leading follower al-Dahhak b. Kayn al-Fihri [q.v.] was defeated at Marj Rahit [q.v.], and thus the fate of al-Nu'man was also decided. He attempted to save himself by flight but was overtaken and killed. According to the Arab historians, the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man [q.v.] takes its name from al-Nu'man b. Bashir.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, vi, 35; Tabari, see index; Ibn al-Athir, i, 514, ii, 85, 303, 382, iii, 154, 228, 315, 430, iv, 9, 15, 17, 19, 75, 88, 120, 123-5; Ya'qubi, Tarikh, ii, 219, 228, 278, 301, 304-5; Dinawari, al-Akhbâr al-tiward, ed. Guirgass, 239-40, 277, 278, 315, 430, iv, 9, 15, 17, 19, 75, 88, 120, 123-5, 134, 204, 227-9 = §§ 1621, 1885, 1891, 1968, 1969, 1971; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reiske, i, 77, 385, 393, 405, 407; Kitâb al-Aghani, see Guidi, Tables alphabétiques; Gaetani, Annali dell' Islam, viii, 325, ix, 233, 355, x, 275 ff., see also index; Wellhausen, Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz, 47, 82, 94, 96, 110, Lammens, Études sur le royaume califal omeyyade Mu'awiyah I, 43, 45, 58, 110, 116, 407; idem, Le califat de Yazid I, 119 ff., 137, 140, 142, 207, 215, 221, 222; G. Rot-
from Hira after sensing that Parwiz was in pursuit of him and took refuge with the tribe of Bakr. He nevertheless finally surrendered to Parwiz, who had him trampled to death by elephants.

Al-Nu'mân's death represented the virtual end of the Lakhmid dynasty which had lasted for some three hundred years, the shield of Persia against the Arabs of the Peninsula. A few years later, the tribe of Bakr won the historic encounter of Dhu Kar [q. v.] against the Persians and their Arab condederates. It was the precursor of al-Kâdisiya [q. v.] fought in 637, the battle that was to remove Sâsânid Persia from the stage of Near Eastern politics. Nun is also a name of the 68th sura [see QURDAN, SUAR].

### Bibliography


Iqwan Shaqado, NUMAYR b. AMIR b. Saâ'ââ, an Arab tribe (Wüstenfeld, Genael. Tabellen, F 1) inhabiting the western heights of al-Yamama and those between this country, the nature of which explains the rude and savage character of the Numayr. Their name like that of Namir and Anmâr borne by other ethnic groups (there are also in the list of Arab tribes a number of other clans with the name Numayr: among the Aq, the Tamim, the Dhu 'fi', the Harrân, etc.) is no doubt connected with nimr, namir [q. v.], the Arabian panther; we know the deductions made by Robertson Smith from this fact and from other similar cases, to prove the existence of a system of totemism among the early Arabs (Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, 234).

His theory is now abandoned.

The geographical dictionaries of al-Bakrî and Yâkût mention a large number of places in the land of the Numayr, especially their wells, and often even record a change of ownership from one tribe to another (e.g. Yâkût, Mu'âgan, iii, 802: the well of Qhisl, which formerly belonged to the Tamim clan of the Kulayb b. Yarbî, later passed to Numayr); this wealth of references does not, however, mean that the Numayr played an important part in the history of Arabia. It is only due to the fact that the country of the Numayr was the Bedouin in its scenery and lends itself to description by poets. The Numayr, besides, were much intermixed with the neighbouring tribes (especially the Tamim, Bâhîla and Kuxshayr) and the boundaries of their territory were rather vague.

The Numayr, a poor tribe without natural wealth, have always been brigands. The part they took in the pre-Islamic wars was a very modest one and they appear very rarely alongside of the other groups of the great tribe of 'Amir b. Saâ'ââ (they hardly played any part in the battle of Fayy-Rih against the Banu 'l-Hâri b. Ka'b and their allies, Nakàâ'd, ed. Bevan, 469-72). It is to this isolation that they owe the privilege of being known as one of the Dâmaata al-'Arab, i.e. a tribe which never allied itself with others (al-Mubarrad, Kamîl, ed. Wright, 372; Nakàâ'd, 946; Mašfaddalúsây, ed. Lyall, 841; on the different tribes to which the tribe of Numayr belongs see J. A. Green, 1972); the other designation of the Numayr "the Ahmâs of the Banu 'Amir", also gives them a special place within the great tribe from which they sprang; it indicates that they were thought not to have the same mother as the other clans of the Banu 'Amir (Mašfaddalúsây, 259, 12-15: 771, 2-4; the source is the Dâmaara of Ibn al-Kalbi, Brit. Mus. ms., fols. 120b-121a, now edited). Neither during the life of the Prophet, nor at the beginning of the caliphate, did the Numayr make any stir; they appear neither as partisans nor as enemies of Islam. It is only from the Umayyad period that the name begins to appear in histories, but only to record their insubordination to the central power or their exploits as brigands; in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, their refusal to pay tribute brought a punitive expedition against them (al-Balâghâr, Futâh, 139; cf. Aghânî, xvi, 112-13, xix, 120-1). Another expedition of the same kind but on a larger scale was that sent against them under the famous general of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. It is also Al-kâlibî who, in 232/846, to put an end to their systematic plundering, it ended in the complete dispersal of the tribe (al-Tabârî, iii, 1357-63, a most interesting account of Bedouin customs including on p. 1361 a detailed list of the Numayr clans, only one of which, the Banû 'Amir b. Numayr, devoted itself to agriculture and grazing, while the others lived only by brigandage). It appears, however, that the Numayr soon resumed their old habits and another expedition was sent against them with the same object as the earlier ones in the 4th/10th century by the Hamdânî Sayf al-Dawla (Yâkût, iv, 378).

An event of little importance in itself has given the Numayr considerable fame in literary history, although little flattering to them: this is the satire directed against them by the poet Djarîr [q. v.] which is one of the most famous examples of the invective of the hidâjâ (especially the hemistich: "Cast down thine eyes: thou belongest to the Numayr"). The occasion of it was the unfortunate intervention of the Numayrî poet al-Râ'î in favour of al-Farazsdâk in the celebrated feud between him and Djarîr (Nakàâ'd, 427-51, no. 53: Aghânî, vii, 49-50, xx, 169-71, etc.). The memory of this quarrel survived for a very long time. It was probably no accident that the man who urged the arab Bughâ to the expedition against the Numayr was the great-grandson of Djarîr, the poet Umâr b. 'Akl b. Bîlâl b. Djarîr; the Numayrî moreover had slain four of his uncles (Ibn Kutayba, Shîrî, ed. de Goede, 284, where we must read Banû Ðînna [b. 'Abd Allâb b. Numayr] in place of Banû Dabba). The enmity between the family of Djarîr and the Numayr was probably revived by the proximity of the latter to the tribe of the poet, the Banû Kulayb b. Yarbî.

To the Numayr belonged notable poets—in addition to al-Râ'î and his son Djarîl—like Abu ûayya (in the early 'Abbâsid period) and Djirân al-Awâd whose Dhosn has been published (Cairo 1350/1931, publications of the Egyptian Library), cf. Sezgin, GAS, ii, 217.


Nûn, the 25th letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed /n/, with the numerical value 50, according to the oriental order [see abjad]. Nûn is also a name of the 68th sûra [see kûr'ân, sûra].

1. In Arabic
Definition: an occlusive, dental, voiced nasal (Cantineau, Études, 38-40; Fleisch, Traité, i, 58, 84-3).

Sibawayh distinguishes two kinds of nun: (a) the one whose point of articulation is the tip of the tongue and the region a little above the incisors; this is a clear (madjhur) and hard (qadhid) "letter", but it is accompanied by a resonance (ghanna) of the nose (anf). (b) the light (khafa) nun, whose point of articulation is situated in the nasal cavities (khayashim) (Kislî, ii, 452-4; Roman, Étude, i, 52, 56, 60).

For al-Khalîfî, nun is an apical (dhalî) letter, articulation at the tip of the tongue (dhalî) (K. al-'Ayn, ii, 65; Roman, Étude, i, 216-17).

As Ibn Sinâ, he considers that nun is realised by the tip of the tongue which touches the alveolar arch and holds in the air, then emits it through the nasal cavities (khayashim); the air becomes a resonance (ghanna) of the nose (minkhâr) and a humming sound (daww) (Roman, Étude, i, 253-4).

Phonologically, the phoneme /n/ is defined by the oppositions /n/-/m/, /n/-/r/ and /n/-/l/ (Cantineau, Études, 172).

Alterations: the realisation (izhâr) of nun can only take place before the four laryngeals /'i/, /h/, /h/ and /w/ and the two velars /kh/ and /g/; before the bilabial /b/, there is conversion (kalb) to /m/; before the three pre-palatalals /l/, /r/ and /y/ and the two bilabials /m/ and /w/, there is assimilation (izhâm); before the other consonants, there is concealment (isaq), i.e. reduction to the nasal resonance (Sibawayh, Kislî, ii, 464-5; Roman, Étude, i, 306-7). See also tawwîn.


2. In Turkish

The earliest form of Turkish known to us, that of the Orkhon inscriptions (8th century A.D.), distinguished in the so-called "Runic" script two separate forms for use in back- and front-vowelled syllables, for the dental nasal /n/, plus further forms for the velar nasal /n/ and the palatal nasal /n/ (Tâlat Tekin, A grammar of Orkhon Turkic, Bloomington-The Hague 1968, 230), and thus: after a long vowel, the Uyghur script distinguished /n/, and /n/, and the Brahmi script a further sign /n/ for the nasalisation of vowels arising out of /n/ (A. von Gabain, Alltûrkische Grammatik2, Leipzig 1950, §§ 9, 25, 30-1).

In the Arabic script used for Ottoman Turkish, the dental nasal /n/ was conveyed by the letter nun, whilst the gutturally pronounced /n/ appears in standard Ottoman pronunciation, was written with the so-called qâhid, the Persian gâd (d, j; in Central Asian Turkish, 7ç). It should be noted that /n/ is very rare in word-initial position in true Ottoman Turkish words and /n/ never occurs thus (J. Deny, Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmantî), Paris 1921, 19, 71-2, 76).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

3. Indian sub-continent

Arabic Persian and Turkish words with nun occur frequently in Indian languages, and occasion no difficulties or differences in their orthography; the signs for nunation (tawwîn) remain unchanged, and the qadhid is used for the geminated -nn- whenever Arabic orthography requires it (although it may be neglected in early inscriptions). The sound-systems of the Indo-Aryan languages, however, have resulted in certain modifications to the Perso-Arabic script, as follows.

In most Indian phonologies there are nasalled vowels; these are normally indicated by the usual nun following the nasalled vowel, although when a nasalled long vowel stands finally in a word, or even morphein, the final form of nun is written without its nukta, and is then called nun ghanna. This is derived from the purely calligraphic forms of the Persian nasta'îh script, but the Indian significance is different. Also, geminated consonants can arise morphophonemically; e.g. in the Urdu verb bannî to make, root bnn + infinitive suffix -nî, the -nî must be written with two onom with no tashdid.

Most Indian sound-systems have a retroflex nasal (derived generally from a single intervocalic nasal in Middle Indo-Aryan) as well as the dental, but these have fallen together in standard Hindî and Urdu, and even where they are still differentiated in various rustic forms of speech they are never distinguished in the Urdu script. (They occur in Ougurâtî and Marâthî, but there is no question of the Perso-Arabic script being used.) A retroflex nasal is required, however, in Sindhi and in Pashto, where new writing devices have been invented. In Pashto the nun, medial or final, is written with its usual single nuka, with the addition of a small subscript circle (or "bean") to either form. The Sindhi retroflex nasal substitutes a small râ for the usual nuka. (Sindhi also distinguishes the velar and palatal nasals in speech, but the velar r is represented by a gâf with two additional superscript nukas, the palatal b by a hâ with two horizontal subscript nukas.) The retroflex nasal also occurs in Pandjâbi, but no standard writing system has yet been introduced.

Bibliography: Specimens of written (and printed) Pandjâbi, Pashto and Sindhi are given in the appropriate volumes of G.A. Grierson, Linguistic survey of India. (J. Burton-Page)

NUR (a.), light, synonym dau'; also dâ' and dûa' (the latter sometimes used in the plural).

1. Scientific aspects

According to some authors, dau' (dûa') has a more intensive meaning than nur (cf. Lane, Arabic-English dictionary, s.v. dau'); this idea has its foundation in Kûrân, X, 5, where the sun is called dûa' and the moon nur. The further deduction from this passage is that dûa' is used for the light of light-producing bodies (sun and moon) and the term dawâ' for the reflected light in bodies which do not emit light (moon), is not correct, if we remember the primitive knowledge of natural science possessed by the Arabs in the time of Muhammad, nor is there any proof of it in later literature. The works on natural science and cosmology of the Arabs in the best period of the Middle Ages (Îbn al-Haytâm, al-Kazwînî [q. v.] and later writers) in the major part of cases use the term dau' and it therefore seems justified to claim this word as a technical term in mathematics and physics.

Besides dealing with the subject in his Optics (Kislî al-Manâzîr), Îbn al-Haytâm devoted a special treatise to it entitled Kauwil al-Hasan b. al-Husayn b. al-Haytâm fi 'l-dauwâ' which has been published with a German translation by J. Baarmann in ZDMG, xxxvi (1882), 195-237, from which we take the following details:

As regards light, two kinds of bodies are distinguished, luminous (including the stars and fire) and non-luminous (dark); the non-luminous are again divided into opaque and transparent, the latter again into such as are transparent in all parts, like air, water, glass, crystal etc., and such as only admit the light partly but the material of which is really opaque, such as thin cloth.

The light of luminous bodies is an essential quality
of the body, the reflected light of a body in itself dark being, on the other hand, an accidental quality of the body.

As the opinion of the mathematicians, all the phenomena of light are of one and the same character; they consist of a heat from fire which is in the luminous bodies themselves. This is evident from the fact that one can concentrate rays of light from the brightest luminous body, the sun, by means of a burning-glass on one point and thus set all inflammable bodies alight and by the fact that the air and other bodies affected by the light of the sun become warm. Light and heat are thus identified with each other or regarded as equivalent. The intensity of light, like that of heat, diminishes as the distance from the source increases.

Every luminous body, whether its light is one of its essential qualities (direct) or accidental (reflected), illuminates any body placed opposite it, i.e. it sends its light out in all directions. All bodies, whether the mathematician Abū al-Abū al-Salīb or the natural philosopher Ibn al-Haytham, the former having further the power of transmitting it again; that a transparent body (air, water, etc.) also has the power of absorbing light is evident from the fact that the light becomes visible in it if it is cut with an opaque body: the light must therefore have already been in it.

The penetration of light into a transparent body takes place along straight lines (proof: the sun’s rays in the dust-filled air of a dark room). This transmission of light in straight lines is an essential feature of light itself, not of the transparent body, for otherwise there must be in the latter specially marked lines along which the light travels; such a hypothesis is however disproved by admitting two or more rays of light at the same time into a dark room and watching them.

The ray is defined as light travelling along a straight line. The early mathematicians were of the opinion that the process of seeing consisted in the transmission of a ray from the eye of the observer to the object seen and the reflection from it back to the eye. Opposed to this is Ibn al-Haytham’s view that the body seen—luminous or opaque—sends out rays in all directions from all points of which those going towards the eye of the observer collect in it and are perceived as the image of the body (cf. Optics, book i, 23. “Visio non fit radiis a visu emissis” and also book ii, 23).

There is no absolutely transparent body; on the contrary, every body, even the transparent one, reflects a part of the light which strikes it (explanation of the phenomena of twilight). According to Aristotle, the heavens possess the highest and most perfect degree of transparency. Ibn al-Haytham challenges this statement and shows from a use of the theory of transmission that a body of the same body is both the source and the target of a ray. This is based on the well-known rules of the reflection of light in passing through media of different densities, that the transparency has no limits and that for every transparent body an even more transparent one can be found.

An explanation of the origin of the halo around the moon, of the rainbow, its shape and its colours, and of the phenomena of light in the atmosphere of the bath, is given by al-Kazwînî in his Cosmography, i (‘Adînî, al-makhdûkî, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, 100-1; tr. Ethê, Leipzig 1868, 205 ff.). Al-Kazwînî in his discussion replaces the rainbows by small looking-glasses; Ibn al-Haytham, on the other hand, deals with the problem in a much more conclusive fashion by assuming a single or dou-

ble reflection of light in spheres (cf. E. Wiedemann, in Wied. Ann., xxxix [1890], 575).


2. Philosophical aspects

The doctrine that light is not a thing in itself and reveals Himself as such in the world to and man is very old and widely disseminated in Oriental religions as well as in Hellenistic gnosia and philosophy. We cannot here go into the early history; it will be sufficient to refer to some parallels in the Old and New Testaments, e.g. Gen., i. 3; Isaiah, lx. 1, 19; Zech., iv.; John, i. 4-9; iii. 19; v. 33; viii. 12; xii. 35; and Rev., xxi. 23-4.

How Muhammad became acquainted with this teaching is not known. How it was elaborated, as was its ‘light’ verses, notably XXIV, 35, the ‘light verse’ proper; cf. XXXIII, 34 (Muhammad as lamp); LXI, 8-9 (God’s light); LXIV, 8 (the light sent down = revelation). The light verse runs (as rendered by Goldziher, in Die Richtungen der Koranaulegung, 183-5): ‘God is the light of the heavens and of the earth; His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass and the glass is like a shining star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive-tree, neither an eastern nor a western one; its oil almost shines alone even if no fire touches it; light upon light. God leads to his light whom He will, and God creates allegories for man, and God knows all things.’

From the context it is clear that we have to think of the light of religious knowledge, of the truth which God communicates through his Prophet to his creatures especially the believers (cf. also XXIII, 40). It is pure light, light upon light, which has nothing to do with fire (nûr), which is lit from an olive tree, perhaps not of this world (cf. however A. J. Wensinck, Tree and bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia, in Verh. Ak. Amst. [1921], 27-8). Lastly, it is God as the All-Knowing who instructs men and leads them to the light of His revelation (cf. LXIV, 8). It is clear that we have here the comparison of gnostic imagery but those rationalist theologians, who—whether to avoid any comparison with the creature or God or to oppose the fantastic mystics—interpreted the light of God as a symbol of His good guidance, probably diverged less from the sense of the Kur‘ân than most of the metaphysicians of light. Passages in which God appears as the Knowing (‘alîm) and the Guiding (hâdî) are very frequent in the Kur‘ân. One did not need to look far for an exegesis on these lines. As al-Asfârî observes (Makâliêt, ed. Ritter, ii, 534), the Mu‘azzalî al-Husayn al-Nadîjdjî interpreted the light verse to mean that God guides the inhabitants of heaven and earth. The Zaydis also interpreted the light as God’s good guidance [see gîlîa and zaydyya].

From ca. 100 A.H., we find references to a prophetic doctrine of nûr, and gradually to a more general metaphysics of light, i.e. the doctrine that God is essentially light, the prime light and as such the source of all being, all life and all knowledge. Especially among the mystics in whose emotional thinking being, name and image coalesced, this speculation developed. Meditation on the Kur‘ân, Persian stimuli, gnostic-Hermetic writings, and lastly and most tenaciously, Hellenistic philosophy provided the material for new ideas. Al-Kumâyî (d. 126/743 [q. v.])
The doctrine of light was dialectically expounded by Sahil al-Tusi (d. 295/882) (see also Massigion, A., Testamenti idei, 39, and Sahil al-Tusi-Tari). The first representatives of a metaphysics of light in Islam readily fell under the suspicion of Manicheism, i.e. of the dualism of darkness as the eternal principles. The tradition of al-Tirmidhi that God created in darkness [see KHALK] must have aroused misgivings. The physician al-Razi (d. 599/1687), among other things, took the doctrine of light to pour forth is also light occasional synonyms: huwa, ba‘ha‘), the 'prime light' (51) or (44) the 'light of lights'. Light (51) is essentially in God, the goal of all mystics. Qopinion that nothing can be predicated regarding God, the father of this doctrine is al-Ghazali (in Ma^drid^ al-Kudsfimaddrid^ ment Collection, 16; 2. 150-1, wrongly) were accused of this dualism. But the speculations about nur found powerful support from the 3rd/9th century in the monistic doctrine of light of the Neo-Platonists (we do not know of any Persian monism of light) which was compatible with the monotheism of Islam. The Neoplatonist doctrine of Plato, who in his Politeia, 506 D ff., compares the idea of the good in the supersensual world with Helios as the light of the physical world. The contrast is not therefore between light and darkness but between the world of ideas and mind and its copy, the physical world of bodies, in the upper world pure light, in the lower world light more or less mixed with darkness. Among the Neo-Platonists, the idea of the good – the highest God – pure light. This identification was also facilitated by the fact that, according to Aristotle's conception, light is nothing corporeal (De anima, ii, 7, 418b: [foc]. . . ouv pór oth élal xovma oth dkh peroph nómato. From the context, which is however not clear, it appears that Aristotle regarded light as an effective force (ávprf). This is however of no importance here. Many Aristotelian forces and Platonic ideas are described by Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists sometimes as forces and sometimes as substances (spiritual). With Aristotel, ákovos (darkness) was conceived not as something positive but as strefos (private, the absence of light). From this developed the doctrine which we find in the Arabic Theo!ogy of Aristotle. Not far from the beginning (ed. Dieterici, 3) it is said: the power of light (huwawa narsiyu) is communicated by the prime cause, the creator, to the world of light and beings, and then from the 'akl through the world soul to nature and from the world soul through nature to the things which originate and decay. The whole process of this creative development proceeds without movement and timelessly. But God who causes the force of light to pour forth is also light (nur; occasional synonyms: haun, ba‘ha‘), the 'prime light' (51) or (44) the 'light of lights'. Light (51) is essentially in God, not a quality (ist), for God has no qualities but is through His being (huwesiyu) alone. The light flows through the whole world, particularly the world of men. From the supersensual original (150), the first man (insan ‘akif), it flows over the second man (insan nafsant) and from him to the third (insan jismant). These are the originals of the so-called real men. Light is, of course, found in its purest form in the souls of the wise and the good (51). It should be noted also that nur is a synonym for faith, distinction (nur) is said to be only a force in man in matter with definite quality (85). Fire, of course, like everything else, has its supersensual original. But this is more connected with life than with light.

The elevation of the soul to the divine world of light corresponds to the creative descent of light (8). When the soul has passed on its return beyond the world of the ‘akf, it sees there the pure light and the beauty of God, the goal of all mystics. Although the author of the Liber de causis is of the opinion that nothing can be predicated regarding God, yet he has to call Him the prime cause and more exactly pure light (§ 5, ed. Barthenewer, 69) and as such the origin of all being and all knowledge (in God is wajuj = ma‘rifá; see § 23, p. 103). The light emanated by God may, if it is regarded as an independent entity, be placed at various parts of the system. Most philosophers and theologians connect it with the ruh or ‘akf or identify it with them, sometimes with the light of being (hayyá), but this must be more closely investigated. The great philosophers in Islam, al-Farabi and Ibn Siná, connected the doctrine of light with the ‘akf in metaphysics as well as in psychology. Al-Farabi is fond of using many synonyms for the light of God and the ‘akf (ba‘ha‘), etc.; see e.g. Der Musterstaat, ed. Dieterici, 13 ff.). In the biography of al-Farabi in Ibn Abi Uaybay’s Ustūr, the ‘akf (ba‘ha‘) prayer is attributed to him in which God is invoked as the 'prime cause of things and light of the earth and of heaven'. Like al-Farabi, Ibn Siná takes up the doctrine of light in theology and further develops it. In his psychological writings he regards the light as a link of the soul and body (cf. Sahil al-Tusi-Tari, who places nur between ruh and suf in the four elements of man). In the Kistá al-Isharati (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 126-7) he even reads the whole metaphysical doctrine of the ‘akf of the Aristotelians into the light verse of the Kur‘áan. Light is the ‘akf bi ‘l-fár, fire the ‘akf fa‘dál and so on. God’s light is therefore like the nous of Aristotle! This discovery of Ibn Siná’s was incorporated in the pious reflections of al-Ghazáli (in Ma‘danid al-Kusf fi madand nafs fi naclf, Cairo 1927, 58-9).

On the idea of light amongst the Sufis, see TAŠANWUR.


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Abd al-Kadir Bada‘uni, hi, 137, says that he was, “although a Shi‘i, a just, pious and learned man.” He was flogged to death in 1019/1610, regarded as al-Shahid al-Thalith, his tomb in Akbarabad is visited by numerous Shi‘Is from all parts of India. By the Shális and his presentation to Emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), he was appointed káid of Lahore, later Mu‘in al-Shá‘í al-Musín (d. 999/1586). “Abd al-Kádir Badá‘uni, iii, 137, says that he was, “although a Shi‘i, a just, pious and learned man.” He was hanged to death in 1019/1610, on account of his religious opinions, by the order of the Emperor Dhiá’går (1014-37/1605-28). He is regarded as al-Shahíd al-Thalith, “the third martyr,” by the Shi‘is and his tomb in Akbarabad is visited by numerous Shi‘Is from all parts of India.

He is the author of numerous spiritual works, of which the following may be quoted: 1. Håsháya ‘alá ’l-Baydawi‘i, a supplementary to al-Baydawi’s commentary on the Kur‘án entitled Anwár al-tanzilí: see Asiatic Society of Bengal ms., List of the Government Collection, 16; 2. Håsháya Sharh gaddid ‘alá ’l-Taqfírid, glosses to Kishájí’s commentary on Naṣír al-Din al-Tusi’s compendium of metaphysics and
theology, entitled Tadjrid al-kaldm: see Loth, Ind. Off., no. 471, xv; 3. Ihdk al-hakk wa-izhd al-bdtil, a polemical work against Sunnism written in reply to Fadl b. Farahdhan’s work entitled Thal al-bdtil, a treatise in refutation of the Kafi of the house of Na’im al-isdid by Hasan b. Yusuf b. ‘Ali al-Hilli; see Bankipore Library, Khuda Bakhsh cat., xiv, 172; Farangi Mahall Library, Lucknow, fol. 108; Rambur Library, 281; Asiatic Society of Bengal (List of Arabic mss., 23); 4. Madqils al-mum’inin, biographies of famous Shb’is from the beginning of Islam to the rise of the Ottoman dynasty in Persia; see Bankipore Library cat., 766; Asiatic Society of Bengal cat., 59; Ethé, Ind. Off., no. 704, and Rieu, Cat. of Persian mss. in the Brit. Mus., 337a. Printed at Tehran 1268.


(M. Hidayat Hosain)

NUR BANU WALIDE SULTAN (ca. 932-91/ca. 1525-83), Khâssêki (principal consort) of the Ottoman sultan Selim II [q. v.] and mother of the sultan Murad III [q. v.]. She was born on Paros [see Para] as Cecilia, illegitimate daughter of Nicolo Venier (d. 1520), the penultimate sovereign ruler of the island and of Violante Baffo. The identity of this “Venetian Sultana” is often confused with that of her successor, the Wâlide Sultan Şâfiye [q. v.]. Some Turkish historians persist in ascribing a Jewish origin to her. At the time of the conquest of the island in 1537, she was selected for deportation to the harem of the sultan on such an occasion. He carried her out of the palace gate and accompanied the coffin as far as the mosque of Fâtih, where the funeral salât was performed. Nûr Bûnû is buried in the mausoleum of Selim II at the Aya Sofya.

Bibliography: E. Rossi, La Sultana Nur Bûnû (Cecilia Venier Baffo)…, in OM, xxxii (1953) 433-41; Selânîki, Ta’ârîkh, ed. Ispîlî, 141: Yeînî Kapilî) on Wednesday, 22 2-du’ ‘Ka’dâ’ 991/1583. Her son put on mourning dress (the first time ever reported of an Ottoman sultan on such an occasion). He carried her out of the palace gate and accompanied the coffin as far as the mosque of Fâtih, where the funeral salât was performed. Nûr Bûnû is buried in the mausoleum of Selim II at the Aya Sofya.

During the reign of Selim II, her influence mainly affected official appointments by introducing the sale of offices. The imperial harem gradually extended its influence in this way to affairs outside the palace. During the reign of her son, Nûr Bûnû was able to establish what is called the “Wâlide Sultanate” (kadmlar saltanati). Apart from her daughters, the leading members of her clique were the princess Mihrî Mâh (d. 985/1578 [q. v.]), the kedâmah (“Mistress of the Female Household”) from 991 till 1003/1595, Djanfêdâ Khânîn and Râdiye Khânîn (Kafja) (d. 1003/26 June 1597), a lady companion since Magnhna days. (cf. Selânîki, Ta’ârîkh, ed. Ispîlî, 693). The Jewish Kira Esther Handali (d. ca. 1590) also played a role in external contacts, e.g. with the financier Joseph Nasi, duke of Naxos (1514-79) [see Nâzîs]. The bâbîhül-vâdîd eghbi Ghzânfer Agha (d. 1603) and the leading mîzdâbî Shemsî Ahmed Paqa (d. 988/1580-1) belonged to Nûr Bûnû’s faction.

During her son’s reign, one of her main preoccupations was the rivalry with Şâfiye, first khasâskî of Murad III whom Nûr Bûnû was able to relegate to the Old Saray at the time of his accession.

In her day already, Nûr Bûnû was compared to the queen (modis) of France, Catherine de Médicis (1519-89). The two exchanged letters in 1581 and 1582. The presents from the French “Wâlide Sultan” to her Ottoman opposite number arrived too late in April 1584 and were redirected to Şâfiye Sultan by Esther Kira instead! Some letters of Nûr Bûnû and her Kira to the Doge and Senate as well as to the bailo, Giovanni Correr (in Istanbul 1578-80), apart from the many presents and tokens of respect received, are evidence of Şâfiye Sultan’s last favourable interest in affairs of Venice.

Her regular income came from the so called baqqhatlîk (“slipper money”) and wa‘d endowments [see Wâlide Sultan].

Nûr Bûnû possessed her own palace near Edirne Kapî, where in 1580 her son retired during a serious attack of epilepsy (Charrière, iii, 922 and n. 1). The celebrated Atîk Wâlide (Eski Şâfiye) mosque complex at Usküdar-Topkapî was given her by her son, and was later taken from 978/1570 to 991/1583 (designed by Sinân [q. v.]). Two small mosques were built in her name elsewhere in Istanbul.

After an illness, she died in her garden palace near Edirne Kapî (according to Selânîki, Ta’ârîkh, ed. Ispîlî, 141: Yeînî Kapilî) on Wednesday, 22 2-du’ ‘Ka’dâ’ 991/1583. Her son put on mourning dress (the first time ever reported of an Ottoman sultan on such an occasion). He carried her out of the palace gate and accompanied the coffin as far as the mosque of Fâtih, where the funeral salât was performed. Nûr Bûnû is buried in the mausoleum of Selim II at the Aya Sofya.
trouvery, some regarding it as a repetition of the story of David and Uriah, others holding the view that he was pre-existent in body or in soul. The controversy brought about the adoption of a somewhat neutral name for the primordial entity of Muhammad: al-bakīha al-Muhammadīyya (see a survey of the various opinions in Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Shāmi, Subul al-huḍa wa l-rashād fi sīrat Khalīf al-Insāb, Cairo 1990, i, 91-99). The latter term, meaning the Muhammadan reality', is opposed in the discussions of Ibn al-Kāmil (q.v.), i.e. the Perfect Man, the archetype of the universe and humanity, which is identified with Muhammad. In these discussions allusion is most often made to the Kur'ānic verse of light (XXIV, 35). Specific elaborations on the concept are current in the Išmā‘iliyya (q.v.) and among other Shi‘i extremist sects (U. Rubin, Pre-existence and light: aspects of the concept of Nūr Muhammad, in IOS, v [1975], 107-9).

The idea of Muhammad's pre-existence is claimed in early hadith material, where it is stated that Muhammad was the first of all prophets to be created (e.g. Ibn Sa‘d, Tabakât, Beirut 1960, i, 148-9). The idea is also implied in the commentaries on Kur'ān XXXIII, 7 (al-Barâr, etc.) which mentions the covenants (milhâq (q.v.) of the prophets (Rubin, art. cit., 69). Relevant are also the interpretations of Kur'ān VII, 172, which deals with the无人机 offspring (offsprings) of the children of Adam (Rubin, art. cit., 67-8).

In the early hadith material, the Muhammadan light is referred to as Nūr Muhammad, and is given a special function. It is identified with the sparcatic substance of Muhammad's ancestors. The light is said to have reached the corporeal Muhammad from his progenitors through the process of procreation (see especially Abû Sa‘d al-Khārijī, Shāraf al-Muṣṭafâ, n. B., L., XXIII, 1, fol. 7 ff.). This concept (tradiçãoism) corresponds to the Arabic, pre-Islamic, belief that virtues, as well as voices, were passed on from the ancestors (Goldziher, Muh. St., i, 41-2). Bearing (in their loins) the divine Muhammadan substance, Muhammad's Arab ancestors are presented as true Muslims, and sometimes even as 'prophets' (Rubin, art. cit., 71-85). See also the commentaries of al-Kummi, al-Tusi, al-Tabarî, al-Râzî, al-Kurtubî, and others (see Rubin, art. cit., 112 ff.). Shī‘i traditions hold that not only Muhammad, but also ‘Ali (q.v.) and his family, including the Imāms, shared the same light. It is claimed that while being passed on through the ancestors, the light was split in two, so that both Muhammad and ‘Ali received equal shares of it (Rubin, art. cit., 83-98). There are also Sunni counter-versions in which the first four caliphs are given a share in the Muhammadan light (Rubin, art. cit., 112 ff.).

There is also another kind of divine pre-existent light which is referred to as Nūr Allâh. It is said to have reached Muhammad and the Shi‘i Imams through the previous prophets (not the ancestors). It is being passed on at the end of each person's life, as part of his hereditary authority (wasiyya) (see Rubin, Prophets and progenitors in the early Shi‘a tradition, in JSAI, i [1979], 41 ff.).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

Nūr (meaning ‘true teacher’), a per-
son whose name is generally associated with the beginnings of the Nizārī [see NIZARIYYA] or Satpanth (i.e. the true path) Ismāʿīlim in India but who remains more as an enigmatic and a symbolic figure around whom the Nizārī tradition has woven a colourful tapestry of legends representing the emergence of its daʿwa in the Indian subcontinent. As far as the historical sources are concerned, we are on very tenuous ground because of scanty material. Most of our information is therefore derived from the Nizārī sources which tend to be hagiographic. The major source of this biography is the community's indigenous religious literature known as ginās (derived from Sanskrit जिन्स, meaning 'contemplative or meditative knowledge'). The ginās are poetic compositions in Indian vernaculars, such as Sindhi, Pangābī, Mūlsānī, Gudjārātī and Hindī, are polyglot in nature, and are ascribed to various pīrs [q.v.].

The dissemination of ginās, as we have seen, was of a polyglot in nature, and are often anachronistic and legendary in nature. Moreover, as this literature was preserved orally in the Indian subcontinent. As a result of this, the emergence of its daʿwa and the geographical context of its locations are ascribed to Nur Satgur, he probably came from Persia to Pātān (in Gudjārāt), where he allegedly succeeded in converting the then reigning Rādji king Siddhārādha Dīyasīnī (1094-1143), the same king whom is also reported to have been converted by the Muṣṭālī-Tayyībī [q.v.] daʿwa. The second narrative in those ginās traces Nur Satgur’s activities in another region, Dhāranāgārī, after his exploits in Pātān, where he allegedly succeeded not only in converting the king but also in marrying the latter’s daughter. (For details, see Azim Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, Delmar, N.Y. 1978, 50-3, where the Nizārī tradition about the commencement of the Nizārī daʿwa is analysed.)

The existence of a shrine located in Navsārī, near Sūrat, ascribed to him, and the chronogram which he strove to set forth the subject-matter in an easily comprehensible form. Having realised that certain ideas did not come easily to young minds, he tried to express them by concrete examples. Moreover, he thought that his pupils would more quickly grasp the syntactic relationships of words and would understand their functions better if he presented them schematically certain examples, so that the arrangement of the different elements of the phrase might become clearer and more eloquent. All his educational works show great pedagogical care.

On the other hand, Nur al-Dīn edited, translated into French and commented upon, in collaboration with Jahier, famous works of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, wishing thereby to throw into relief that place which scientific texts, at the side of philosophical, religious and hagiographic ones, occupied in the Arabic literature of the Muslim West.

Of his historical works, one should mention his critical edition of Ghāzawāt ʿUrūǧ wa-Ḥayr al-Dīn, of a history of the town of Constantine by ʿAbd al-Kādir Ahmad Ibn al-Mubārak and, above all, his Sāḥibī fi ṣaḥīḥ al-madīnat al-dawla, which became a reference which is characterised by the solidity of its documentation, the clarity of its exposition and its easy style.

The essential quality of his publications shows that Nur al-Dīn was a significant example of an Algerian ʿilmīn, with an Arabic and French education, who took up modern pedagogical methods and research techniques based on bibliography, the study of sources and manuscripts. With an absence of dogmatism and in a spirit of liberal-minded curiosity, he led a studious life devoted to learning. However, his published work is less important than the real value of the effects produced by his teaching, and it was in effect by his practical example that his influence was deepest. As a good teacher, well-informed, devoted and with a rare modesty, he brought much and inspired much not merely to his numerous pupils but also to his colleagues.

The chronological list of his writings is as follows:

NUR AL-DIN — NUR AL-DIN MAHMUD B. ZANKI

Ibn Usaybā'ī, grammatical analysis with exercises. 1365/1946. 7. al-Mutḍla^a, grammatical analysis with exercises. 1365/1946. 7. al-Mutḍla^a, grammatical analysis with exercises.

Nur al-Dīn succeeded him, but for many years was

See, also ibid., a daughter who was to marry the

Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, did not

and Nur al-Dīn's capture of and attempt to hold Tell A'nafar failed in the next year.

The pattern of alliances then changed, with a mar-

Malik al-'Adil's son, when the Zangids of Mawsil and the Ayyūbids for a while united Kutb al-Dīn, but this

Nur al-Dīn's early external policy aimed at securing control


Adil, sixth ruler in Mawsil of the Zangid line of

Malik al-'Adil, [q.v.], prince of Antioch [see AN-

The intervention in Diyar Bakr, leading to a siege of Mardin [q. v.], by the Ayyūbids for a while united Kutb al-Dīn, but this

Malik al-'Adil, [q.v.], prince of Antioch [see AN-

Joscelin found

in that of the Shafi madhhab to that of the Shafi madhhab.

Additionally, in the next year Kutb al-Dīn retained possession of Sindjär until 616/1219, but Nur al-Dīn himself died in Radjab 607/January 1211, to be succeeded in Mawsil by his son 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Malik al-Kātib, [q.v.].

Nur al-Dīn left behind a reputation in Mawsil as a benefactor to the town, building inter alia a madrasa there for the Shāfiis when he himself passed from the

Sa'yf al-Dīn Ṭāhāzī, the eldest, represented his father at Mawsil [q. v.], the second son, Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd, had accompanied his father in the majority of his military operations, the third, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Amīr-Amīrān, was to be governor of Ḥarrān [q. v.], the fourth son, Kutb al-Dīn Mawsūd [q. v.], was to succeed his eldest brother at Mawsil. There was also a daughter who was to marry the amīr Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṣūrī.

After the death of his father, Nur al-Dīn made his way to Aleppo [see Ḩalāb], following the advice of Shirkuh, a Kurdish amīr and friend of the former

Nur al-Dīn left behind a reputation in Mawsil as a benefactor to the town, building inter alia a madrasa there for the Shāfiis when he himself passed from the


In that of the Shafi madhhab to that of the Shafi madhhab.

Nur al-Dīn's early external policy aimed at securing control of Niṣībīn [q. v.], and the Šāfi madhhab to that of the Shafi madhhab.

Joscelin found

the expedition of his operations and called the Armenians to evacuate the town. Joscelin founded refuge at Sumaysāt on the right bank of the Euphrates. Edessa was then incorporated into the domain of Nur al-Dīn. Relations between the latter and Sa'yf al-Dīn Ṭāhāzī became strained until, on the occasion of his brother's investiture, Nur al-Dīn addressed

... from his kinsman, the Šāfi lord of Sindjär ʿImād al-Dīn Šāfi and the latter's son Kutb al-Dīn Muhammad (594/1199), but was frustrated by the intervention in Diyar Bakr, leading to a siege of Mardin [q. v.], by the Ayyūbids for a while united Kutb al-Dīn, but this

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The vigour of his operations induced the

In that of the Shafi madhhab to that of the Shafi madhhab.

Joscelin found

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to him, from Aleppo, an official act of homage, recognising the primacy of his elder brother. He obtained guarantees for his eastern frontier, where Harun took the place of Edessa and was charged with the responsibility of conducting the dhikhād \(^1\) against the enemy from the West.

Reviving the policy of his father, Nūr al-Dīn decided to take possession of Damascus \(^2\) and to incorporate it into a Syrian federation, for political reasons in view of the presence of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem to the south, and for economic reasons, since he was assured of the neutrality of his elder brother. He also sought to make himself independent of Damascus with the aid of the Franks of Jerusalem, but the latter were forced to withdraw.

For the Latin states, the objective was to remove Nūr al-Dīn, but the absence of political direction among the Crusaders spared the latter a campaign which could have caused him serious problems. On 24 July 1148, following a series of debates in the Assizes of Jerusalem, the decision was taken to attack Damascus. In July, the Franks mustered at Tiberias and arrived before Damascus on the 24th. Muṁīn al-Dīn sent urgent appeals for help to Mawsil and Aleppo and explored the Zankid threat to repel the Franks, who raised the siege on 28 July.

The year 1149 was a time of considerable activity. Nūr al-Dīn was determined to counter the attacks of Raymond of Antioch. He decided, after receiving reinforcements from Damascus, to attack the region of Afāmiya \(^3\), then occupied by the Franks. He also laid siege to Inab which commanded the valley of the Ghāb \(^4\) on 20 Sāfarr 544/29 June 1149, having defeated the Latins at a place known as Ārād al-Hātim. Nūr al-Dīn occupied the land between the Rūjd and the Orontes \(^5\). He took Afāmiya and Kāfīs al-Mudjīk, and then Hārir \(^6\), where he installed a Muslim garrison and then resumed the siege of Antioch, where the antagonists concluded a truce.

On 23 Rabī‘ II 544/28 August 1149, on the death of Mu้ำn al-Dīn Unur, there was tension in Damascus, where Mudjīr al-Dīn Aybak took control of the government. Seeking to intervene, Nūr al-Dīn found a pretext in the campaign currently being conducted by the Franks in the Hawrān. He appealed for the participation of a Damascene contingent in his support but, on the basis of previous agreements the Damascenes called upon the Franks of Jerusalem for help in resisting Nūr al-Dīn. Advancing with diminished strength, the latter crossed the Biqā‘ traversed the Anti-Lebanon and deployed his army some ten km to the south-west of Damascus at a place known as Manāzil al-‘Asākār, on 26 Dhū ‘l-Hijjah 544/25 April 1150. From his encampment, Nūr al-Dīn sent a declaration to the Damascenes, informing them that he had come to protect them from their supposed allies, the Franks. Since his supporters were still too few in number to control the city, Nūr al-Dīn decided to return to Aleppo, where his presence was necessary following the siege of Jelfelin of Edessa by Turkish troops in Dhū ‘l-Hijjah 544/4 April 1150 and his incarceration in the citadel of Aleppo. This event gave rise to various repercussions: in the month of Muḥarram 545, the Saldjūk ruler of Rūm, Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad, set out to blockade Tell Bābshīr and invited Nūr al-Dīn to join him. The latter accepted, not wishing to allow his rival to be the sole beneficiary of the situation. While Mas‘ūd succeeded in taking all the places situated in the valleys to the west of the Euphrates, Nūr al-Dīn took the region of upper Afrīn \(^7\) in order to take control of the communications routes linking Antioch with the north. In autumn 545/1150 he occupied the region downstream of al-Bīrā on the right bank of the Euphrates. The frontier of the Dār al-Īslām was thus transferred from the Euphrates to the Orontes.

At the end of 545/spring 1151 the problem arose of the transfer of the frontier. The trend concluded between Damascus and Jerusalem. It was on 26 April that Nūr al-Dīn established his base to the south of Damascus and issued an appeal to the population but, failing to prevent contacts between the Damascenes and the troops of Baldwin III, he withdrew to the valley of the Barādā \(^8\). The Franks entered the city and, before returning to Jerusalem, claimed a portion of the indemnity promised in July 1151. After their departure, Nūr al-Dīn decided to take the city.

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For the Latin states, the objective was to remove Nūr al-Dīn, his agents engaged in subtle propaganda, while he himself resorted to more persuasive tactics: he intercepted the food supplies arriving from the south. Prices rose and famine threatened. While the city starved, Nūr al-Dīn had dealings with the heads of the ābdād \(^9\) and with the zu‘ār who were recruited among the porters and lower echelons of the souks. Mudjīr al-Dīn appealed to the Franks, but before they had time to intervene, Nūr al-Dīn launched his operation. When his troops entered the town, the middle classes barricaded their homes against them and the mob went on the rampage, but within a few hours Nūr al-Dīn restored order, distributed provisions and undertook to respect private property. The population was reassured.

Rampage, but within a few hours Nūr al-Dīn restored order, distributed provisions and undertook to respect private property. The population was reassured. Mudjīr al-Dīn, isolated in the citadel, accepted Hims \(^10\) in return for his capitulation. On the day of his departure, Nūr al-Dīn called a meeting, the participants including the ra‘īs Raḍī al-Dīn al-Tamīmī and Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the kādīs and the fukahā \(^11\), as well as leading citizens and merchants. He repeated his conciliatory assurances and announced the abolition of taxes levied on the markets. The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus marked the beginning of a new era for all the victims of previous régimes; thus the amīr Usāmā b. Munkīd, who had left the city ten years earlier, returned at the start of Rabī‘ II 549/June 1154.

In eight years, Nūr al-Dīn was to achieve, by gradual stages, his objective of a united Syria. He began by consolidating his position at Aleppo; as a means of suppressing the Shi‘īs, he revived with increased vigour the measures which Zankī had inaugurated: the imposition of Sunni Islam was to be one of the major objectives of his policy. Having relocated his eastern frontier on the Balikh, he was assured of the neutrality of his elder brother. He also participated in the dismemberment of the County of Edessa, as a result of which he had, in the north, a common frontier with his father-in-law Mas‘ūd,
Nur al-Din Mahmūd b. Zānkī 129

Sālḏuj sultan of Rūm. Whereas the power of Zānḵī had extended, from east to west, from Mawsil to Alep-
po, that of Nur al-Din extended, in 549/1154, on a
north-south axis from YāsMUX [q. v.] to the Al-Ruḫū to
Boṣrā and Sālḏqdad, guaranteeing the food-supplies of
the Muslim towns.

The following year, Nur al-Din demanded the sub-
misison of the āmīr Daḫbāk b. Bāḵṭārī, since the region of
Bašlabak b. V. [q. v.] was dependent on the province of
Damascus. When his demand was refused, he did not hesitate to send a detachment to rid himself of the
rebel, who was killed on 7 Rabīʿ II 567/1 Marṣāl 1170.

This problem being settled, the treaty with Jerusalem
was renewed and another concluded with Antioch, Nur al-
Din was free to intervene in the struggle which had
broken out between Sālḏjdus and Dānḏiḡmendīdīs
[ q. v. ] regarding the inheritance of his father-in-law
who had recently died. He responded to the appeal of
his brother-in-law Yāḡḥī-Basān, amīr of Siwās, and
took possession of the Sālḏjūk localities on the right
bank of the Euphrates, including al-Bīrā.

In the spring of 551/1156, weary of the skirmishes
provoked by Renaud de Chátillon, the āmīr Madḍjī
al-Dīn, representative of Nur al-Din in northern Syria,
launched an attack in the direction of Hārīm. In-
formed of the developments committed by the Franks,
Nur al-Din left Damascus with a strong contingent to
support the army of the north. Learning of his arrival,
Renaud de Chatillon offered peace negotiations. An
agreement was reached by which the treaty with An-
tioch was restored: Hārīm remained in the hands of
the Franks but produce and revenues were shared be-
tween the two states. Nur al-Din returned to Damascus in
Ramāḍān 551/November 1156 and renewed the treaty with Jerusalem, but at the end of
Dhu ’l-Hijdādīa 551/early February 1157 the Franks
violated it. Baldwin III, preoccupied by heavy debts
and anticipating easy booty, launched an attack against
the fertile region of the Djiwālān [ q. v. ] where,
under the terms of the treaty, Turcomans pastured a
considerable number of horses and cattle; the Frankish
 cavalry seized these herds and took the herdsmen prisoner. This raid gave Nur al-Din, who was eager to take possession of Baniyās [ q. v. ], an ex-
cellent pretext for intervention. In Saḥār 552/early
April 1157 he succeeded in persuading Baniyās
Damascenes and the peasants of the Ghūṭa [ q. v. ] to
contribute towards the cost of equipping his army with
siegeworks. Having reinforced the garrison of
Bašlabak to guard against possible intervention from
the north, Nur al-Din sent an army commanded by
his brother Nūṣrat al-Dīn in the direction of Baniyās,
where Frankish reinforcements were reported to have
arrived. On 13 Rabīʿ I/26 April 1157 the troops of
Damascus inflicted a heavy defeat on the Franks and,
although he succeeded in breaching the walls of
Baniyās, Nur al-Din learned of the advance of
Baldwin, marching to the rescue of the besieged town,
and taken by surprise, he gave the order to withdraw.
Baldwin, believing that the troops of Damascus would
not return, entrusted the task of restoring the town’s
defences to his infantry, and set out with his cavalry
towards Galīlēe. Nur al-Din set up an ambush near
Dījūr Bānāt Yāḵkūb [ q. v. ] on the Jordan, and when
the Franks halted on the shore of Lake Tiberias he
surrounded them and took them prisoner. This suc-
cess had the effect of uniting all the Frankish factions
against him.

Learning that the Crusaders had established their
head-quarters in the Buḵaḵa [ q. v. ], not far from Hīṣn
al-Akrād [ q. v. ], with the intention of attacking in the
direction of the Middle Orontes, Nur al-Din left
Damascus in Raḏjāb 552/August 1157 in order to
repair the defences of fortresses damaged by the earth-
quakes of the previous month. Arriving at Sarmīn, he
spent some time there. Shortly after the beginning of
Ramāḍān 552/October 1157, he fell ill there and
summoned Nūṣrat al-Dīn, Shīrḵūḵ and his senior officers.

AWARE OF THE GRAVITY OF HIS CONDITION, HE GAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE EVENT OF HIS DEATH: HE NOMINATED Nūṣrat AL-DĪN AS HIS SUCCESSOR, TO BE RESIDENT AT ALEPO; NAḏJĪM AL-DĪN AYYŪB WAS TO REMAIN MILITARY GOVERNOR OF DAMASCUS AND SHĪRḴŪḴ WAS TO BE HIS REPRESENTATIVE THERE. IN SPITE OF INTENSIVE TREATMENT, HIS CONDITION WORSENED. THE PRINCE WAS TRANSFERRED TO ALEPO WHERE HE WAS LODGED IN THE CITADEL. HIS HEALTH IMPROVING, HE RESUMED THE CONTROL OF AFFAIRS AND SENT TROOPS TO OCCUPY SHAYZAR. HENCEFORWARD THE ENTIRE COURSE OF THE ORONTES WAS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE ZANKID POWER. FINALLY RESTORED TO HEALTH, NUR AL-DIN RETURNED TO DAMASCUS ON 6 Rabīʿ II 533/7 April 1158 and immediately set about mustering an army with the object of taking revenge for recent French raids against the HAWRĀN AND DĀRAYŠĀ IN THE GHŪṬA. THE ARMY LEFT DAMASCUS ON 9 Rabīʿ II 533/11 May 1158 with heavy equipment for laying siege to HABĪB DAḴḌAḵ, A CAVE FORTIRED BY THE CRUSADERS WHICH CONTROLLED DJAWLĀN TO THE EAST AND LAKE TIBERIAS TO THE NORTH-EAST. LEARNING THAT REINFORCEMENTS WERE ADVANCING, NUR AL-DIN RAISED THE SIEGE AND REPLICATED PROVINCIAL REBELLIONS. THE CRUSADERS WERE FORCED TO GIVE GROUND, NUR AL-DIN ORDERED A STRATEGIC WITHDRAWAL; THE FRANKS, FEARING A TRICK ON THE PART OF THE DAMASCENSES, DECLINED TO PURSUE THEM.

IN DUH ʿL-HIJDĀDĪA 553/DECEMBER 1158-JANUARY 1159, NUR AL-DIN ONCE AGAINFall ILL IN DAMASCUS. LEARNING THAT MANUEL WAS ADVANCING FROM GILF, HE URGED THE GOVERNORS OF THE SYRIAN BORDER REGIONS TO BE VIGILANT. AS HIS CONDITION DETERIORATED, THE PRINCE SUMMONED HIS SON AMĪR TO DAMASCUS AND WARNED HIS ENTourage AGAINST ANY SINISTER INTENTIONS TOWARDS HIM ON THE PART OF HIS BROTHER NūṢRĀT AL-DīN. TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDING, HE APPOINTED AS HIS SUCCESSOR HIS BROTHER KŪṢĪ AL-DīN MAWĀḏūD, RULE OF MAWSĪL.

the troubles of Kilidj Arslan II, he occupied the former dependencies of the County of Edessa of which the Saldjuk had taken possession, and set out from Aleppo towards the north, by way of Tell Bashir [q.v.]. He reached 'Aynatāb [q.v.] then took successively Raสถาban and Kayσyn, occupied Bahasna then Marσaθāṣ [q.v.].

In 1160, Kilidj Arslan II succeeded in obtaining from his brother-in-law Nur al-Dln a cessation of hostilities since, as the Byzantine menace grew more serious, he needed all his troops. Ultimately, the Saldjuk sultan signed a peace agreement with Manuel.

After two years of respite, Baldwin III, knowing Nur al-Dln to be occupied in campaigning in the north, attacked territory dependent on Damascus, sending his troops towards the Hawrān. Nadgīm al-Dln Ayyūb negotiated the withdrawal of the Franks and obtained a truce of three months. As Nur al-Dln had not returned by the expiry of this respite, the Franks, under a thrall the Saldjuk sultan, undertook to recognise his sovereignty. In Djumada I 558/August 1163, arriving in the Delta. Having regained his authority in the Saldjuk sultan in Hamadḥān [q.v.], a crisis which was keeping the troops of Kuθb al-Dln Mawdūḍ far from Syria.

The situation of Antioch having been settled in the interests of Manuel, the treaty with Baldwin being still valid and the army of Mawṣēṯ at his disposal, Nur al-Dln had no fear of imminent interference with his domains, and he seized the opportunity to perform the bāḍajā [q.v.] in 556/1161. He set out from Aleppo with Shīrkuḥ, passed through Damascus and took the darb al-bāḍajā in order to reach the Holy Cities of the Hijādāz where he showed considerable generosity to the local inhabitants, particularly in the improvement of wells. At Medina he restored the defences of the town and obtained a truce of three months. As Nur al-Dln had not returned by the expiry of this respite, the Franks, under a thrall the Saldjuk sultan, undertook to recognise his sovereignty. In Djumada I 558/August 1163, arriving in the Delta. Having regained his authority in the Saldjuk sultan in Hamadḥān [q.v.], a crisis which was keeping the troops of Kuθb al-Dln Mawdūḍ far from Syria.

The course of events in Egypt was to pose an awkward problem for Nur al-Dln. In Rabī' I 1161/January-February 1164, the vizier Shāwār, driven from Cairo by the revolt unleashed by the amīr Dirghām [q.v.] in Ramadan 558/August 1163, arrived at his court, imploiring his aid. He reminded him that the deployment of Syrian units in Egypt would allow the creation of two fronts and the encirclement of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Shāwār offered Nur al-Dln the titles of viceroy of Egypt in exchange for his aid and the financing of the costs of the expedition. Furthermore, he promised to cede him part of the north-eastern province of the Delta and undertook to recognise his sovereignty. In Dju mátād I 1164/April 1164, impelled by public opinion, Nur al-Dln dispatched an army commanded by Shīrkuḥ with the objective of restoring Shāwār to power in Cairo. To protect the advance of this army, he conducted a diversionary manoeuvre in the direction of Baniyās, which enabled the troops accompanying Shāwār to reach the Delta of the Nile. Dirghām then issued a very urgent appeal to the Franks, offering Amaury a treaty of allegiance which, in the event of success on the part of the Franks, would have made Egypt a vassal of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem rather than a Syrian colony. Amaury accepted the offer but, harassed by the attacks of Nur al-Dln and not having sufficient troops to fight on two fronts, he was unable to send an army to Egypt in time to prevent Shīrkuḥ's arrival in the Delta. Having regained his authority in Cairo, Shāwār reneged on the promises made in Damascus, ultimately agreeing to accept the costs of the campaign but refusing to pay the promised tribute.

Nur al-Dln set out to invest Hārīm, and the Franks...
based in the northern Latin states reacted. The confrontation took place in the first ten days of Ramadan 562/20 October 1168. Nūr al-Dīn had deployed a significant quantity of heavy equipment but as the Franks advanced accompanied by Byzantine reinforcements, he raised the siege and, to avoid being encircled, he withdrew towards Arrāb, not far from the ford of Balanēus to the east-south-east of the Lake of Antioch. Exploiting the tactic of withdrawal and counter-attack, after four feasts, on 9 Ramadan 559/11 August 1164 he lured the Franks into a ferocious battle, in the course of which he inflicted heavy losses on them, a success which he immediately exploited, returning to Hārīm, which capitulated the following day. This problem being settled, Nūr al-Dīn turned against the kingdom of Jerusalem, a large proportion of whose troops were then deployed in Egypt. He invaded Ḥalib and set about besieging Baniyās, which capitulated in Dhu 'l-Hijja 559/October 1164. Nūr al-Dīn installed a garrison there, agreed to a treaty with the Franks and insisted on sharing the revenues of the district of Tiberias. His policy had secured its objective, sc. to prevent the defeat of Shīrkūh.

In the spring of 561/1165, fearing an intervention by Manuel and not wanting to see Amaury prolong his stay in Antioch, Nūr al-Dīn agreed to free Beḥ mundial III for a ransom of 100,000 gold pieces. In order to maintain the balance of forces in northern Syria to the advantage of Islam, he sought to avoid any action liable to provoke the anger of the Basileus. The same year, taking advantage of the capture of Raymund III of Tripoli, he crossed the Biqāʿ and regained from the Franks the fortress of Munaytira. While the second Egyptian campaign unfolded, Nūr al-Dīn, who had received reinforcements from Mawsil, occupied the fortress of Hūnūn, not far from Bānīyās, in the Ḥaǧaḥ al-ʿĀmilā. Although disappointed by his campaign in Egypt, Shīrkūh brought back a considerable sum of money from Cairo when he returned to Damascus on 18 Dhu 'l-Qa‘da 562/September 1165. To alleviate his disappointment, Nūr al-Dīn awarded him the fief of Hims, the wall and defences of which he had recently adopted in Cairo. Nadjm al-Dīn left Damascus on 27 Radjāb 565/16 April 1170. To create a diversion, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to al-Karak. Following the great earthquake of 365/1170, Nūr al-Dīn left his headquarters at Tell ʿAṣḥāṭarā to attend to the repairs needed for the defences of Hims, Hamāt, Bārīn and Aleppo.

On 1 Muharram 566/14 September 1170, the head of the Zankī family crossed the Euphrates opposite Kaʿfāt Djaʿbar and took possession of al-Rakkā [q.v.], its governor ceding the place to him in exchange for substantial compensation. Having taken control of the region of the Khābūr [q.v.], hitherto a dependency of Mawsīl, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to Sindrā. At the approach of the Syrian troops, Ṭakhrūr al-Dīn placed himself under the protection of Shams al-Dīn Ildefiz [q.v.]. The latter sent a deputation to Nur al-Dīn for help to the whole of Christendom. The Franks responded and decided on Damineta (Dimvāt [q.v.]) as an objective, but the lack of co-ordination between Byzantines and Franks led to the abandonment of the siege of this locality. After this retreat, al-ʿAṣḥāṭarā wrote to Nūr al-Dīn inviting him to recall to Syria the units sent as reinforcements to Egypt, keeping in Egypt only the original force commanded by Salāḥ al-Dīn. The Syrian prince seems to have been worried by the attitude and the ambitions of the latter. He instructed Nadjam al-Dīn Ayyūb to remind his son that the struggle against the Franks was the first duty of all believers and that the ʿAbbasīd khārūm must be adopted in Cairo. Nadjam al-Dīn left Damascus on 27 Radjāb 565/16 April 1170. To create a diversion, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to al-Karak.

In the middle of the month of Muharram 564/20 October 1168, the Franks launched an attack in the direction of Cairo. While the population resolved to resist, Shāwār warned the caliph al-ʿAṣḥāṭarā [q.v.] that the only chance of salvation was to appeal to Nūr al-Dīn, since the presence of Sunnīs was preferable to a Christian protectorate. The Fāṭimid caliph and Shāwār promised him a third of the revenues of Egypt as well as fees for the maintenance of the troops. Nūr al-Dīn decided to send a third expedition against the Franks, ordaining Fakhruʾr-Dīn to Cairo and entrusted him with full powers. When the latter died on 22 Djamādā II/23 March 1169, his nephew, Salāḥ al-Dīn, was appointed vizier by al-ʿAṣḥāṭarā and commander of the Syrian forces in Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn. Amaury, concerned at the latter’s seizure of Egypt, issued appeals for help to the whole of Christendom. The Franks responded and decided on Damineta (Dimvāt [q.v.]) as an objective, but the lack of co-ordination between Byzantines and Franks led to the abandonment of the siege of this locality. After this retreat, al-ʿAṣḥāṭarā wrote to Nūr al-Dīn inviting him to recall to Syria the units sent as reinforcements to Egypt, keeping in Egypt only the original force commanded by Salāḥ al-Dīn. The Syrian prince seems to have been worried by the attitude and the ambitions of the latter. He instructed Nadjam al-Dīn Ayyūb to remind his son that the struggle against the Franks was the first duty of all believers and that the ʿAbbasīd khārūm must be adopted in Cairo. Nadjam al-Dīn left Damascus on 27 Radjāb 565/16 April 1170. To create a diversion, Nūr al-Dīn laid siege to al-Karak.
Setton and Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades*, i, 565) has underlined, operated within a political framework defined by the system of his times. For him, Syria was the principal field of battle against the Crusaders and Egypt represented nothing more than a source of additional revenue to cover the costs of the *djihad*. In that year, before attacking the County of Tripoli, he had ordered Salah al-Dīn to gather all available forces in Egypt and lead them towards Frankish Palestine, thus trapping the Franks in a pincer-movement. The first objective was the castle of al-Karak; after ten days of siege the garrison offered to surrender to Salah al-Dīn. For him, the elimination of all obstacles between Egypt and Syria was not desirable, since henceforward he would be at the mercy of Nur al-Dīn. He decided to return to Cairo and sent a letter to his sovereign, claiming the pretext of unrest in Cairo fomented by the Shī'īs. Nur al-Dīn did not accept this excuse, and announced his intention of going to Egypt in person in order to depose Salah al-Dīn. The latter, on the advice of his father, re-affirmed his loyalty to Nur al-Dīn, who, the prince of Damascus set out with his troops and encamped at Kiswa in the Margī al-Ṣuffar [*q.v.*]; the Franks withdrew towards Ṣaffālā, where the Damascene army confronted them. Nur al-Dīn established his camp at Tell al-ʿAshṭārā and dispatched cavalry units to raid the district of Tiberias.

Having repelled the Franks, Nur al-Dīn turned his attention to northern Syria, where he was able to assist the Armenian Melej to expel the garrisons of Maṣṣīṣa, Adana and Ṭarsūs [*q.v.*]. He would have been glad to obtain the support of the Sāljuq prince of Konya for operations against Antioch but, following a stern warning from Manuel, Kılığr Arslān II rejected the overtures of Nur al-Dīn and turned against his neighbour, the Dānishmendī Dhuʿl-Nūn. The latter sought refuge with Nur al-Dīn, who was also joined by the ruler of Maṣṣīṣa [*q.v.*] and the amīr of al-Maḏjdal. Nur al-Dīn promised him his support and insisted that Kılığr Arslān restore the property taken from his predecessors. But the latter, repeating that uniformity was refused, felt justified in declaring war with a sovereign, claiming, in a message to Nur al-Dīn, that his father, Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, was gravely ill in Cairo and that he feared lest, in the event of his father's death during his own absence, Egypt would slip away from the authority of Nur al-Dīn and would be removed from the authority of the Suma. Nur al-Dīn, not deceived, pretended to understand the reasons for the departure of the Ayyūbid prince. Through this gesture on the part of Sahāl al-Dīn, the kingdom of Jerusalem gained a reprieve of forty years and Nur al-Dīn was not to see in the al-Āksā Mosque [*q.v.*] the wooden *minbar* [*q.v.*] which he had had made in advance in Aleppo as an *ex-voto* offering for the return of al-Kuds [*q.v.*] to Islam.

Returning from Aleppo in Muharram 569/September 1173 Nur al-Dīn heard at Salāmīyya, to the south-east of Hamāt, the news of a Frankish attack against the Hawrān; while preparing to counter this, he was informed of the adversary's withdrawal. Returning to Damascus, he engaged in preparations for an expedition towards Egypt, the aim of which was to induce al-Salāḥ al-Dīn to intervene against the Franks. According to his plan, he left in Syria, confronting the Franks, troops from Mawsīl, under the command of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, and he himself was to set out for Egypt with his squadrions after Ramadān 569/early May 1174. A few days after the *Id al-Fitr* [*q.v.*], Nur al-Dīn fell ill with an inflammation of the throat. Confining to his bed in the palace which he had had constructed to the south-west of al-Rayyām, two doctors including Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Haydar al-Rabībī al-Dimāshkī, his personal physician. Despite their efforts, al-Malik al-ʿAdīl Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Zankī died on Wednesday 11 Shawwāl 569/15 May 1174. At first interred in the citadel, his remains were transferred, when it was ready, to the funeral minbar [*q.v.*] which he had had constructed to the south-west of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads. At the present time, his tomb is still the object of popular veneration.

**Bibliography:** For pre-1965 bibliography, see the very detailed one given by N. Elisseeff in *Nur al-Dīn*, *un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades 511-569 H./1118-1174*, 3 vols., Damascus 1967, i, Bibliography, pp. XXI-LXXVII, and also Survey of sources, i-85. The remainder of this bibliography deals with works published subse-


*Mar zubann, Kayben and Bahasnā, places held by the Sāljuq on the right bank of the Euphrates. On 20 Dhuʿl-Ḥaḍra 569/3 July 1173 he occupied Marʿaš. Shortly after this, Kılığr Arslān II appealed to him for a truce. Nur al-Dīn required him to free the prisoners taken in the region of Maṣṣīṣa and to participate in the Holy War, either sending a contingent to join the struggle with the Franks, or operating independently against Byzantium.*

To mark his independence vis-à-vis the major atabegs, Nur al-Dīn sent as an envoy to Baghāzd his trusted adviser Kamāl al-Dīn Abu ʿl-Faqṣ Muḥammad al-SAḥhārazūfī to ask the caliph for a document confirming the sovereignty of all the towns in which his authority was recognised. In granting this solemn deed of investiture to Nur al-Dīn, the caliph deprived the successors of the Great Sāljuq of any authority over the lands situated to the west of the Tigris.

Taking advantage of the absence of Amaury, who had returned to Antioch, Nur al-Dīn put into operation a plan of attack against the land of Trans
Little is known of internal affairs in Hisn Kayfā and Amīd under Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, but it may be assumed that he continued the courtly traditions of his father which had been sophisticated enough to attract Usāma b. Munkūdih (see MUNKUDIH, BANU) to spend some of his declining years at Hisn Kayfā. The extant copper coins minted there in Muhammad’s name follow the numismatic traditions of the Turkmen dynasties of Mesopotamia for this century. As well as conventional Arabic inscriptions on one side, they bear figures copied from classical models; one coin depicts Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad in the guise of Seleucus II (Lane Poole, The coins of the Artuqids and Zangids, 125-7). The Aleppo Gate at Amīd has a celebratory inscription dated 579 AH announcing Muhammad’s occupation of the city. Van Berchem suggested that he may have taken the title of sultān, used by his successors, after his acquisition of Amīd; and he also quotes at length an anonymous, contemporary account describing in fulsome terms Muḥammad’s just administration of the city (Aminid, 71-2, 75-81).

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II, Nīzārī Ismāʿīlim. Imaṃ and the fifth lord of Amalūt (561-607/1166-1210). Born in Shawwāl 542/March 1148, he succeeded to the courtly and state on the death of his father, Ḥasan II, on 6 Rabīʿ I 561/9 January 1166. He devoted his long and peaceful reign of some forty-four years to managing the affairs of the Nīzārī daʿwā and community, especially in Persia, from the central headquarters of the sect at Amalūt. A thinker and a prolific writer, he also contributed actively to the Nīzārī teachings of his time.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II affirmed the Nīzārī Fātimid genealogy of his father and, therefore, of himself; and, henceforth, the lords of Amalūt were acknowledged as imāms, descendants of Nīzār b. al-Mustansīr, by the Nīzārī Ismāʿīlī community. In the doctrinal field, he systematically expounded and elaborated the important doctrine of the iṣāṣma, announced by his father in 559/1164, and placed the current Nīzārī imām and his renowned teaching authority at the very centre of that doctrine (see Ĥaṭf bāb-i Bābā Sayyīdān, ed. W. Ivanov, in Two early Ismaili treatises, Bombay 1933, 4-42).

Aside from petty warfare, the history of the Nīzārī state in Persia was politically uneventful under Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. However, the Syrian Nīzārīs were more involved at this time in their own local alliances and conflicts. There are also indications that a widening rift had developed between this Nīzārī
NUR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD II — NURBAKHSHIYYA

imam and Rashid al-Dm Sinan [q.v.}, the contemporary leader of the Syrian Nizâris, although a complete break was avoided. Rashid al-Din and other Persian historians also report a detailed story about how the Nizâris of his time persuaded, initially through the intimidating dagger of one of their fa'dâ's, the famous Sunnî theologian Fâhkr al-Din al-Râzî (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) to refrain from denouncing them in public. Having ruled longer than any other lord of Alamût, Nür al-Din Muhammad II died, possibly of the plague, on 8/17 October 609/1211–12. He was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Muhammad b. Nurmîshâh, who assumed the eponym, Sayyid Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abbâd Allâh Nûrbâkhsh. Nûrbâkhsh was born at Kâ'fûn in Kuhistân in 795/1392. His father, supposedly a descendant of the İmâm Mûsâ al-Kâfûnî, had come from Katîf, a Shî'î region of eastern Arabia, on pilgrimage to Mashhad before settling in Kâ'fûn; he may therefore be presumed to have been a Shî'î. Nûrbâkhsh's grand-father was from al-Âshâ [q.v.], likewise an area of Shî'î settlement; this accounts for Nûrbâkhsh's occasional use of the takhallús Lahsawî. While studying in Harât in his early youth, Nûrbâkhsh was recruited into one branch of the Kubrawi order by a follower of Ishâk Khuttalânî, the principal successor to Sayyid ʿAli Hamadânî (d. 786/1384). Moving to the Khânâkhâ at Khuttalânî's court, Nûrbâkhsh became the most prominent disciple of Khuttalânî, who bestowed on him the title Nûrbâkhsh ("Bestower of Light") in accordance with an indication contained in a dream. The account given by Nûr Allâh Shusharti (d. 1019/1610) in his Madâjîli al-mu'minîn (ed. Tehran, 1373–75/1556–75, ii, 143–7) —followed almost unanimously by later writers—relates that on the basis of the same dream Khuttalânî also declared Nûrbâkhsh to be the Mahdî and incited him to style himself İmâm and caliph and to lay claim to rule. He swore allegiance to him himself and ordered his disciples to do the same; all obeyed, with the exception of Sayyid ʿAbbâd Allâh Barzîbâdî (d. ca. 856/1452). Nûrbâkhsh asked for a delay in starting his insurrection, but Khuttalânî refused, saying that the divinely-appointed time for rebellion (mawqûf) had arrived.

The beginnings of the episode are recounted somewhat differently by Hâfîz Husayn Karbâlā', a spiritual descendant of the dissent Barzîbâdî. He attributes a far more active role to Nûrbâkhsh, claiming that he originated the claim to the status of mahdî himself and then had it endorsed by Khuttalânî, who was too senile and decrepit to stand in his way. Barzîbâdî allegedly succeeded in having the endorse-ment temporarily withdrawn, but his influence over Khuttalânî was no match for that of Nûrbâkhsh and preparations for the uprising proceeded (Karbâlā', Raudat al-dînîn wa-dâdânî al-dînân, ed. Dja'far Sultân al-Kurra'tî, Tehran 1349 Š./1974, ii, 249–50). This version of the affair seems at least as credible as that offered by Shusharti. Nûrbâkhsh certainly had a high estimate of his own worth; he claimed to possess superiority to Plato and Avicenna and absolute mastery of the sciences. Moreover, he continued to advance claims to the status of mahdî, however sporadically, after the death of Khuttalânî and wrote a treatise, Risâlat al-Hudâ, attempting to vindicate these claims.

In 826/1423, Khuttalânî and Nûrbâkhsh left the Khânâkhâ in Khuttalânî and ensconced themselves with their followers in the nearby castle of Kuh-tîrî. Before they could complete their military preparations, they were attacked and taken prisoner by Bâyazid, the Timûrid governor of the area. Khuttalânî, together with his brother, was put to death almost immediately, despite his advanced age. Nûrbâkhsh himself was spared and sent in chains to the prison of Shâhrukh in Harât. The contrasting fates of the two men might be taken to confirm Shusharti's depiction of Khuttalânî as the instigator of the whole affair; it is also possible, however, that Khuttalânî was the instigator himself and that Nûrbâkhsh was used by him as a tool to gain temporary favor with local rulers in Badakshân who had sought to block the expansion of Timûrid power in the region (Devin DeWeese, The eclipse of the Kubrawiyyah in Central Asia, 60).

After interrogation, Nûrbâkhsh was sent on from Harât to Shiráz; İbrahim Sultân, Shâhrukh's governor of Fars, subjected him to a further spell of imprisonment in Bihbâhan before releasing him.
Nurbakhsh then made his way in turn to Shushtar, Baara, Hilla (where he is said to have met the celebrated Shi'i scholar Ibn Fahd al-Hilli) and Baghdad. Next he proceeded to Kurdistan and the Bakhhtyary country where he revived with some success his claim to worldly sovereignty; loyalty was sworn to him and coins were struck, and the khutba was read in his name. It happened that Shahrukh was campaigning in Ahdarbasian at the time, and he had Nurbakhsh seized and brought to his camp. Nurbakhsh was then sent to Harat with instructions to mount the minbar at the Masjid-i Djami and publicly disavow his claims. This he did, with obvious reluctance, in the following ambiguous words: "They relate certain things from this wretch. Whether I said them or not, 'O Lord, we have wronged ourselves; if You do not forgive us and have mercy upon us, we will certainly be among the losers' (Kur'an, VII, 23)." He was then released anew, on condition that he restrict himself to teaching the conventional religious sciences ("ulam-i rasmi"); a condition he appears to have broken, for in 848/1444 he was re-arrested with orders for him to be ejected from the Timurid realm into Anatolia. Instead he was confined in turn in Tabriz, Shirwan and Gilan, being definitively released on the death of Shihab al-Din. At the age of 60 he moved to the village of Sulfan near Rayy, remaining there until his death in Rabia 869/November 1464. These last years of Nurbakhsh's life appear to have been relatively tranquil. It is probable that he reduced his public claims to spiritual eminence to those customary for a Sufi shaykh, although he continued to designate himself by such suggestive terms as mas'har-i mas'ud ("the promised manifestation") and mas'har-i djami ("the comprehensive manifestation").

Nurbakhsh wrote a number of treatises, only one of which has ever been published (M. Molé, Professions de foi de deux Kubrawis: 'Ali-i Hamadani et Muhammad Nurbakhsh, in BEO, xxxii [1961-2], 182-204; Arabic text and French translation of al-Risdlat al-Fikha'diyya), as well as a considerable quantity of verse (for samples see Mawlawi Muhammad Shafi', Fitrak-yi Nurbakhshî, in Magalân-i Khurasân, 12, 10, 11 [1973], 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 54). The most interesting of his writings is perhaps the Risdlat al-Hudâ in which he clarifies his concept of the status of mahdi, one that deviates considerably from that of his ancestral Twelver Shi'ism. Nurbakhsh utterly rejects the occultation (ghayba) of the Twelth Imam, asserting that his body has decomposed and that his functions and attributes are now manifest (bâri) in him. Nurbakhsh He defines "absolute imâmate" as meaning on four pillars: perfection of prophetic descent, perfection of knowledge, perfection of sanctity and the possession of temporal power. All the preceding Imams, with the exception of 'Ali b. Abi Talib, lack the fourth pillar; Nurbakhsh, destined as Mahdi to gain supreme political power, is therefore superior to them. The proofs cited by Nurbakhsh for the status of mahdi consist largely of celestial signs and should not be confused with the list cited as the Kubrawi saint Sa'd al-Din Hamiya (d. 650/1252) and the scholar Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1274). Some of the dreams related here reflect set-backs as well as ultimate triumph in the form of a universal rule lasting seven or eight years; this suggests that the treatise may have been written after Nurbakhsh's coerced renunciation of the status of mahdi in Harat (see Molé's synopsis of Risdlat al-Hudâ in Les Kubrawiyya mitre sunnisme et shi'isme, in REI, xxix [1961], 131-6).

The most accomplished disciple of Nurbakhsh was Shaykh Muhammad Lâhidji (d. 921/1515), author of Shaykh al-Mahdi, in which he clarifies his concept of the status of mahdi, destined as Mahdi to gain supreme political power, is therefore superior to them. The proofs cited by Nurbakhsh for the status of mahdi consist largely of celestial signs and should not be confused with the list cited as the Kubrawi saint Sa'd al-Din Hamiya (d. 650/1252) and the scholar Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1274). Some of the dreams related here reflect set-backs as well as ultimate triumph in the form of a universal rule lasting seven or eight years; this suggests that the treatise may have been written after Nurbakhsh's coerced renunciation of the status of mahdi in Harat (see Molé's synopsis of Risdlat al-Hudâ in Les Kubrawiyya mitre sunnisme et shi'isme, in REI, xxix [1961], 131-6).

One of Faydbakhsh's sons, Shah Bahâ al-Din, was likewise close to Bâykarâ, and under his protection established a Nurbakhshî khânâkah in Harât. In general, however, the Nurbakhshiyâ appears to have been unable to strike root in Khurasân, and first Faydbakhsh, then Bahâ al-Din left Harât for more westerly regions. Faydbakhsh took up residence on his father's holdings near Rayy, which were considerably enlarged by a grant of land from Shâh Isma'îl; this he appears to have done to enlarge the family lands still farther, and when the poet Umâdi refused to surrender to him a large and desirable orchard, he had him assassinated, in either 917/1511, Bahâ al-Din also initially enjoyed the favour of the Safavid ruler, but after a few years he fell under suspicion and, as Khândâmî delicately phrases it, "in accordance with the requirements of fate he was interrogated and passed away" (Hasib al-isyar, ed. D. Humâ'û, Tehran 1333/1954, iv, 611-12).

Relations between the descendants of Nurbakhsh and the Safawids were definitively ruptured in the time of Faydbakhsh's grandson, Shâh Kâwâm al-Din b. Shâh Shams al-Din. Already in his grandfather's lifetime, Kâwâm al-Din attempted to establish himself as the dominant force in Rayy and its environs, silencing opponents and rivals by force. He also attempted to enlarge the family lands still farther, and when the poet Umâdi refused to surrender to him a large and desirable orchard, he had him assassinated, in either 925/1519, after which the family lands of Rayy were definitively taken up by the Safawids. Instead he was confined in turn in Tabriz, Shîrwan and Gilân, being definitively released on the death of Shihab al-Din. At the age of 60 he moved to the village of Sulfan near Rayy, remaining there until his death in Rabia 869/November 1464. These last years of Nurbakhsh's life appear to have been relatively tranquil. It is probable that he reduced his public claims to spiritual eminence to those customary for a Sufi shaykh, although he continued to designate himself by such suggestive terms as mas'har-i mas'ud ("the promised manifestation") and mas'har-i djami ("the comprehensive manifestation").

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It remains finally to be noticed that Amir Sultan (d. 833/1429), the Bukhara saint who migrated to Bursa and married a daughter of Baysid I, has also been described as a Nurbakhsh. Although he is said, as a sayyid, to have had certain Shi'i inclinations, it is chronologically impossible that he should have been a Nurbakhsh. The origin of the error lies, no doubt, in the fact that Amir Sultan's father, Ali al-Husayni al-Bukhâri, was a disciple of Isâkh Khutatânâl, together with Sayyid Muhammad Nurbâkhsh (Meqdi Efendi, Târikh-i Fârishtâ). The name Nurbakhtânâl means, in Istanbul 1269/1552, 77). That the Nurbakhtânâl sect was known in Turkey is indicated by its frequent misidentification as a branch of the Khâlariyya (see, for example, Şinasi Çoruh, Emir Sultan, Istanbul n.d., 29).

brotherhood (tarlık) not different from a variety of other Sufi orders; but this is a misnomer. Nursi consistently rejected the view that he was a şeykh or pâr, being himself, however, a direct descendant of his followers formed an organised body. He referred to his followers as Risâle-yi Nûr talebesi (or Talebe-yi Risâle-yi Nûr), that is, “students of the Book or Epistle of Light”, but the word “disciples” is probably the best translation of talebe. The negative image of the Nuris held in the West and by the secularists of Turkey was a direct consequence of politics; Nursi was repeatedly jailed for allegedly violating the secularist principles (article 163, now abolished) of the Penal Code. In the era of multi-party democracy, the Nurists have supported the Democratic Party and its successors, leading İsmet İnönü and his successors of the People’s Republican Party leadership to accuse them of reactionist collusion.

The central concept of Nursî’s philosophy is när conceived of as spiritual light (for the ordinary ray of light, he used the term şaa). For Nursi’s followers när is synonymous with imân “faith”, and their study is directed toward the achieving of divine illumination—the true faith through the study of the Kurân. The view that the Nurists are hierarchically organised into groups denominated as “student”, “brother”, dost “friend”, and “beloved” according to their mastery of the teachings, veneration for the teacher, and devotion to the cause, is not supported by any definitive proof. The term kâdes “brother”, commonly used by the Risâle students, is a general public form of address in Turkey and has no sectarian significance. Nonetheless, there is something of a natural selection among the Nurists; those who knew Sa‘îd Nursi personally and who worked and lived with him for a long time, are held in higher esteem and respect than the latecomers to his philosophy. There are, of course, discussion groups and even periodic meetings usually held every three years for the consideration of his teachings. Originally, these meetings were regarded as religious seminars rather than devotional gatherings.

Nursî began to write the Risâle, which consists of his commentaries on the Kurân, in 1926, after he was forced to settle in Barla, in the province of Isparta, and after 1934 he wrote the third last part of his commentary in Kastamonu, but added supplementary sections right up until 1950. The Risâle was written originally in Arabic script and copied by hand. It was distributed first in Central Anatolia from a cluster of villages (Bedre, İslâmköy, etc.) in Isparta province and then from Kastamonu. His first writings were called Sûal ("words"), but the name subsequently was changed to its present one due to what the author called a sort of divine inspiration. Sections of the Risâle have appeared in Latin script and been openly sold—despite occasional restrictions—mainly since 1958, under a variety of titles, e.g. Şuâlî (1960) and Len’alar (Istanbul 1976). Increasingly, such titles are preceded by the general title Risale-i Nur kâtibiyatından. Various portions of the Risâle have been translated into English and published by the Risale-i Nur Institute of America in California. After Nursî’s death, a number of periodicals and newspapers, such as Yeni Nesil ("New Generation") and printing houses have become dedicated to publishing them and also commentaries on them. Some formal efforts at Nurist indoctrination were made, e.g. the brochure İstikâmet ("Direction"), published in Istanbul in 1983. The periodical Nur is at present published in Turkish, Arabic, English and German and is widely distributed.

Contemporary Risâle students and discussion groups are concerned primarily with the meaning of Nursî’s writings. His writings are at times quite ambiguous, sometimes rather cumbersome in style, but interspersed with precise, clear and beautifully-written passages. The basic purpose of the Nurcular has been not to launch a religious movement or challenge the existing socio-political order. The Nurist publishing houses have been instrumental in popularising many scientific books, some being regarded as controversial, but Nursî opposed materialism and any other doctrine likely to undermine the spiritual essence of the human being. The Nurists, if they are a sufficiently well-defined group so as to be named, thus espouse an uncompromising religious orthodoxy, attaching the utmost importance to the faith reached through the study and understanding of the Kurân. However, on social, economic, and educational questions they adopt a middle-of-the-road ideology advocating humanitarianism, pluralism, fellowship, and national unity. (Nursî repeatedly stated that although he was a Kurd, he considered himself a member of the Turkish nation because of the Turks’ lack of a sense of race, and for their faithful service to Islam.) The Nurists condemn both communism and capitalism for their excessive materialism and seem to favour a mild form of state intervention in the economy, provided it does not inhibit private initiative. This is a view that largely coincides with the economic policy of the recent Turkish governments. In social and political matters, the Nurists favour a pluralist approach, despite the danger that the advocacy of state-imposed social justice could provide justification for authoritarianism.

If the Risâle is considered in its entirety with regard to its theological message and preoccupation with human society, and taking into account the aspiration of those who follow its teachings and who come from every walk of life, then the Nurculuk must be regarded as one of the most democratic and advanced Islamic yâd (rejuvenation) movements, and Nurists as among the foremost ranks of those Muslims who have attempted to reconcile the faith with human and social environment. It was probably the first to advocate, in a doctrine openly based on the Kurân and Sunna, a total dedication to the faith along with acceptance of the philosophical, intellectual, and technological aspects of the modern age, whence Nurist groups have sprung up in a number of Muslim (Pakistan, Malaysia) and European (Germany) countries, making it in effect one of the strongest international Islamic revivalist movements. However, there is a latent danger of obscurantism as the movement spreads to the countryside and among the lower urban classes that tend to stress exclusively the devotional aspects of Nursî’s teachings and ignore their modernist, change-oriented dimension. There has been lately a not unnatural tendency on the part of the dedicated Nurists to organise and regard themselves as forming a special group of illuminated, righteous leaders and to develop an esprit de corps that gives the movement the appearances of a tarîkh.

Nursî died without leaving a known disciple to continue his work and elaborate on his ideas. After his death, several newspapers and journals were published by the Nurists, one of them, Yeni Asya, taking a more activist stand. Differences and disagreements arose over the question of participation in the political process. The majority of Nurists seem to have supported Necmettin Erbakan’s Islamist parties, but felt betrayed when Erbakan in the late 1970s entered into
a political coalition with the Republican People's Party, former persecutors of Sa'di Nursi. After the restoration of political freedom in 1982-5, one group of Nuri, the Nuri, supported Süleyman Demirel's Straight Path Party, while others backed the Motherland Party of Turgut Özal, who had proclaimed himself an adherent of the Nâşıkendîyya. Thus in general, the Nuriyya have supported right and centre parties, but the shifting course of Turkish political life has caused a certain reticence regarding politics amongst many Nuriyya. At the present time (1992), there are five major Nuri groups in Turkey, as well as a sub-group known as the Halk Nuriyya.


**Nuri**

A common name in the Near East for a member of certain Gipsy tribes. A more correct vocalisation would perhaps be Nauri (so Hava, Steingass, etc.), with plural Naur. Minor sky [see L. L. I., at V, 817a] gives Nauru. By displacement of accent we also find the plural form as Navaur (e.g. in Jaussen, *HttpContext* des Arabes, 90, and British Admiralty, *Handbook, Syria*, London 1919, 196, *Arabia*, London 1916, 92, 94). In Persia, the current name for Gipsy is *Lori, Lârî or Lûî [g.e.].* It is not unlikely that by a natural phonetic transformation the form nûr derives from lû, which, it has been suggested, originally denoted an inhabitant of the town of al-Rûr (or Arrî) in Sînâ, Quemu'rem advenced the theory (*Hist des Sultans Mamlouks*, v/2, n. 5) that the name nûr arose from the Arabic nûr (fire); he gives the form n. wâr. t. because these variants were usually seen carrying a brazier or a lantern. Even today many of the Naur earn their living as itinerant smiths. But it is more probable that the correct etymology is to be found in some Sanskritic dialect of northwestern Indian Nuriyya originated to the Gipsy tribes as of **Gipsy blood**, but it is more likely that the name arose from a parallel with the sad state of the fallen line of viziers. See L. Bouvat, *Les Barnides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, Paris 1912, 110, 125.

The German traveller Ulrich Sertzen and the American missionary Eli Smith gathered valuable material in the Near East regarding those nomadic peoples which proved useful to later scholars. They were followed by Capt. Newbold (1856) on the Gipsies of Egypt, Syria and Persia; von Kremer, Austrian Consul at Cairo, on the Egyptian Gypsies (1863); Sykes (1902) dealt with the Persian Gypsies, while an excellent treatise appeared in 1901 from R. F. Macalister on the language of the Naur or Zutt, the nomad smiths of Palestine. Macalister in this work had the rather difficult task of reducing to writing a language almost completely unknown, and interpreting and analysing the Nûri stories and folk elements recounted to him by members of the Nûri settlement north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. He employed several of these Naur in the course of his excavations there. A small Syrian Gypsy vocabulary received by Miss G. G. Everest of Beirut from a friend at Damascus was also published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Soc.* (Jan. 1890), in an article by F. H. Groome. The philological aspect of the question has received, in recent years, the attention of scholars such as E. Galtier and E. Littmann (see Bibli.).

In Egypt, the Halab (sing. Halabi) are to be found mostly in Lower Egypt carrying on their special occupations at the various markets and *mawâlid* [see mawlid], and as traders in camels, horses and cattle. Their womenfolk are noted seeresses and medicine-women, practising all the arts of sorcery (*sibyl*): sand-divination (*darb al-râml*), shell-divination (*darb al-salâdâb*), bibliomancy (*fâth al-Kiââb*), etc. Their tribal subdivisions are variously given by Galtier (7) and
Newbold (291). Their name suggests some connection with Aleppo (Halab), but they themselves proudly claim a South Arabian ancestry, their tribal chronicling being in the popular broadsheet production, Taβhīd Zīr Sā'īm.

The Ghashar Gipsy tribe, however, have a rather unsavoury reputation, a fact that is reflected in the modern Egyptian colloquial Arabic verb ḍalghar “to be abusive” (see M. Hinds and El-Said Badawi, A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Beirut 1986, 617). Their speech has five nominal ingredients, and Galisier is of the opinion that they are more recent arrivals in the Nile Valley, probably wanderers from Constantino-ple. The argot of the Egyptian Gipsies is called al-Sim, and in modern colloquial Arabic in Egypt “to speak a dialect” is yatakallim bi l-Sim (see Hinds and Badawi, op. cit., 446).

The word Nūrī in Egypt is almost synonymous with thief, and their chasing propensities are libellously associated in a popular proverb with the inhabitants of Damanhūr [q. v.] (alf Nun wa-l Damanhuri). Accord-
Al-Nuri — Nuri Al-Sa'id


Nuri, Shaykh Fadl Allal, the most notable of the anti-constitutionalist 'ulama' in the Persian Revolution of 1906.

He was active in the movement against the Tobacco Concession in 1908-9, 1901-2, but otherwise not particularly important politically until 1921-03, when 'Ayn al-Dawla was appointed Sadri-i Azam and passed on to Shaykh Fadl Allal the responsibility for government business in the shar'a courts, which had previously come under the mujahhid Sayyid 'Abd Allal Bihbihani (Mirza Muhammad Naim al-Islam Kirmani, Tarkhi-bidari-yi Irangyan, Tehran 1361 Sh 1982, i, 210). Shaykh Fadl Allal supported 'Ayn al-Dawla's reforms of the finances in an attempt to preserve the traditional system of government and authority, but when the Sadri-i Azam's régime collapsed in Dhu 'Al-.ct al-Dhulayr 1324/July 1906, Shaykh Fadl Allal was forced to join what became the constitutional move-

Shaykh Fadl Allal, fourteen times Prime Minister of 'Irak under the monarchy (1921-58) and one of the most robust Arab politicians of his generation, was born in Baghdad in 1888, the son of a minor administrative official, and was killed at the hands of a hostile crowd in Baghdad on the day after the 'Iraki Revolution of 14 July 1958. Nuri attended military schools in Baghdad and Istanbul, receiving his commission in 1906; after four years soldiering in 'Irak, he returned to the Staff College in Istanbul, participating in campaigns in Macedonia (1911) and in the Balkan Wars (1912-13). In common with many of his fellow Arab officers, he was attracted to the liberal aims of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTNAID WE TARKHI DEM-IVVET], only to be disappointed by the increasingly centralising and pro-Turkish policies which it pursued in power. Along with several other 'Irakiis, Nuri joined 'Al-Adh, the secret society of Arab officers in the Ottoman Army, founded by 'Aziz 'Ali al-Misri. At the outbreak of the First World War, Nuri was in Baghda where he surrendered to the British occupying forces. He was sent briefly to India and eventually made contact with 'Aziz 'Ali al-Misri, with whom he joined in Cairo at the end of 1915. Shortly afterwards he was asked to take part in the British-sponsored Arab
Revolt, which the Sharif Husayn of Mecca [q. v.] proclaimed against the Ottomans (or more specifically against the government of the Committee of Union and Progress), on 5 June 1916. Al-Misrī was the first commander of the Sharifian forces, but he soon fell out with the Sharif and returned to Egypt. His place was taken by Dja'far al-'Askari, captured by the British in the Western Desert a few months earlier, who was doubly Nūrī's brother-in-law—the two men were married to each other's sisters. Nūrī himself became "coordinator and adviser-in-chief to the Sharifian forces" (Leclerc in Birdwood, Nūrī as-Sa'id: a study in Arab leadership, London 1959, 45, 59). During his time in the Hidjaz and Syria, Nūrī developed close personal relationships with a number of British officers, and also with Husayn's second son, Faysal (1885-1933 [q. v.]), remaining at the latter's side from August 1917 until, and well beyond, the capture of Damascus in October 1918. In the course of the War Nūrī received two British decorations for gallantry, the C.M.G. and the D.S.O.

In common with those with whom he was most intimately concerned, Nūrī would have had no clear idea of Britain's plans for the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in event of the defeat of the Central Powers in the First World War. However, since Britain had given its backing to Sharif Husayn and his sons, it was widely believed (see Hanna Batatu, 'The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq; a study of Iraq's old landed classes and its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers, Princeton 1978, 342). Indeed in April 1939. Nūrī was openly contemptuous of his British patrons. In any case, whether or not this attack in April 1939. Nūrī was openly contemptuous of his British patrons. In any case, whether or not this allegation had any foundation was less important than the fact that it was widely believed (see Hanna Batatu, The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq; a study of Iraq's old landed classes and its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers, Princeton 1978, 342).

Meanwhile, Nūrī had returned to Baghdad in January 1921, where he was made Chief of Staff of the 'Irākī Army under his brother-in-law Dja'far, Minister of Defence in the provisional government. For most of the 1920s Nūrī concentrated on building up the 'Irākī Army, in his capacity either as Chief of Staff (1921-2) or as Minister of Defence, an office he held in seven of the nine cabinets formed between November 1922 and March 1930. Between March 1930 and October 1932 he served as Prime Minister, and was intimately involved in the negotiations for the Anglo-'Irākī Treaty of 1930 (see 'Irākī Foreign Policy). When official withdrawal of British control over 'Irāk and for 'Irāk's entry into the League of Nations in 1932, King Faysal's premature death in August 1933 left a power vacuum at the centre of 'Irākīs politics. His son Ghāzi, then aged 21, was both inexperienced and lacking in political acumen, with the result that control of the country passed increasingly to former or serving military officers. In October 1936, General Bakr Sidkī led a coup against the government of (former Major-General) Yāsīn al-Hāshīmī, in which Nūrī was serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Dja'far as Minister of Defence. Dja'far was shot at Sidkī's instigation while trying to negotiate with the coup leaders; Yāsīn died in exile a few months later, and Nūrī was smuggled out of the country via the British Embassy. He returned to 'Irāk in the autumn of 1937, a few months after the overthrow of Bakr Sidkī, and proceeded to wage a relentless vendetta against the perpetrators of the coup of October 1936 in general, and in particular against those involved in his brother-in-law Dja'far's murder. Eventually, Nūrī formed his third cabinet, and, apart from a crucial few months out of office between January and October 1941, served as Prime Minister for much of the period between December 1938 and June 1944, often holding the Defence and/or Foreign Affairs portfolios at the same time.

Two incidents during these years were to have lasting effects upon Nūrī's subsequent career, and generally to alienate him from public esteem. The first of these was the persistent allegation that he was in some way involved in Ghāzi's death in a motor accident in April 1939. Nūrī was openly contemptuous of Ghāzi (who had been a close friend and brother-in-law, who they would be involved in whatever future settlement of the area might be reached. Early in November 1918, Faysal invited Nūrī to accompany him on his journey from Syria to London (via France) and then to the peace conference in Paris, where he was to represent the Hidjaz. The French made it clear to Faysal that they had no intention of recognising the "Arab kingdom" which he had established in Syria in October 1918. Encouraged, perhaps, by the fact that almost a year had passed before sufficient French troops arrived in Syria to enforce French policy, Faysal's supporters there were determined not to give up their state. The First Arab Congress, held in Damascus on 7-8 March 1920, proclaimed Faysal King of Syria and his brother 'Abbād Allāh King of 'Irāk. A few weeks later, under the terms of the Treaty of San Remo, France was given the mandate for Lebanon, Britain the mandate for Palestine and Transjordan. By this time there was a substantial French military presence in Syria; on 14 July 1920 the French delivered an ultimatum to Faysal to accept the terms of the mandate, and when this was not accepted, defeated his army at Khān Maysalūn [see MAYSALUN], a few miles outside Damascus, ten days later. Faysal, with Nūrī at his side, left for Egypt, and eventually for discussions in London in the late autumn of 1920. In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, British plans for the territory which was to become 'Irāk were by no means clear. Most of the British administrators there had served in India, where they were used to a system of direct rule by British officials, and had little understanding of any expression of "national" or "Arab nationalist" aspirations. In the late summer of 1920 the notion that 'Irāk should either re-
while the 'Irakī Army fought a somewhat quixotic one-month campaign against a British force. The defeat of the 'Irakī Army was followed by a 'second British occupation', and this was used as an opportunity for the Regent and Nurī, 'their return from abroad only after the country had been subdued by British power made them so odious among the people that, regardless of what they did afterwards, they were never able to command public confidence' (Batatu, op. cit., 345).

By this time certain guiding principles of Nurī's conduct may be discerned. As the First World War ended, he seems to have realised that some form of foreign control over the Arab provinces of the former Ottoman Empire was inevitable, and that his own career would be best served by a pragmatic acceptance of this situation. Nurī saw the future of the Arab world in terms of a loose confederation of regions (and eventually of individual states) under the general aegis of Britain, and, if more reluctantly, of France. His patron Faysāl's translation to 'Irak in 1921 gave Nurī the opportunity to assist in building up a state which was independent at least to the extent that it was no longer part of the Ottoman Empire, and which might eventually emerge as a leading regional force, largely through the agency of the Army, whose construction and organisation was one of his principal concerns throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

The major flaw in this design was that because Faysāl and the Hashimites were on the one hand, and Nurī and his circle on the other, were regarded by members of the 'Old Social Classes' first as foreigners and outsiders and secondly (because of their lower class origins) as upstarts, both were forced to rely on Britain in ways which became more and more intolerable to the politically conscious sections of the 'Irakī population. Faysāl died before these tensions had developed beyond the point of no return, although he had considerable ombudsman towards the end of his life because of his acceptance of the restrictions on 'Irak's independence in the Anglo-'Irakī Treaty of 1930.

Realising the extent of his own isolation within 'Irak, Nurī tried to secure his base by placing trusted friends and colleagues in key positions in the army, so that in 1936, all of the Army's 3 major-generals, 3 of its 4 generals, 24 of its 25LOUDSHIRIAR officers and 18 of its 25 Shāfirī officers. In addition, as he gradually gained greater control of the state machinery, he was able to win over the tribal shaikhs and urban notables by co-opting them both politically and economically (see Batatu, op. cit., passim), a process greatly facilitated during and after the Second World War by this group's hostility to and fear of a burgeoning spectrum of 'opposition' parties and groups.

On his return to power after the Anglo-'Irakī 'War' of 1941, Nurī began to root out the Pan-Arab supporters of the Golden Square from within the Army, while putting forward his own modest version of Arab nationalism, the 'Fertile Crescent' scheme, in 1943. This involved the creation of a "Greater Syria" out of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, with which 'Irak would be associated, possibly leading to a wider federation which might embrace Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In time, popular resentment against Nurī and his circle reached a crescendo, although, given the nature of the political system, it was impossible for the régime to be ousted other than by force. In the course of the 1950s, a conspiratorial movement of Free Officers emerged in the Army, which eventually took advantage of military manoeuvres in July 1958 to direct units commanded by his sympathisers to take control of key locations in Baghdād. On the morning of 14 July the Royal Palace was surrounded, and the King (Faysāl II had attained his majority in 1953) and his uncle (the former Regent, now Crown Prince), were killed. Nurī went into hiding, but was discovered on the afternoon of the next day; this body, and that of the Crown Prince, both of whom were the objects of particular hatred, were dragged through the streets and eventually torn to pieces by the mob.

Possibly as a result of their reluctance to face harsh realities, few British diplomats concerned with 'Irak in the 1950s thought that a major change in the status quo was imminent (see here W.R. Louis, The British and the origins of the Iraqi Revolution, 1914-1925, in A. Fernea and W.R. Louis, Iraq in a changing world 1914-1958: the Old Social Classes revisited, London and New York 1991, 31-61). It is clear now that the perpetuation of the immense social inequalities over which Nurī presided (which increased with the rapid rise in oil revenues and the inauguration of the Development Board in the early 1950s), together with his dictatorial style and his constant manipulation of the electoral and parliamentary systems, were major causes of the chaos and violence which erupted when the dam finally broke in July 1958. It is not clear either that this was "inevitable", or that Nurī had "no choice" in acting as he did. While Nurī was clearly Britain's most faithful servant in 'Irak, the nature of his contribution to the history of his own country remains rather more difficult to assess.

Nuri Al-Sa'id — Nürsi


Nürsî, Şevkî Bâdi' al-Zâma'n Sâ'dî (Modern Tkhsh. Bediuzzaman Saidi Riza Nürsî) (ca. 1876-1960), religious leader, of Kurdish origin, in late Ottoman and Republican Turkey.

Sa'id Nürsî, the author of the Rüşûl-şîrî Nur 'Epistle of Light' (or 'Wisdom') from which the intellectual-religious movement known as Nurrulculuk [q. v.] sprang, was born in the village of Nürsî in the province of Bitlis [see NPRL] in eastern Turkey. His father apparently belonged to a local family of notables, as indicated by his surname Mirzâ. Nürsî started his education in the medrese of Seyyid Nûr (the names of many places and people with whom he was associated, including that of his mother, Nürîyye, derived from nûr 'light'), but he soon changed to an intensive, three-month-long study under Şevkî Muhammed Dzîlî in Beyazit; he received the title of Mollâ [q. v.], and from then on he continued his education on his own. During his travels around the province he developed an interest in the life of the common people and a deep feeling for nature that stayed with him all his life. His growing erudition, communal involvement and occasional confrontation with Ottoman officials earned him first the title of Mezbûr ('famous') and later, around 1894, that of Bâdi' al-zâma'n or 'beauty of the age'. In 1909 he started to call himself gharîb ('stranger' or 'dissident') in order to show that his way of thinking and behaving differed from that of his contemporaries, a strangeness displayed outwardly by his native garb and the gun and knife in his belt, resembling more his fellow-Kurdish tribesmen than a refined city ćûlîm.

After spending two years in Bitlis as the guest of 'Omer Pasha, Nürsî moved to Van in 1894, where he lived in the house of the provincial wâli or governor Ishkodralî Tâhir Pasha. There he acquainted himself with the physical and natural sciences and began to apply their methodology both to the teaching of Islam and to demonstrate the truth of the faith. At about this same time he met Menamed Mîrzâ Abd iil-Hamîd or 'Abd iîl-Hamîd Pasha, the governor of Van, who was in search of a man who would have the necessary qualification and standing to head the new religious orthodoxy while evolving an Islamic-modernist-national philosophy of his own. His aims were not only to rejuvenate the faith but also to revitalise the society in which the faith found its expression. This preoccupation with the living society had the effect of elevating the local culture and the vernacular (Nürsî only learned Turkish around the age of 14) to respectability and gave love of country (şanâvîr) and the natural aspects of human existence the sanction of religion. Yet the same forces that conditioned modernist and nationalist views also created disunity in society and a penchant for materialism, and these ills became Nürsî's ultimate target.

From roughly 1895 to 1921, Nürsî lived the life of an up-and-coming Ottoman rural intellectual. He came to share the patriotic and nationalist-religious views of this group of people as well as their search for social status and position which socio-economic and political change offered the opportunity to achieve. Thus he began to accept the tenets of modernism or Sa'idism, delivering in Salonica in 1908 a fiery speech glorifying the virtues of political liberalism; but later, in reaction to the positivist secularism of the Young Turks, he helped found the İttihat-ı Muhammedi (Muslim Union), which staged the abortive counter-revolution of 1909. Arrested and tried, but acquitted, he went back to his native region where he taught for a while. Then he participated in the Turkish war effort and helped prepare the call to dhîhdîd against the Allies. In 1915, he went by submarine to Libya, in order to work with the Sultan and the Allies. Returning home, he took part in the defence of Bitlis, was captured by the Russians, but escaped in 1917 and returned home via Warsaw and Vienna. He held a teaching job in Istanbul for about three years, after which the ascetic, spiritual 'new' Sa'id replaced the activist, worldly 'old' Sa'id.

The change was caused as much by Nürsî's increasing age as by the establishment of the Republic, the abolition of the caliphate (which he apparently accepted), and the passing of the old Ottoman order. Probably the 'old' Sa'id would have long been forgotten if the 'new' one had not emerged. Nürsî described his life until the early 1920s as a time of preparation and training necessary for the creation of the man who subsequently made himself into the
voice of the community and the faith. He criticised not the new régime, or even its reforms, but the enemy of the new régime, although the truth of this view was never proved. In 1925 he was arrested for alleged involvement in the Kurdish revolt of Sheikh Sa'id, and although he was once more acquitted, he was forced to settle in the town of Barla in the Isparta province, where he wrote two-thirds of his Risdle-yi Nur, (originally called Risdle, or At-At, then renamed Risdle, and later, to seven years' enforced exile in Kastamonu. He was subsequently arrested again in 1943, 1948 and 1952 for allegedly violating laws mandating secularism, but was finally acquitted in 1956. This was the result, among other things, of the official opinion issued by the Dyangan (Religious) Affairs Directorate which finally stated that Nursi's teachings were spiritual and Islamic. He had returned meanwhile to Isparta, which he considered his home, and there openly cast his vote for the Democratic Party, which had restored some religious freedom. He died in Urfa on 23 March 1960 and was buried there, but the military government that came to power on 27 May 1960 exhumed the remains (supposedly in response to his brother's request) and buried him in secret in an unknown place in the mountains of Isparta.

The broad range of Sa'id Nursi's teachings rested on the fact that he considered himself not a sheikh but an imam, similar to al-Ghazali and Ahmad Sirhindi [q.v.], and followed the orthodoxy of 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalani [q.v.]. Absolute faith (imam) in God was the foundation of his belief. In this respect he departed from the Sufi personalised search and unity for God as well as from the Naksibandi concept of the tariqa or brotherhood as the vehicle of the faith. He adopted the notion of millet (the nation) as the collective of the Muslims, with Islamiyyet (the faith), the whole of this superseding ethnic, linguistic and local differences. The millet was, in fact, a new type of political-social entity, in which nature and humanity existed in harmony and balance, both being viewed as God's creations and the proof of His existence.

Religion, according to Nursi, operated in a social and human environment and had to take into consideration those factors natural to the human being. He regarded modern society—notably that of the West—and that espoused under the positivist-materialist policy of the Turkish government in the name of "secularism" as the source of materialism and spiritual impoverishment. He considered that the level of development of the faith was conditioned by the intellectual, moral, and economic level of development in society, and upheld the virtue of labour (sray-rmek, ceflah "exertion" or "activity"), mutual help, self-awareness and property rights, moderate acquisitiveness being a natural, God-given instinct. He criticized the ulama for turning their back on the physical sciences; in fact, he advised them to study these sciences. For him, ignorance (cetellet), poverty (fakirlik), and dissension were the worst enemies of society. Nursi's teachings lacked the dogmatism and rigidity that infected many other fundamentalist movements and appeared at times to say many things at once. This vagueness appealed to a variety of groups, ranging from modernists to moderate conservatives and dedicated Islamists. Above all, however, it was the example of the man and his life that has won him a wide following: a simple Kurdish villager with limited formal education, who eventually opted for membership in the newly-formed Turkish nation (he dropped the name Sa'id Kurd as having the potential best to represent the brotherhood of Muslims.


KEMAL KARAT

NUŞAYB al-Asghar, Abu 'l-Haḍja (not to be confused with Nusayb b. Rabah [q.v.], who is sometimes given the kunya of Abu 'l-Haḍja), a negro poet of the Arabic language originally from Yamâma.

He is described as musulî 'l-Mahdî to distinguish him from his homonym, because the future 'Abbâsîd caliph had bought him and freed him during the reign of al-Mansûr (136-58/754-75). It was he who gave him his kunya and married him to a female slave named Dja'afa. Once established on the throne (158/773), al-Mahdi, whose companion he had become, offered him property in the Sawad and ordered him to his daughter 'Abâsîd al-Mahdi (170/937/938-940), whom he had appointed head of a province of Syria, where he exploited his authority for his own enrichment. Naturally enough, he composed, in a long kaṣida (li-rhym, metre tawil), the eulogy of this caliph, whose wife Zubayda [q.v.] was also the object of his praises, on the occasion of her pilgrimage to Mecca (mi-rhyme, metre tawil).

During this period, he also maintained amicable
relations with the Barmakids, in particular with al-Fadl b. Yahya (d. 193/808 [q.v.]), who had offered him at least some of his work is inspired by the exchanges of gifts with other, lesser-known individuals, by gratitude for the presents solicited or by anger when his expectations were disappointed. Although he is described by the Aghani as hadj jag mal'iran, there are barely any traces of hadj jag in what has survived of his work, other than a satirical poem addressed to the governor of San`a`, who had accepted his adulation but had not rewarded him (<r> rhyme, metric, content).

The Fihrist (163, Cairo edition, 231-2) estimates his corpus as comprising 70 compositions, but of this only a few verses have survived. The critics have been unceasing in their praises for his talent. They place him at the same level as his homonym, declare that al-Raghib preferred him to other poets and speak highly of his qualities in the domains of amorous poetry, panegyric, satire and description, but it is difficult to corroborate their judgment.

Bibliography: The principal biography is that of the Aghani, xx, 25-34 = ed. Beirut, xxiii, 400-37. See also Abu Tamam, Hamasa, i, 273; Dhahib, Bursan, 107, 108, 314; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Tabakat, ed. Eghbal, 68-9; Yâkût, Isrâ'd, vii, 216-18 = Udbâ'd, xix, 234-7; Zirikli, A'lam, viii, 356; Sezgin, GAS, ii, 539. (CH. PELLAT)

NUSAYB al-Akbar b. RABA`H, Abû Mihgân, a negro poet of the Arabic language who is said to have belonged, originally, to a Kinâni of Waddân, a small village close to Medina (see al-Mas`ûdî, Murâdî, Arabic index, s.v.); it could, however, be supposed that the locality in question is rather the main settlement of a small village close to Medina (see al-Mas`ûdî, Murâdî, xx, 25-34 = ed. Beirut, xxiii, 400-37). See also Abu Tamam, Hamasa, i, 273; Dhahib, Bursan, 107, 108, 314; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Tabakat, ed. Eghbal, 68-9; Yâkût, Isrâ'd, vii, 216-18 = Udbâ'd, xix, 234-7; Zirikli, A'lam, viii, 356; Sezgin, GAS, ii, 539. (CH. PELLAT)

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NUSAYRIYYA, a Shî`i sect widely dispersed in western Syria and in the south-east of present day Turkey; the only branch of extreme (ghuluww) Kuftan Shî`ism which has survived into the contemporary period.

1. Etymology

Pliny (Hist. nat., v, 81) mentions a Nazarnorum tettrachira in Coele Syria, situated opposite Apameia,
beyond the river Marsyas (not identified; probably the right-hand tributary of the Orontes passing to the east of the town), but this name is evidently not related to that of the sect. The Nusayriyya themselves derive the name from that of their eponym Ibn Nusayr, which would appear to be correct. In Arab-Islamic texts, the name is not attested in Syria before the establishment of the sect at al-Lādhikīyya in the 5th/11th century.  

2. Current distribution  

In Syria, the heartland of the Nusayriyya is the Djebel Ansariyye (known today as Diqab al-Alawīyyin) between al-Halfa to the north and Tall Kalakh to the south. From this nucleus, the Nusayriyya have spread out to occupy parts of the surrounding plains: the coastal plain to the west, the Ghâb to the east and the plain of ‘Akkâr to the south-west. Nevertheless, the towns which surround the Djebel have always maintained a non-Nusayri majority (al-Lādhikīyya, Diqab al-Bâniyân, Tartús, Saftârî, Tall Kalakh, Hims, Maṣyâf, Hamât). Nusayrī minorities are distributed to the south of Hims, on the plateau between Maṣyâf and the Orontes, to the north-east of Hamât and in the regions of Ma‘ârrat al-Nu‘mân, Idlib and Aleppo, as well as in Damascus. In 1964, the number of Nusayriyya in Syria was estimated at 600,000, or 11% of the population (more recent assessments do not exist). In Lebanon there is a Nusayrī minority immediately to the south of the Syrian frontier. Within the current boundaries of Turkey, sizeable minorities are to be found on the surrounding plains: the coastal plain to the west, the surrounding of these two towns (approximately 80,000 in 1921; the current figures are not known. Cf. the maps in Weulersse, i, 58 f.).  

3. Origins  

The sect was formed in Irak in the mid-3rd/9th century. According to al-Nawbakhti, 78 (cf. al-Kummi, 100-1; al-Kashshî, 520-1; Hâlm, Gnosis, 282-3), Muhammad b. Nusayr al-Nâmîrî was a supporter of the ‘Abî Mûsâ b. al-Hašân (d. 255/868). He proclaimed the divine nature of the imâm (who cursed him for this reason; al-Kâshshî, 520, 999) and claimed for himself the status of a prophet; he professed metempsychosis (tawâṣûţ) and antimanimism (šibâ). At the court of Bagdad, he was supported by the kātib Muhammad b. Mûsâ b. al-Hâṣân b. al-‘Arûf al-Djûfîrî (al-Kâshshî, 302, 554). According to Nusayri tradition, Ibn Nusayr was the favourite disciple of the eleventh imâm al-Ḥâsân al-‘Askârî (d. 260/874), who entrusted to him a new revelation which was to constitute the nucleus of the Nusayri doctrine. In the most ancient sources (al-Nawbakhti, al-Kummi; even al-Baghdâdi, 255-6), the sect is called al-Nâmîrîyya (from the nisba of Ibn Nusayr); from the 5th/11th century onwards, the name Nusayriyya becomes current (Ibn al-Qâdibârî, d. 406/1016, quoted by al-Astârâbâdî, Manhâj al-makâlî, 314; Ibn Ḥazm, Mîsl, quoted by Friedländer in fAOS, xxix [1908], 126 f.f.; al-Sâmâ‘înî, fol. 562 b [ed. Hyderabad xiii, 121 ff.]; al-Shahrastânî, 143-5). The literature of the Nusayriyya has revealed to us the lineage of the disciples of the founder, who wield authority in the tradition of the secret doctrine. Of Ibn Nusayr’s successor, Muhammad b. Djundab, nothing is known other than his name. His disciple Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allâh al-Djundubâlî al-Djânnân (“the gardener”), d. 287/900, seems to have been a Persian immigrant from the region of Fârs in ‘Irâq (Diqabulî is situated between Kûfah and Wâsit). It is probably he who was responsible for certain quasi-Iranian features of the Nusayri doctrine, for example the adoption of the Iranian festivals of the equinoxes, mauârâz and mîhrgân [q.v.], which are celebrated by the Nusayris as the days when the divinity of ‘Allî is manifested in the sun. Al-Djundubâlî is the hero of a book entitled Kitâb al-Akbûr wa ‘l-adwâr wa al-nûnâyya (“The aeons and the cycles of the light”), from which quotations have been preserved in the Calendar of festivals of the Nusayris and of which the author was possibly the disciple and successor of Ibn Djundab, al-Kâšîbî.  

Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Ḥaṣān b. Hamdân al-Kâšîbî (d. 346/957) was the head of the Nusayri community of the suburb of al-Kârkh to the south of Bagdad, but he seems to have led a hermetic existence. He was a poet of considerable talent (his Diwân has been preserved) and seems to have earned his living as such at the courts of the Bûyids in ‘Irâq and in western Persia, later at the courts of the Hamdânid of Mawâsîl and Aleppo. It was evidently he who conveyed the doctrines of the sect to northern Syria; he dedicated his Kitâb al-Hîdâya al-kubrî to Sayf al-Dawla, the Hamdânî amîr of Aleppo (Ta‘rîkh al-Aławîyyin [- TA], 260, 310). Al-Kâšîbî died at Aleppo in 346/957 (TA, 257-9) or 358/969 (al-‘Astârâbâdî, Manhâj al-makâlî, 112-23, and left behind numerous works. His tomb to the north of Aleppo, known by the name of Shaykh Yâbrâkî, is still venerated by Nusayris today (TA, 259).  

The successor of al-Kâšîbî at Aleppo was Muham- mad b. ‘Ali al-Djîlîî from (al-Djîlîîyya on the estuary of the Orontes). He survived the reconquest of Cilicia and of Antioch by the Byzantine emperor Nicephoros Phocas (358/969) and of the Syrian coast by John Tzimisces (363/975) and was for a period of time a prisoner of the Christians. He died, probably in Aleppo, after 384/994 (TA, 260).  

Surûr b. al-Kâsim al-Tabarârî, successor of al-Djîlîî at Aleppo, left the town in 423/1032 on account of the incessant warfare in the region and settled at al-Lâdhikîyya (Laodicea), which at this time was still under Byzantine domination. He was the founder of the Syrian Nusayrî community; according to TA, 327, the local dynasty of al-Lâdhikîyya, the Tanâgh (‘Abd Allâh al-Djundubâlî, 358/969) and of the Syrian coast by John Tzimisces (363/975) and was for a period of time a prisoner of the Christians. He died, probably in Aleppo, after 384/994 (TA, 260).  

The history of the Nusayri community in mediaeval times is obscure; the accounts contained in the TA, compiled at the beginning of the 20th century, are of dubious value; a study of this period has yet to be undertaken. In the early years of the 12th century, the western part of the territory of the Nusayris was conquered by the Crusaders; in 496/1103 al-Lâdhikîyya was captured by the Norman Tancred after a long siege. From this time onward, the northern area of what is now the Diqab al-Ansârîyya formed a part of the Norman principality of Antioch, but Christian penetration of the mountain region seems to have been ineffectual; in the Djebel itself, fortresses and other relics of the Crusaders are quite...
In Latin sources, the Nusayriyya (Nossorite) are seldom mentioned (cf. Dussaud, 21-7, 30). In 527/1132-3 the fortress of al-Kadhums was sold by the amir of al-Kahf to the Nizari Isma'iliyya of Alamûm, who subsequently took possession of numerous fortresses in the southern Djabal: al-Kahf, al-Khariba (531/1136-7) and Masyûf (535/1140-1), then al-Khawabâ, al-Rusûfa, al-'Ullayka and Manîka. The establishment of Isma'iliyya (the assassini of the Latin sources) in the region provoked conflicts with the Nusayriyya, this is the positive result in which belongs the Nusayri tradition of a “council” at 5'Ana (on the middle Euphrates) where representatives of the Nusayri communities—two each from Baghdûd, from 5'Ana, from Aleppo, from al-Lâdhiqiyâ and from the Djabal—tried in vain to find a formula of conciliation (ta'âhid) with the Isma'iliyya (TA, 258, 365). The council (al-majlis al-dim') of 5'Ana is undated, a second record is having taken place in 690/1291 at Sâfîhî, with equal lack of success (TA, 756).

Following the capture of Djabal, al-Lâdhiqiyâ and the Frankish fortresses of Sahûyn and Balâtunus by Salâh al-Dîn in 584/1188, the Djabal became part of the Ayyûbid sultanate. It is at the end of the Ayyûbid period that Nusayri tradition places an event of extraordinary importance: the settlement in the country of extraordinary importance: the settlement in the country. After an uprising by the Nusayriyya, sultan Kalawûn re-imposed the ban on all proselytism and heretical even than idolaters and authorised djihâd against them (S. Guyard, 393). Such measures were to be responsible. But Ibn Battûta, which oppression seems to have eased. According to him, from 1920 onward, “Dja'fart” (i.e. Twelve) judges were appointed in the towns of the south of the country (EP, s.v. Nusayrî)

Following the disintegration of the Ottoman empire and the establishment of the French mandate in Syria, the territory of the Nusayriyya was divided into three parts: Cilicia was ceded to the Republic of Turkey, while the sandjak of Alexendretta (Iskenderun) was separated from the remainder of Syria and placed under special admistration. On 31 August 1920 the French established the “Autonomous Territory of the Alawîtes”, which consisted of the former sandjak of al-Lâdhiqiyâ, the northern sector of the sandjak of Tripoli and part of the kadâ of Masyûf (sandjak of Hamân). On 12 July 1922, the Territory was proclaimed a State which, with the States of Damascus and Aleppo, formed the “Federation of States of Syria”. At the beginning of 1924, the Federation was dissolved (close to Sâfîhî), but an end to the conspectus of the Nusayriyya as more Lûdîniyya, Mahâlîba, Darâwîs, Numaylatiyya and Banû 'Ali (TA, 358-64; for the expansion of the various tribes, cf. Weuleresse, i, 330-1, and fgs. 136 and 137).

In the Mamlûk period, Baybars, having taken the fortresses of the Isma'iliyya to the south of the Djabal, made numerous attempts to convert the Nusayriyya to Sunnism; he forbade initiations into the sect and ordered the construction of mosques throughout the country. In 706/1306 he imposed the ban on all proselytism and repeated the order to construct in every township a mosque, for the maintenance of which the local population was to be responsible. But Ibn Baṭûtâ, touring the region in the mid-8th/14th century, relates that these mosques had been abandoned or even transformed into cattle-sheds or stables (Ibn Baṭûtâ, i, 177). The well-known fatwa of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [q.v.]) condemned the Nusayriyya as more heretical even than idolators and authorised djihâd against them (S. Guyard, Fetwa; Dussaud, 28-31). Ibn Kâdî Shûhba, Ta'âhid, tells of an expedition in 745/1344 in the course of which “books containing the dogmas of the Nusayriyya” were confiscated.

But the sect survived these persecutions and remained active until the Ottoman period, during which it occupied several positions. According to C. Niebuhr, who crossed the Djabal in 1766, the Nusayriyya were governed by four muka'dîms (at Bahliyya near al-Lâdhiqiyâ, at Sumrin, at the Bilâd al-Shawâbi and at Sâfîhî), who were subsidiary to the Pasha of Tripoli (Reisebeschreibung, ii, 439). Such was the case in 1832 when the Egyptian general Ibrahim Paşa b. Muḥammad 'Ali [q.v.] crushed the resistance of the muka'dîm of Sâfîhî. After 1854, the Turkish government was content to control the Djabal indirectly through the appointment of a local chief-bailiff, the muṣîr al-djâbal Ismâ'il Beq, governor of the district of Sâfîhî; installing himself at Dreykîkh (Ta'rîkh al-'Alawiyyin), he permitted the constant wrangling of the different rival families and subjected them to his authority. In exchange for a fixed tribute, the government allowed him unlimited power in the Djabal. But in 1858 this potestate was reckoned to have become too powerful, and he was deposed by Tâhir Paşa. On numerous occasions, in particular in 1870 and 1877, Ottoman troops ravaged the territory of the Nusayriyya and destroyed the power of the tribes and establishing a direct administration there (levying of taxes; recruitment of soldiers); mosques were constructed but they remained empty (Dussaud, 32-8).

During the last years of the Ottoman empire, a Nusayri of Adana, Muḥammad Amin Qâlib al-'ālî, chief of police in several wilâyatâs, composed his “History of the Alawîtes” (Ta'rîkh al-'Alawiyyin), which was published in 1924 in Arabic. In this book, the term Nusayri, in usage since the Middle Ages, was replaced for the first time by Alawî, which was henceforward to be the norm. The Ta'rîkh had the object of ridding the Nusayriyya of their reputation for being heretics or even pagans and showing that in fact they were true Twelver Shi'îs. It is for this reason that, from 1920 onward, “Dja'fart” (i.e. Twelve) judges were appointed in the towns of the south of the country (EP, s.v. Nusayrî).
seven times, calling for their obedience, but they refuse. In each manifestation, God, who is called "the Essence" (māʾna), is accompanied by two subordinate hypostases, "the Name" (ism) which is also called "the Veil" (ḥidżāb) and the "Gate" (bāb). In earthly life, this trio is revealed in numerous instances: the māʾna is incarnated successively in Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, 'Aṣaf, St. Peter and 'Ali b. Abī Tālib, then in the imāms as far as the eleventh one, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskari; all of these are therefore manifestations of divinity. However, their true character is veiled by revelation. Asaf, St. Peter and Joshua, (bdb). The part played by sal-ammoniac in alchemy is much more important. It is accompanied by two subordinate hypostases, "the Name" (ism) which is also called "the Veil" (ḥidżāb) and the "Gate" (bāb). The tenth manifestation of the divine light. Women are excluded from this because they are born of the sin of Eve; for this reason, they are not entitled to participate in the rites of men (Sulaymān, Bākura, 61). The popular religion of the Nusayriyya, especially that of women, retains traces of paganism (veneration of high places, of springs, of green trees). For the cult of saints (ṣiyāra), cf. Weulersse, i, 255-62; for rites of initiation and festivals, cf. Dussaud, 104 ff., 136 ff., Weulersse, i, 259-61, H. R. Dussaud, i, 305 ff.

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Chinese embassies of the 6th-7th centuries, which were the subject of very full investigation in connection with a geographical problem, the question of volcanoes in Central Asia, by H. J. von Klaproth, A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter. The reference was to mountains of fire, Pe-Shan, on the northern slopes of the Tien-Shan south of Kuldja [q.v.]. Ho-Chou on the south side of the Tien-Shan near Turfan and the sulphur pits of Urumchū and Ürümqi. The mountain Pe-Shan was said to pour forth fire and smoke continually; on one side of it all the stones burn, and are melted and driven after flowing some miles solidifying again. Rao-sha and sulphur were obtained there for medicinal purposes but the stones could only be collected in winter when the cold had cooled the ground. Humboldt and Ritter do not accept a reference to the burning of coal by which sal-ammoniac and sulphur are obtained. The statement that the volcanoes of Central Asia produce sal-ammoniac in immense quantities is found in G. Bischof, but even G. von Richthofen still held the volcano theory. The botanist and geographer Regel, who travelled in these regions about 1879, was the first to dispute the existence of volcanoes. After Nansen, Le Coq and others had been unable to confirm the existence of volcanoes but established the fact that there were large deposits of coal on the surface, the old sources in Central Asia are now generally attributed to the burning of coal. Almost all the Arab geographers who refer to Central Asia, from al-Maṣʿūdī, al-İṣtakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, to Yākūt and al-Kazwīnī, give fantastic stories about the method by which sal-ammoniac is procured in the Buttam hills east of Samarkand. Here again the details suggest the burning of the earth rather than volcanic exhalations. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw [q.v.], however, mentions deposits of sal-ammoniac and sulphur at Demāwend, and Ibn Hawkal is acquainted with the volcanic sal-ammoniac of Etna; the latter was still exported to Spain in the 12th century. At an earlier date, they had begun to procure sal-ammoniac from the seat of camel dung. This product remained into modern times an important import by the Venetian traders and was only driven from the market by the modern cheap methods of production of the same good by The use of sal-ammoniac as a remedy in cases of inflammation of the throat, etc., is already mentioned by 'ʿAll b. Ṭabbān al-Ṭabarānī. Ibn al-Bayṭār also quotes from other authors all kinds of remarkable uses of it, on which no stress need be laid. Dājībīr b. Ḥayyān reckons sal-ammoniac among the poisons, which is true of large doses.

The part played by sal-ammoniac in alchemy is much more important. Dājībīr adds it as a fourth to the three máqṣūtāt of the Greeks, quicksilver, sulphur and sulphide of arsenic (As₂S₃), and it is used by all Persian-Arab alchemists in countless recipes. The preparation of carbonate of ammonia through distillation of hair, blood and other materials is already fully described in the "Seventy Books" and other works of Dājībīr. These methods seem to have given the stimulus to the discovery of the Egyptian "alabaster" method of obtaining it. The Egyptians had found in the oasis of Ammon already mentioned by Herodotus that the alchemists came with alchemy to Spain and thence into western alchemy.

In the earliest Latin translations, sal-ammoniac is still called nescaudor, nescadur, etc., i.e. transliterations of the Arabic name. The general term al-ʿukāb is also found in the forms alowch, alochaph or translated by aqula. The identification of this salt with the salt of the oasis of Ammon already mentioned by Herodotus is first found in Syriac authors and lexicographers.

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**ANSDB**, ed. Haydarabad, xiii, 201-2, derives the *ani*, perhaps an Iranian from Khurasan, since al-Samāḥī, general (said to be Turkish, but of Balkh) from the guard of the Abbasid caliphs at (sic) al-Nushari (sic) al-ʿlsa b. al-Shaykh [q.v.], and subsequently defended his territories against rulers; but thereafter he fades from historical mention.


(C.E. Bosworth)

**NÜSHIRWĀN** [see ANŪSHIRVĀN].

**NUSKHA** (A.). 1. In the central Islamic lands.

Nūshak is the common Arabic word for "transcript", "copy", and in the manuscript era used in the meaning of "manuscript". Semantically directly related derived forms of the stem *nūš* are *nāšak* and *nāṣith*, "copyist", and forms I, VIII and X of the verb *nūshka*, all meaning "to transcribe, to copy". In the following, *nūshak* will be more specifically used in order to denote the medium of the transmission of Islamic texts with exclusive reference to manuscripts written by hand. For the Arabic, Persian and Turkish, which are the most commonly used are the Arabic *makhtūṭ*, the Persian *nūshka-hā-yi khāṭṭī*, and the Turkish *yazmalar*. Where in the following the examples are mostly taken from Arabic literature, one must realise that, especially for the earlier period, no significantly different circumstances are applicable to the transmission of Persian texts, or Turkish or other Islamic texts for that matter. It must in this connection be borne in mind that the process of transmitting handwritten texts in an Islamic cultural environment persisted till well into the 20th century, in contradiction to the transmission of European texts, which were almost exclusively distributed in printed form ever since the art of printing became practiced, from the second half of the 15th century A.D. onward. The following aspects of *nūshak* in this sense will be distinguished here.

(a) Role of the book in Islam. The importance of the written word in Islam can hardly be underestimated. Muslims have always insisted that the Kurʾān, the divine revelation to the Prophet Muhammad and God's own word, was Islam's own miracle, the *muḍjadija* [q.v.], that was on equal footing with the miracles by which the earlier prophets had proved the truth of their mission. Also, the non-Muslims were divided in the *Ahl al-Kītāb*, the People of the Book who did have a divine revelation, corrupted as it had become in the course of time, and those unbelievers who had no book at all. The concept of the Celestial Book was not alien to other, pre-Islamic, cultures in the Middle East, of course, and this culture of the written word did, of course, not originate in 7th-century Arabia. The Nabataean, Syriac, Hebrew, Aramaic, Coptic, Greek, Latin, Persian, Indian and Ethiopic literatures were there already, before Islam, with a considerable production of texts. According to a report by Ibn al-Kalbī [q.v.], Arabic books seem even to have been written in the 4th-5th century a.d. [sic] to. Islam's innovation seems to have been that the Book was given divine status, or rather that this divine status was so rigorously enforced. It is probably this new accent on the importance of the Holy Book that gave the book in Islam its central rôle. In the course of time, this pivotal importance of the book in Islamic culture has only increased and the result is, today, that there are many millions of Islamic manuscripts ranging in age from the earliest period till the beginning of the 20th century. When expressed in mere numbers of texts, the Islamic literature of the manuscript era can claim to be the largest literature on earth.

The Islamic book had become in less than two centuries after the death of the founder of Islam the repository of all knowledge of an increasingly international orientated culture, just as the Arabic language had developed into a main vehicle of that culture. Whereas in the earlier period the language of the manuscripts was Arabic, with the emergence of the local languages and the spread of Islam, manuscripts in the other Islamic languages, most notably Persian and Turkish, were made with use of Arabic script. The number of languages for which Arabic script is used is only surpassed by those for which the Latin script is employed. In later time, Islamic manuscripts were also written in other alphabets than the Arabic. This mostly happened on the periphery of the Middle East, in countries such as China, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Indonesia. Within the Near Middle East, Albanian Islamic manuscripts may be mentioned in this respect.

(b) Material aspects of the manuscript. The study of the material, physical, aspects of the handwritten book is called codicology. This technical term for the study of the codex [see DAFAR] is, by extension, also employed for the study of the non-codex forms of manuscripts. The earliest writing materials in the Islamic era were *papyrus*, *bardi* in Arabic, and parchment [see QILD, RAKK]. There are reports on a great variety of materials on which the earliest fragments of the Kurʾān were recorded (see the survey in Nöldeke and Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurān*, ii, Leipzig 1919, 13-14), but, with the possible exception of leather or parchment and palm leaves, none of those can have been in regular use for the recording of texts in the Hijāz during and shortly after the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime. It is probably because of Islam's main orientation to the Hellenistic and Mediterranean civilisations that it chose papyrus and parchment as its prime writing materials, rather than palm leaf and tree bark, which were the common writing materials of South Asia at the time. When the Chinese techniques of manufacturing of paper [see KAGHAD] were introduced from Central Asia into the Middle East in the course of the 8th century A.D., the production of manuscripts must have received an extra impulse. The advantages of paper over papyrus and parchment are obvious. Paper is a stronger material than papyrus and cheaper, though less durable, than parchment.
The bulk of Islamic manuscripts have been written on paper, although parchment has remained in use for special purposes, such as copies of the Kur’ān or special letters or documents, for a long time, and more in the Islamic West than elsewhere. Manuscripts made of a mixture of materials, paper and parchment, are known as well. The Leiden Latin-Arabic glossary (Or. 231), which recently was dated (by P.S. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library*, Leiden 1976, 38-9) to the earliest period of Islam onwards, that of the codex as the book in classical antiquity. It would appear that manuscripts are made. Locally used writing materials, dating from early, possibly even pre-Islamic times, have remained in use in many areas. An example of this is apparently the use of wooden chips for notarial documents in North Africa. Another example is the use in Indonesia (see 2. below) of a great variety of natural products for the production of manuscripts, both Islamic and non-Islamic ones. For comparative codicology, the results of Beit-Arié’s research in the field of Hebrew manuscripts are significant, since Hebrew copyists in the Middle East, and elsewhere, tended to use local materials and to adopt local bookmaking techniques.

The common shape of the book was, from the earliest period of Islam onwards, that of the codex as it had developed in Europe in the post-classical period (quires consisting of folded sheets, sewn through their hearts and then sewn together as to constitute a book). This shape had, well before the advent of Islam, superseded the scroll, which was the common shape of the book in classical antiquity. It would appear that Gregory’s law (see Beitr-Arié) concerning the positioning of parchment leaves was not observed in Islamic manuscripts. The most common composition of quires in the entire Middle East is that of five sheets, folded into ten leaves containing twenty pages.

In the entire manuscript period, however, scrolls have remained in use in the Islamic realm as vehicles for the transmission of legal, economic and other texts, amulets and prayers, and for special features such as micrography. The common proportions of the Islamic manuscript are vertically oriented, meaning that its height is larger than its width. Only during a relatively short period of time, *Kūfī* Kur’ānic manuscripts are known to have been made exclusively in an oblong format. A tendency in Western Islam seems to have ... leaf, very much as present-day noteblocks.

Forma is that of a oblong-shaped book, but it is used in a vertical position, the sewing of the leaves being in the top edge, very much as present-day noteblocks.

Whereas there developed an extensive indigenous paper production in the Islamic East and West, this cannot be claimed of all regions, notably the northwestern *Kūfī* and 9th/15th century. Islamic papers had no watermarks, but different types of chain lines in the paper can be distinguished. Sometimes the paper mould of Middle Eastern paper makers must have had such a fine sieve that no marks at all are visible in the structure of the indigenous paper. Natural, vegetable, components are often visible in this type of paper. Especially the older ‘medieval’ papers have a certain thickness, sometimes verging on cardboard quality (which is particu-
which was used in Mecca and Medina in the first half of the 7th century A.D. to note down the divine revelation. Its basic set of graphemes had probably come into use in the Hijāzh around the middle of the 6th century A.D. There are reports by early Islamic historians pointing to another, 'Irākī, origin of the Arabic script, but concrete evidence for this is entirely lacking. In the early Islamic period, the geometrically stylised and highly monumental calligraphic script of the Kurān manuscripts developed into several sub-styles. The original manuscript of the 'Uthmanic recension of the Kurān—the first book in Islam—and its direct copies have not been preserved, nor any other of the manuscripts of early texts, notebooks and registers, for that matter. Only Arabic papyri give contemporary evidence for this stage in the development of the Arabic script.

The best distinguished types of these so-called Kufic styles of writing are mā'āl (used in the Hijāzh in the 2nd/8th century, with its characteristically right-leaning shafts), naskh (used in the Hijāzh and Syria, with its typically horizontal extension, mainly for Kurān manuscripts and always in oblong format), western Kūfī (with round shapes) and eastern Kūfī (also called karmāštī, with its typically edgy forms). Later direct developments of these Kūfī script styles are maghribī (used in al-Andalus and till the present day in the Maghrib [q.v.]), and sūri (used in sub-Saharan West Africa). The Kūfī and Hijāzhī styles, in turn, developed in the central lands of Islam into several types of bookhands. These can be seen in the (not too numerous) dated manuscripts which have survived from the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Comparative evidence for these, now obsolete and somewhat archaic-looking bookhands is adduced in the older Christian Arabic manuscripts of that period, although the dated ones in this group appear to be even more scarce than the Islamic ones. There is no survey of this corpus of manuscripts. Only quite recently, François Déroche has succeeded in producing a more detailed typology of the script in early Kurān manuscripts on the basis of the collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Application of this typology to other collections, most notably the Şan Evrak in Istanbul and the fragments found in the Great Mosque of Sa'āda, seems promising.

At the same time there developed from the earliest period of Islam onwards, for daily life purposes, mainly in Arabic papyri of administrative and occasionally also literary contents, cursive styles of scripts, in which the protoforms of the later classical styles of script can already be distinguished. The canonisation of these cursive into well-regulated and respectable calligraphic forms is in the Arabic tradition usually connected with the names of famous calligraphers such as the ʿAbbāsīd wasīb Ibn Mūlka (died 328/939 [q.v.]) and Ibn al-Bawwāb (died 423/1032 [q.v.]), who are said to have invented these styles of writing and to have laid down their rules of orientation and proportion. There is a problem of authenticity of evidence, however. The description of the different calligraphic styles is, in most cases, not based on authentic models originating from the great calligraphers themselves or even their immediate pupils, but reports by historians such as Ibn al-Nadīm or al-Kalḵashandī [q.v.]. The models that are available are often reconstructions and interpretations by later calligraphers.

The classical six styles of calligraphy, called al-akhlām al-sittā, which developed near the end of the 4th/10th century, are naskh (the most often used style of writing, the common indication for "bookhand", in which many styles can be distinguished, and—after a long development—the forebear of present-day printing type fonts of Arabic), ṭawqīf (a monumental and decorative script which is used for titles, inscriptions, calligraphic panels and the like, but hardly ever to copy entire texts), mubākka (till the 8th/15th century in use for calligraphic Kurān copies), ṭabāhī (a smaller and more slender version of mubākka), ṭawqī (used in the "Abbāsīd chanceries, a script with round and flowing shapes with many interconnections) and ṭawṣīl (a smaller version of ṭawqī, mostly used in titles, sūra headings, colophons and diplomas [igūza [q.v.]). About the rest of these six classical styles, naskh, the bookhand, it must be added that this is, in fact, an unworkable category. In the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries naskh was a clearly distinguished style of writing, but in the course of time numerous styles of writing, which are very much different from one another, have been designated as naskh, thereby making the term itself useless.

The most important later, regionally distinguished styles are taHik (a development of ṭawqī, used in important documents and diplomas; there are two variants, Persian taHik and Ottoman taHik, nastaHik (originated in the 8th/14th-15th centuries as a mixture of naskh and taHik and is now very much in use in Iran and the Indian subcontinent), shikasts (a highly cursive style developed from taHik and nastaHik, and now mostly in use in Iran, where it has become a means of expression of the new Islamic Iranian identity), diwāni (developed in the Ottoman chancellaries, of uncertain origin and in the Arab world still in use for decorative epigraphy), diwāni ḏalīl (a decorative variant of Ottoman taHik), ruk' (an edgy cursive style with remarkable contrast between thick and thin which developed in the end of the 12th/18th century in the Ottoman Empire and which has reached calligraphic peaks. A more common variant of this script has now become the cursive for daily use throughout the Middle East) and sīrākā (a curious stenographic-like Arabic script in which diacritics are not used; it is of uncertain origin and was in use in the lower administrative echelons of the Ottoman Empire for cash registers [see daft ar] and the like). See for a more extensive description of the characteristics of these styles of writing, KHATT. ii, iii.

(d) The manuscript as the medium of transmission of texts. It should be borne in mind that, throughout the history of Islamic literatures, manuscripts have been abundantly available. They were never a rare commodity, though not all texts were available at all places at all times. The numbers given for the contents of royal libraries, exaggerated as they may seem and often are, are nevertheless a sign that numerous manuscripts were found there. Private collections of manuscripts, often with large and important holdings, were, and still are, a common feature in the Islamic world. Their existence was often guaranteed by converting them into a waṣf [q.v.]. The fact that a literary or theological education has always been an honorable pursuit and rewarding occupation for a Muslim has added to this. One can maintain that the combination of scholarly activities with texts and the respect for the book has resulted in this stupendous accumulation in Islam of handwritten books. It has been estimated that their number in millions cannot precisely be estimated. The first effort ever to make a complete bibliographical survey of all Islamic manuscripts in the world is being undertaken by the London-based Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, which was founded by Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani. The publication by this Foundation of a
World survey of Islamic manuscripts has been in progress since 1992. It is an inventorisation of all known and as yet unknown collections containing Islamic manuscript materials, not only in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but in a great number of other languages as well, including numerous materials in scripts other than Arabic.

The progress of bibliography can be illustrated by an example taken from Arabic literature. The Ottoman Turkish bibliographer Hâджî Kâlibî Alâeddîn (died 1067/1657) mentioned around 15,000 titles in his great bibliography, Râdîf al-zunûn. Almost all these titles are manuscripts. Broekelmann mentions around 25,000 different titles in the index of his Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Broekelmann’s figures concern titled works that have been preserved. Now, almost fifty years after Broekelmann, these figures must probably be multiplied by several times, due to the enormous growth of cataloguing activities in the past decades.

The view by Pedersen, The Arabic book, 20, that scholarly activities were mainly centred on the mosque (see also Masjid) is too narrow, even if it is exclusively applied to the pursuit of the theological sciences. Writing, reading, discussing, commenting upon books (and buying and selling them as well!) were mostly private activities which were widespread in all periods of time and in many strata of Islamic civilisation, but not primarily in a purely religious connection. With a Book as its distinguishing miracle, Islam was, “from one may say—bound to devote special attention and a central position to the book as a source of learning, and, thereby, give learning itself a special emphasis. It may be surmised that literacy was relatively high among Muslims and producing texts must have been a common occupation in an Islamic environment. The ensuing interrelatedness of different texts on the same subject is a problem with which philologists must try to cope.

These scholarly activities involved the copying of manuscripts and the transmission of texts. This could happen in many ways. Many manuscripts carry on their title-pages, in their margins or near their colophons information on their readership (samâdî, kirdî), on the authorisation to use a certain text (âdîqaza), or on its chain of transmission (muâla). Manuscripts often reveal traces of their collation (mukdabîla) and sometimes with other copies as well. All these marks provide an insight in the use and manufacture of a handwritten book. They are hardly less important for our knowledge of the status of a text than the text of the manuscript itself.

The production of the handwritten book was, in most cases, a private affair between author or teacher and reader or student. Anyone who wished to own a manuscript either had to buy it, or to borrow and copy it if it was not for sale. If he wished to read it with the author or a respected authority in the field, he often had to travel around (talab al-Hilm). In Islamic higher education it was not uncommon that students noted down (sîstîmî) what their teacher dictated (inâmî) from his own work to them, with the usual remarks of the author often written in the margin (sometimes provided with the note min famâ kirtî, “from the mouth of the author”). From this it is clear that scriptoria of the mediaeval European type were not a common source of book production in the Islamic realm. It is known, however, that for a quick and multiple publication of a text in the manuscript era mass dictation was used. The exact circumstances of this type of mass production of manuscripts are unknown.

Royal or noble patronage made it possible that lavishly illustrated or illuminated manuscripts were produced, often in magnificent bindings, and from the Ottoman and Mughal sultans it is known that they instituted palace workshops for the production of royal copies of important texts.

(e) The end of the manuscript era. The art of printing became widespread in the Middle East only in the course of the 19th century, although it had been practiced by Muslims in Istanbul since 1729 (see Mastâba, B.2). In the end, printing superseded copying by hand. The age of transition is in this respect the 19th century. It can be observed that the manufacture and distribution of texts took place, for a while, in the shape of printed and handwritten books simultaneously. This could even mean that manuscripts were copied from printed exemplars. Those authors who had, for whatever reason, no access to the new medium of printing were more or less obliged to revert to the traditional, time-proven way of copying by hand, for the distribution of their texts. In course of time this decree waned. The outcome of the manuscript had its direct influence on the typographical design of the early printed book. This is particularly evident from the lithograph editions, of which many have been made in the Islamic world. Lithography involves a minimum of technical requirements and therefore became immensely popular, notably in India, Persia and Morocco, to name but the best-known areas. But also the Egyptian editions from Bûlûk, made with movables, betray in their lay-out their handwritten models.

the Library of the University of Leiden ... A General Introduction to the Catalogue, Leiden 1982, and idem, Establishing the stemma. Fact or fiction?, in MME, iii (1988), 86-100. The scholarly journals Islamic Art; Manuscripts of the Middle East and Maghrib contain articles on many aspects of the Islamic handwritten book. Electronic databases on codicological aspects of Middle Eastern manuscripts are maintained by M. Beit-Arié (Hebrew manuscripts) and François Déroche (early Islamic manuscripts).

(J.J. Witkam)

2. In Indonesia

Naskh designates here old manuscripts, Islamic or otherwise, alongside indigenous-language terms which designate the literary form and the basic text (hikayat, caria, kidung, babad, serat tarikh sejarah, waqawacan, puji(yaka, pastuba) and also the original text before being printed. Islam brought the Arabic script of the Kur’ān and the Arabic words necessary for its teaching. On the model of the extra characters added to the Arabic alphabet for Persian, Turkish and Urdu, Arabic characters were adapted for the vernaculars, and were called pegan, jaus or melau, for these, see INDONESIA. iii. Languages, and for the pegan script of West Java, see H. Sukanda, Agama Islam ngbudayukeman Basa jainta Sunda, in Kongres Bahasa Sunda, Bogor 1988. The ways of writing have not been codified, but one can distinguish two sorts of scribes: the graduates of a pesantren [q.v.] and those of a pugroen (Sukanda-Tessier, Centres d’enseignements traditionnels de l’Islam..., in Stminaire Kiyai Hajji Wasyid, Banyud, 1988). (The term “Nusantarian”, from Nusantara, is now used for all cultural matters relating to pre-Independen (17 August 1945) Indonesia, the term “Indonesian” being used only for post-1945 matters.)

The manuscripts in indigenous scripts correspond to the socio-cultural strata, distinguished as follows:

(1) The pre-Islamic mss. have as their bases olla, lontar, palm leaves, nipah, tree bark prepared for writing, daluwang, thin sheets of bamboo, gold leaf or sheets of red copper. The characters used, of Indian origin, are called aksara (Balinese, Bugi/Makasar/Bima, Javanese/Kawi, Sumatrane (Batak, Karo, Lampion, Mambang, Rejang, Toba), Sasak, Old Javanese, Old Malay and Old Sundanese, corresponding to three socio-cultural strata. The oldest written texts (20th century), in Old Javanese, come from the 12th-14th centuries, and in Old Sundanese from the middle of the 15th century (see J. Noordyun, Bajangga Manik, in BJK [1982]). There are numerous catalogues and critical editions of Malay and Javanese mss., but the Old Sundanese ones present difficulties of decipherment not yet completely resolved, neither for those in the Manuscript Collection of the National Library at Jakarta and in foreign collections nor for those in numerous special collections in Indonesia and the kabuyutan (Sukanda-Tessier, Le triumphant de Sri en pays soudanais, in PEPEO, ci [Paris 1971]).

(2) The Islamic mss. have the same materials, with the following chronology: olla, 15th-18th centuries; tree bark, 16th-19th centuries; filigrane European papers, 17th-20th centuries; Dutch registers, local folio papers and note books, 19th-20th centuries. The Kur’ān, hadīth, the combined precepts of the rukun (al-)Islam and rukun (al-)Iman (share’s), fikh (safiat ul-nadāja, faris’id’ and du’å) are written in Arabic characters. Works on Şifism, tarekat Saturiyah and Kodiyyah, du’å, sulik, timu (l)-ladiuni, adab, Arabic hagiography and epics of the Islamisation of Java/Malay, Javanese and Sundanese chronicles, not to mention an important corpus of works on the timu jalak, cosmogony, medicinal plants, customs, rites and ancestral prayers linked to the agricultural round, calendars and propagandistic formulae of Hindo-Buddhist origin, are all written in pegan. The Islamic mss. are numbered in thousands, with Malay from the various sultanates of Sumatra, Malaysia, Kalimantan, Maluku, Sulawesi and Sumbok/Sumba/Sumbawa, or Sundanese from the sultan courts of Banten and Groben or the princely ones of Banten, Galuh/Banyumasan and Sumedang regions, or Javanese from the sultanates of Pajang, Demak, Mataram, Surakarta and Yogyakarta, or Balinese. The oldest of them, mostly from Malay from the various sultanates outside Java, or else the second wave of Islamisation (17th to the beginning of the 20th century) and assimilated to a “fourth” wave of Islamisation. The Old Javanese mss. only stem from West Java from the middle of the 17th century onwards, legitimised by the sultanate of Mataram. Some of them, recopied in the course of Islamisation—a process which lasted for several centuries—contain a few Arabic words, such as maghārīr, sawāl, wafīr, Nabi Muhammad, and are written in aksara.

(3) The first epics about Islamisation stem from pre-Islamic epics, oral and manuscript, salvaged by Islam from the 15th century onwards. Written in aksara on lontar, such as Carita Nabi Yūsuf, they represent a type of da’wun through the didactic aspect of their message, which is no longer delivered in the form of a harangue or sermon. The heroes are of Arab origin, such as Amir Hamdjah, Ummarmaya, Lukmanul Hakim, Sama’un, Ahmad Muhammad, (’ab) Durrahman (’ab)Durrahman, Abu(n) Nawas, or Malay, such as Hang Tuah, Ken Tambuhan, Indraputra and Muhammad Hanãfiah, or Sundanese like Silihwangi, Kean Santang, Ogin Amarsakiti, Munding Sari Wiramantri, Hasanuddin and Walangsungsang, or Javanese like Damarwulan, Candrakirana, Rara Mandut, Sekartaji, Sunan Rahmat, Raden Patah and Senapati. The historical texts recount either the first contacts with Islam (?12th-15th centuries), which met with strong resistance in West Java, or else the second Islamisation wave, whilst the first and second waves of Islamisation the northern coastlands of Java and the merchant sultanates outside Java, or else the third wave of Islamisation (17th to the beginning of the 20th century).

These epics belong to a living tradition of the preservation of writings. For the scribes who copy them, the readers, reciters and listeners, they are a mal’ and a gonguran (barka) which will earn merit in the Next Life, just like good acts which are not obligatory, sunna, which can entail the pardoning of sins, or the equivalent of ‘ibāda. These much-revered epic texts are read and chanted in West Java from sunset to sunrise according to beluk, a vocal art which is in course of disappearing, marking religious, family and agrarian rites, and they are hedged by a narrow surveillance when, if they are very ancient ones, they were considered as sacred and preserved in the kabuyutan where they could only be seen at every twelfth Malad (12 Rab’i’), together with ancient Arabic mss.

The indigenous Indonesian mss., which are of an unusual richness and number, have contributed extensively to unifying an entire nation in respect of the vast spread of differing religions and cultures. They have, moreover, given to Indonesian Islam its exceptional image of tolerance and exemplariness.

NUSUB, (pl. ansâb, Hebrew masâheb). The plural more often used, denotes the blocks of stone on which the blood of the victims sacrificed for idols (au-tâh, ansâm) was poured, as well as sepulchral stones and those marking out the sacred enclosure (i-fâh) of the sanctuary (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, 375; Yakut, *Buldân, iv, 256-62*). Among sedentary populations, the ansâb has been regarded in a few rare instances as the symbol of the divinity (cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabûkî, iv/1, 159-60*; R. Dusza, *Essai sur l'islamisme*, translated from the Dutch by V. Chausin, Paris 1914, 79, quoting, after Ibn Kutayba, a contemporary of the Prophet, Abû Râdî' al-Ulî'udî. For the two examples, see T. Fahd, *Panthcin*, 26). Among sedentary populations, the ansâb, a rough stone, has become the sanâm, "a stone carved with the image of the idols of the Ka'bah" (Yâkût, *Buldân, iv, 622: fa-haštâ hâlâ tâhâm ansâm al-Bayt*). In every house", writes Ibn Hîshâm, "the occupants took an idol (sanâm) which they worshipped. Whenever one of them set out on a journey, the last thing which he did before leaving, and the first on his return, was to touch it" (Sînâ, 54 = al-Azrâki, *Akhbar, 78: taminsâm bhi;* cf. Gen. xxxii, 14), as a token of benediction for a successful enterprise and as an act of thanksgiving (on the mash and its magical and therapeutic power, see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabûkî, i/v, 47; Goldman, in *Or. Stud. Th.* Nûdâke gen. i/v, 527*, where numerous references to ansâb are to be found). To explain the proliferation of ansâb, Ibn Hîshâm (51-2) makes them symbols of the Ka'bah, brought with them by the sons of Ishmael when they finally left Mecca, while Yâkût (iv, 622) asserts that "the cult of stones among the Arabs in their encampments has its origin in their deep attachment to the idols (ansâm) of the haram." These texts reflect a state of affairs prior to the reform of Kušây.
Comparing them with certain Biblical texts, one should in fact, regard them as an echo of the elohim of the Hebrews and the šīlān of the Assyrians long outlasted monotheism in the shrines fashioned in stone, in sand mixed with milk (Pantheon, 91) and in wood (Ibn Ḥīḍām, 335) of pagan Arabia (on the equivalence between elohim, teraphim and šīlān, cf. C. Gordon, Parallèles Nouezis aux lois et coutumes de l’Ancient Testament, in RB, xliv [1955], 35-6; idem, in JBL, liv [1935], 150-4; C. Dupont, in Le panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale à la fin du 1er siècle apr. J.-C., p. 132-50). Among the commonest finds in archaeological excavations are figurines representing “new divinities” worshipped in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Babylonia (cf. among others, Petrie, Memphis, i, pls. 8-13 and p. 7; E. Pltz, in ZDPV, xlvii, 165 ff.) ; J. B. Pritchard, Palestine figurines in relation to certain goddesses, 5-31; Parrot, Sumer, 236 and passim; idem, Assur, 250 and passim; J. B. Connelly, Votive offerings from helestic Palästina: evidence for Herakles cult, in L’Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel, Leiden 1989, 145-58).

The cult of stones, deeply rooted among the Arabs of the Hīḍām, was not transformed as quickly as elsewhere into a cult of statues. It was in the mid-3rd-century A.D. that Nabataean and Syro-Palestinian influences had the effect of promoting, in urban centres, the representational phase of the Arab pantheon; it was only then that the sacred stone became an idol. Wellhausen rightly asserts that “Die Bilder sind nicht echt arabischen; waṭhaṭ und šanam sind importierte Worte und importierte Dinge” (Reste, 102). Henceforward, the šanam, made of wood (Ibn Ḥīḍām, 303) gradually took the place of the musīb made of stone.

Ikrīma, the son of Ābu Ḍāḥil, Muhammad’s greatest enemy, was a maker of idols; merchants offered these to the Bedouin who purchased them and set them up in their tents. In Mecca, there was not a single house which did not have its own idol (al-Āzrākī, Aḥḥār Makka, 77-8).

After the triumph of Christianity in the Orient, the Hīḍām remained the sole bastion of paganism; carvers of idols could still make a living there. It comes as no surprise to find that at the time of Muhammad’s arrival in Mecca, there were three hundred and sixty idol-crafters and sixty idols in the Kaʿba (al-Āzrākī, 77; Ibn al-ʿAǧīr, ii, 192), a number which probably has a symbolic significance but which confirms an abundance well corroborated by other sources.

The process of expansion of the cult of idols is described by Ibn al-Kalbī in the following terms: “The Arabs devoted themselves to the cult of idols: some constructed a sanctuary (bayt; regarding this term see Duanisna, 132 ff.), others acquired an idol (šanam); anyone who could neither possess an idol nor have a sanctuary constructed would set up a stone of his choice, facing the havām or some other place, and then he would perform processions around it, as in the sanctuary (of Mecca). These stones were called anṣāb (as opposed to) aynām and aṭawān, which were statues (tamāḏifīl), and the procession made around them was called dawr [a. K. al-ʾAsām, ed. Ahmad Zaki Paḏa, Cairo 1914, 21; this in Pritchard, 50]. On the one hand the evolution and the various names given to the idols, the sum of a Kīṭāb al-Aynām by al-Ḏāḥīz, no longer available, in his K. al-Ḥaywānān, i, 5; this information is also presented in Duanisna, 249-50.

Thus the anṣāb are represented as replicas of the Black Stone of the Kaʿba. They take on the form of sacred stones in nomadic and semi-nomadic societies.

The contribution of sedentary civilizations reinforces and enriches the cults and the rites of the nomads, but at the same time introduces confusion and adds to the difficulties facing the historian of religions, who is inclined to seek out connections and influences and to establish comparisons and similarities (Pantheon, 182).

Nevertheless, whatever were the forms given to the divinities of the Arab pantheon, the Arab religions retained their quite primitive internal structure. The development of the “artistic” representation of gods had no effect on the conceptual evolution of the cult. The present writer’s study, in Le panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale à la fin du 1er siècle apr. J.-C., shows that many of the Arab religions, rooted in a desert environment.


AL-NUWAYRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. ʿABBĀS AL-ʾASKALĀNĪ, local historian of his home Axilan- dri, who lived in the 8th/14th century but whose precise dates are unknown.

Between 767/1365-6 and 775/1373-4 he wrote a three-volume history of the city, the K. al-ʾilmān fīnā ʿgarrat bihi ʿl-ḥammālīm fī ṣanāʾat al-ʾIskandarīyya purporting to describe the calamy of Muharram 767/October 1365 when the Frankish Crusaders, led by Pierre de Luzignan, king of Cyprus, descended on Alexandria, occupied it for a week and sacked it (see S. Runciman, A history of the Crusades, London 1952-4, iii, 444-9; A.S. Atiya, in H.W. Hazard (ed.), A history of the Crusades, iii, Madison, Wisc. 1975, 16-18). Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʾAsākīlānī [q.v.], however, cited by al-Sakhāwī [q.v.], states that al-NUWAYRĪ spent so much time on the earlier history of the city that he barely had space to deal with the events of 767/1365. The present writer has by Atiya, 6 vols. Hādārābād 1388-93/1968-73.

AL-NUWAYRI

Sîhib al-Dîn Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Bakrî al-Tamlml al-Kurâshî al-Shâfi'i, Egyptian encyclopaedist and historian.

Born at Akhmîm in 679/1280, died in Cairo on 21 Ramadan 735/June 1333, he is the author of one of the four best-known encyclopaedias of the Mamlûk period. His family may have originated from a small township of the Egyptian Shâfî school of law, al-Nuwayra, but he had no direct links with this locality. He claims only, and on numerous occasions in the course of his work, to be descended from the caliph Abû Bakr. His father, Tadj al-Dîn Abû Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhâb (618/1221-99), who was possibly an official in the sultan's administration (Kratschowsky, 'Sdlihiyya al-Nadjmiyya, al-madrasa al-Mansuriyya.

The sultan subsequently instructed him to erect a turba for the amir and to establish a maintenance wakf with what thirty-four years, during crucial periods in the history of Egypt and of Syria in the Mamlûk period, and was thus a witness to the early stages of the country; he mentions for example a journey in the Ghawr, and he describes the Ghuta of Damascus with the same attention to detail which he demonstrated in his account of the events of the year 698/1298, his recruit-ment to the diwdn al-khdss, the sharif lzz al-Dîn al-Dimâshqî (d. 715/1315), the Nuwaytâ' of Mâlik and the Sâhib of Muslim. He also received an idjaza [q.v.] from the shaykh lzz al-Dîn al-Fârûthî al-Wâsitî al-Rîfâ'.

For the first time, following his recording of his birth (xxx, 386-7), al-Nuwayri mentions, in his account of the events of the year 698/1298, his recruitment to the diwdn al-khdss, the sharif lzz al-Dîn al-Dimâshqî (d. 715/1315), the Nuwaytâ' of Mâlik and the Sâhib of Muslim. He also received an idjaza [q.v.] from the shaykh lzz al-Dîn al-Fârûthî al-Wâsitî al-Rîfâ'.

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remained of his property. Muhammad b. Kalawún made his way in person to al-Karafa to draw the plan of this task on the ground.

Khalwín, wearying of the tutelage exercised by the senior amîrs, abdicated and went to establish himself in the governorate of al-Karak. It was in 708/1308. Baybars II took power in Cairo. Five months later, in Rabî' II 709/September 1309, al-Nuwayrî, a loyalist, joined Muhammad b. Kalawún at al-Karak and only returned to Cairo with the sultan, who regained his throne at the end of Ramadan/early March of the same year. After this triumphant return, one of al-Nuwayrî's patrons, the steward of the sovereign, wakîl al-khāṣṣ, Ibn 'Abbâda (d. 710/1310), allowed him to work quite closely with the sultan. This Ibn 'Abbâda was himself the appointee of the supreme kāḍî Ibn Mâkhîf, who had given him the task of administering the property left behind by Kalawún. This individual rose very quickly in the favour of the sultan. In his turn, he seems to have noticed the talents of al-Nuwayrî, entrusting to him the administration of the great complex constructed by Kalawûn and of al-madrasa al-Nâṣîriyya. Through his good offices, al-Nuwayrî had regular access to Muhammad b. Kalawún, and in numerous instances had occasion to work directly on his behalf. This excessively rapid promotion seems to have turned his head (al-Ṭâfî', 48; Sulâk, ii, 91; Dwar) and he spurned the generous salary that Ibn 'Abbâda paid to him; he had little regard for this conduct displeased the sultan, who denounced Ibn 'Abbâda and gave the latter permission to punish him as he saw fit. Ibn 'Abbâda did not hesitate to have him flogged and to confiscate his property; shortly afterwards he was sent away to Syria, but he does not even hint at this misfortune in his work and mentions only his transfer to Tripoli. In the course of the same year, Ibn 'Abbâda died; al-Nuwayrî devoted to him a dry and brief obituary in which he has considerably more to say about his successor than about the deceased.

He arrived at Tripoli in Safar 710/July 1310 as sâhib dîwān al-nâṣhâ, head of the office of correspondence. He replaced a senior functionary who had made a name for himself in this occupation, Tâdî al-Dîn al-Tâwîl (d. 711/1311), mawza'îf t-dawâla. A few months later, he replaced another sâhib dîwān, al-Nâṣîr al-Qâdhî, replacing another functionary of Tripoli who had recently died, a certain Nâṣîr al-Dîn al-Kâšîr, and he travelled extensively during his time in Tripoli, as he had done previously in Upper Egypt and in Damascus. He stayed in Tripoli until 712/1312 and witnessed the defection to the Mongols of the nâdh of Damascus Djamâl al-Dîn Akkaẖû al-Afram. This amîr-nâdh, before 708/1308, had been among the opponents of the restoration of Muhammad b. Kalawûn; following his return to the throne, the sultan, stung by his experience of two depositions, attempted to eliminate all the senior amîrs who could eventually pose a threat to his rule. Thus the governor of Aleppo, Shams al-Dîn Karâsünkûr, realising that his only hope of survival lay in flight, sought to win over to his side certain amîrs including the nâdh of Tripoli, possibly with the intention of provoking an insurrection in Syria. Al-Nuwayrî, claiming amicable relations with the governor, sought to dissuade him from following Karâsünkûr. He recounts his conversation with him and the arguments which he posed to convince him. In spite of everything, the amîr took flight and attempted to induce him to join him as well as the amîrs of Tripoli. He relates how he succeeded in persuading the latter not to follow him, with only one exception, and how he induced them to renew their oath of allegiance to the sultan. Al-Nuwayrî, who, with the exception of his father, never speaks of his immediate family—it is not known whether he was married or had children—mentions the kâḍî al-Dîn al-Nuwayrî (d. 717/1317), his father's cousin in the maternal line, who died in Tripoli where he was sâhib dîwān; he had previously been nâṣîr in numerous places in Syria. Al-Nuwayrî left Tripoli in Djamâdâ 1 712/September 1312 and arrived in Cairo on 20 Râjab/20 November of the same year, after a brief stay in Damascus during the return journey. The circumstances of this departure from Tripoli are obscure; the formula that he uses is ambiguous. His sojourn in Tripoli perhaps explains the place which it occupies in his chronicle. He describes the conquest of Tripoli by Kalawûn, then retracts its history from the Arab conquest to 688/1289 and finishes by providing a list of its nuwâb, governors, up to the year 725/1325. This passage is furthermore a synthesis of data compiled by his predecessors and contemporaries, and of information which he gathered himself. His interest in Tripoli persists throughout his work, and thus he does not omit to note, every year, the changes taking place, the appointments of amîrs and of functionaries, the cadastral revision, information concerning the Nuṣâûriyya and climatic phenomena.

According to his biographers, on returning to Cairo he was appointed nâṣîr dîwān of two provinces of the 'Nîl Delta, al-Dakhâliyya and al-Mûrâhîyya (Tāfî', 46). He speaks of them indirectly in a biographical article concerning a major figure in the administration, a sâhib dîwān al-qâdîyâh, the kâḍî Ibn Hashîsh (d. 729/1328; A'yân al-asr, iii, 312; Sulâk, ii, 315). It may be assumed that at least until 716/1316, al-Nuwayrî was engaged in administering the revenues of these provinces, while residing in Cairo, probably until the end of his life. It seems that he continued to reside in al-madrasa al-Nâṣîriyya, since he mentions a dream which he had at that time which took place in one of the iwâns of the madrasa, called al-Iwân al-Bâbîrî, on the eve of Friday 13 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 729/8 September 1329. It is not known at exactly what date al-Nuwayrî abandoned administration to devote himself exclusively to the composition of his monumental work, but before turning to the latter he seems to have compiled, to summarise the main points of his life and career.

The reconstructed biography of al-Nuwayrî shows a man often involved in the important events of his time such as the war against Ghâzân Khân and the victory of Shâkhâb, in which he was a participant. Even in al-madrasa al-Nâṣîriyya, which played such an important role in his life, he dared to challenge the administrator of the foundation, Tâdâbî Shûdî al-Dîn 'Anbar al-Lâlî, the sultan's tutor, insisting that he pay to the staff the salary owed to them; from the same vantage-point, he witnessed the controversies surrounding Ibn Taymîyya. During the reign of Baybars II, al-Nuwayrî sided with Muhammad b. Kalawûn, whom he regarded as the only legitimate sultan, joining him in exile at al-Karak. While resident in Tripoli, decidedly at the centre of important events, al-Nuwayrî tried to distance himself from Djamâl al-Dîn Akkaẖû al-Afram from defecting to the Mongols with Karâsünkûr; failing in this, he nevertheless succeeded in limiting the damage. Through his contacts, he was well informed concerning affairs of state, and he took advantage of his duties to travel widely in Egypt and Syria. His career was in itself quite distinguished; he played a major role in the administration of the three most important dîwâns, those of al-khâṣṣ, al-nâṣhâ and al-qâdîyâh.
During the course of his career, he forged numerous amicable relationships with highly-placed members of the Mamluk régime. In Damascus, his friends included three amirs, Sayf al-Din Balaban al-Djukanadir al-Manṣūrī (d. 706/1306), Zahir al-Din Muḥirr al-Manṣūrī (d. 716/1316) and ‘Alā’ al-Din Muḥajjlūṣ (d. 707/1307) whom he had previously known in Cairo, and among the ‘ulama’, members of the most distinguished Damascenes families, Ibn Ṣaṣrā (d. 717/1317), Ibn al-Kalāṣīn (d. 715/1315) and his son Muḥibb al-Din Muḥmmād (d. 730/1330). In Tripoli, he was acquainted with members of the Mamluk elite as well as among his colleagues in the diwān al-inšā and the diwān al-ḡayb. He was also acquainted with some of the senior kutubb of the Mamluk administration, letters from whom he reproduces in numerous instances in his encyclopaedia. Each time, the terms which underlie his privileged relations with one or the other are ṣāḥib or ṣāḥabtuw. As a man of his time, al-Nuwayrī was also acquainted with Sūfī shaykh.”

After a career of at least eighteen years, approximatelly from 698/1299 to 716/1316, he retired from public life and devoted himself to adab and to the writing of his encyclopaedia. From his administrative life, he would have learned kisābi, the establishment of roles, exercised hiska, land-surveying (al-mukhayṣaṣ), the management of accounts and revenues, al-muhāṣaba wa al-taḥṣil, nazar, inspection of crops and of presses (al-ghālāṭi wa al-taḥṣil), forage, sales (al-muḥāṣaṣ). He read and contemplated a great deal over the years and conceived the idea of writing a book, or rather a work large enough to provide a compendium of the fruits of his reading and of his administrative experience. He expresses it in his introduction in these terms: “I mounted the war-horse of reading and investigation and spurred him on. I then galloped in the region of consultation. When I succeeded in taming the horse and the source of knowledge became clear to me, I then undertook to compose a work which would keep me company and in which I would find my bearings, having recourse to my own administrative experience. I called upon God the Great and Merciful and I have produced five great Books (funūn) harmoniously composed and divided into three sections. Al-Nuwayrī died on 21 Ramadān 733/5 June 1333, at the age of fifty-six years, having composed a monumental work of 9,000 pages in thirty-one volumes which he intitled Nihayat al-arab fi funūn al-adab. He thus bequeathed to posterity a work which would keep me company and in which I would find my bearings, having recourse to my own administrative experience. I called upon God the Great and Merciful and I have produced five great Books (funūn) harmoniously composed and divided into three sections.

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The work is divided into five funūn; each funūn comprises five parts which, in turn, consist of a certain number of chapters or adāb (from two to fourteen). The first is a description of the Universe. Al-Nuwayrī begins with a cosmographic vision and then proceeds to the Earth and its elements of which it is composed. Earth and Heaven were conceived by God for Man’s benefit. The funūn concludes with a description of Egypt, its inhabitants and archaeological remains. The three succeeding volumes are devoted to living beings: Man is the principal theme of the second, while the third and fourth are concerned with fauna and flora. History is the subject of the fifth and last, and this is by far the most important; it represents more than two-thirds of the work. This section is conceived as a universal history, covering the period from Creation to 731/1331. Crucial episodes in this history are the story of the Prophet and of Arab expansion, then the ‘Abbāsid period and finally, the history of Egypt since the Fātīmid. The major preoccupation of al-Nuwayrī seems to lie in providing the reader with succinct summaries of the principal historical events. The work is conceived primarily as a work of reference, and the manner of compilation displays a concern to inform the reader in a qualitative manner; only works bearing authority are summarised here. The final volume of this important historiographer differs somewhat from the remainder. These are annals, or rather notes taken from day to day; the text is condensed and even displays a certain dryness. It contrasts strongly with the rest of the work, in which the style is in general mannered, sometimes even lapsing into rhymed prose. This abridged account of events personally experienced may have been written with a view to later revision, but he died without making any amendments.

In all, with a work gigantic in terms of the variety of subjects studied, the breadth of the information contained, al-Nuwayrī not only achieved his avowed object but did so much more. He succeeded in providing the sum of practical knowledge necessary for a good secretary and for the administrative world in general but he also reached a much broader public. The literary form of the work and the spectrum of subjects exposed, summarised and classified in the most accessible manner possible, clearly show that al-Nuwayrī wanted, beyond his readership of administrators, to contribute to the formation of a kind of “well-informed man”. He states this himself occasionally.

Al-Nuwayrī was greatly inspired by the geographical encyclopaedia of his predecessor, al-Waqwāq (d. 718/1318 [q. v.] entitled Mabbāḥiḥ al-fikar wa-mandīlīh al-‘abar (partial edition, Kuwait 1981), for the subdivision into funūn and even for the content. The four funūn of al-Waqwāq recur in the work of al-Nuwayrī, who added history to form a fifth section. Furthermore, he mentions him by name, as he does with the majority of his sources. In the books devoted to natural history, fauna and flora, he makes a synthesis between three types of pre-occupation, naturalist, medical and literary. He thus describes the animal or the plant, mentions its medical and other attributes, the legends concerning its subject and the poems of which it has been the object. Science and adab are thus united. Amina Muhammad Dasmal al-
Din (see Bibl.) has listed seventy-five poets quoted in the book on fauna (148). The work reflects the author's education with his constant references to hadith; the influence of traditions is also evident in his very approach of khabar, since he always adds to a work compiled by an authoritative person details gleaned either from his direct observation or from the testimony of a trustworthy person. He sometimes exhibits scepticism when he relates a story which he regards as fantasy, "this saying derives, in my belief, from the fables of the Arabs (khurāfī al-`Arab)" (ix, 276, or x, 209), but he has no qualms about relating amusing marvels for the entertainment of the reader.

Out of his work he is guided by three principles: to adhere to the stated plan, not to go to excess over details and to avoid repetition. In the introduction to Book III, which concerns animals, he writes, "Were it not for the risk of saying too much, we could have composed an epitome for each animal, but we prefer to confine ourselves to the writing of others rather than to our own accounts" (ix, 225). He engages in a constant dialogue with the reader and explains his approach. To avoid repetitions, he often has recourse to postponements; he even has a system of double postponement which demonstrates simultaneously his attention to minute detail in his conception of the work as a whole and his unwillingness to weary the reader with repetitions (ix, 333, xii, 2). There remains a final important remark which is valid for the work as a whole; al-Nuwayrī's professional travels across parts of Syria and Egypt led him to take a constant interest in the countries and regions visited, and it is from this source that he draws all the concrete examples which are scattered throughout his work.

Such personal notes occur on numerous occasions and in all parts of his encyclopaedia, on Tripoli, on Damascus, Upper Egypt, the Delta and Cairo, and in the historical section he borrows constantly from Syrian authors such as al-Djazari or al-Birzalī, in a manner which enables him to sketch in, for each year, information concerning at least the places in which he has lived and worked at one time or another. Similarly, in the sections devoted to administration, his personal experience enables him to convey important information regarding the machinery of the financial administration of Mamluk Egypt, with precise and meticulous descriptions. Furthermore, under the heading of administrative and financial information, al-Nuwayrī reveals indirectly, and without departing from his primary intention, certain aspects of the rural economy in the 8th/14th century. Thus his surveys of fiscal policy convey information on types of soil, crops, certain problems inherent in climatic or hydrographic conditions. In the same Book II, taking advantage of his access to important state documents and under the pretext of supplying models for the benefit of the kābīb, he reproduces a series of letters emanating from, in particular, great sovereigns such as Baybars, Kalāwīn and his son Muhammad. Other documents reproduced include certificates of investiture and records of waqāf. The first four funun cover only ten volumes, while the sections reserved for history accounts in itself for twenty-one. The importance of Book V accounts for the fact that his biographers consider al-Nuwayrī a historian before all else. He reveals his methodology in the introduction to his historical section: "When I saw that all those who wrote the history of the Muslims had adopted the annalistic form rather than that of dynastic history, I realised that by this method the reader was being deprived of the pleasure of an event which held his preference and of an affair which he might discover. The chronicles of the year draw to a close in a way which denies awareness of all the phases of an event. The historian changes the year and passes from east to west, from peace to war, by the very fact of passing from one year to another... The account of events is displaced and becomes remote. The reader can only follow an episode which interests him with great difficulty... I have chosen to present history by dynasties and I shall not leave one of them until I have recounted its history from beginning to end, giving the sum of its battles and its achievements, the list of its kings, the course of its Mohammedan empires, and of its highways" (xiii, 2). Little (Introduction to Muslim historiography, 31; idem, The historical and historiographical significance of the detention of Ibn Taymiyya, in IJMES, iv [1973], 315) has already drawn attention to the originality of the method adopted by al-Nuwayrī in his willingness to break with chronology in order to give more coherence to his narrative. When he does this he alerts the reader and explains himself; then, when he has finished with his exposure of a topic, he writes as a general rule wa-l-

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reference should be made to the comparison of sources made by Little (Introduction...), with the aid of numerous passages, in order to attempt a clarification of the circulation of borrowings between the different authors of the Mamluk period, while the severity of Ashtor’s judgment of this work (Studies, i) needs some attenuation, since its dimensions and its characterstics render impossible such an unequivocal judgment of the merits of this encyclopedia.

The edition of the Nikhay, begun in Egypt by Ahmad Zakari Pagha in 1923, came to a halt with volume xviii in 1955, was then resumed in the 1970s and, after further interruptions, volume xxx appeared in 1991; however the two preceding ones, xxviii and xxix, are not yet available. The edition will comprise more volumes than the manuscript work, since the thirtieth which has just appeared deals with the beginnings of the Mamluk period, while the years 678-731 have yet to be edited. Manuscripts of the Nikhay are to be found almost everywhere in Europe, in particular in Paris, Rome and Leiden, but also in Egypt. The work has been known and exploited for a long time [see EF, s.v.], but much remains to be drawn from it.


NUZHA [see MI'ZAF].

OB, one of the major rivers of Siberia, which flows from sources in the Altai Mountains to the Gulf of Ob and the Kara Sea of the Arctic Ocean. Its course is 3,680 km/2,287 miles long and 5,410 km/3,362 miles long if its main left-bank affluent, the Yyurakh, is included. Its whole basin covers a huge area of western Siberia.

In early historic times, the lands along the lower and middle Ob were thinly peopled with such groups as the Samoyeds and the Ugric Voguls and Ostiaks (in fact, the indigenous population of these regions today, only the upper reaches of the river in the Altai region being ethnically Turkish territory; see M.G. Levin and L.P. Potapov (eds.), Narodi Sibiri, Eng. tr. The peoples of Siberia, Chicago and London 1964, 305-41, 511-70). These Ugrian peoples are the ones whom the early geographical explorers and travellers in Inner Asia knew as the Yura (mediaeval Russ. Yugra) who lived beyond the Bulghar [q.v.] towards the Bahr al-Zulumat "Sea of Darkness", i.e. the Arctic, and supplied fur to the more southerly peoples by dumb barter (see J. Marquart, Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, in Ungarische Jahrbücher, iv [1924], 289 ff., 303 ff., 321 ff.; V. Minorsky, Sharaf al-Zaman Tahir Maroqzi on China, the Turks and India, London 1942, tr. 34, comm. 112-15; K. Donner, La Siberie, Paris 1946, 124 ff.; P.B. Golden, in The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia, Cambridge 1990, 253-4).

It is probable that the Ob is to be identified with the river beyond the Ili, the Irysh and a nameless one, and which Mahmud Kâshgharî calls the Yamâr, locating along its shores the tribe of the Yabaku, who had their own language (?) or dialect) but also spoke Turkish (Dinîw luyxhat el-turk, tr. Atalay, i, 29, 30, 79, iii, 28, etc. - tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, Compendium of the Turks dialects, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 83, 117, ii, 161, etc.; Brockelmann, Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz, 244, identifies the Yamâr "probably" with the Iism, a left-bank tributary of the Irysh, hence further west than the Ob, but this seems too far west, in the light of the relative positions of the Turkish tribes in its vicinity, see below). The map accompanying Kâshgharî's text (reproduced by Dankoff and Kelly at i, 82; according to A. Herrmann, Die älteste turkische Weltkarte, in Imago Mundi, i [1935], 27, this is possibly by the author himself or was drawn according to his specifications) places the Yamâr river beyond the lands of the Kay and Cümül tribes on the nameless river, again described as being beyond the Yabaku, but the Kay and Cümül territories may well have extended from the Irysh to the
OB — OGADEN

Ob, as apparently did those of the Basmil also (see Minorsky, Hudud al-cdlam, comm. 285, 305; idem, Maroazi, comm. 96). There is also the precious information in Kâshârî about an expedition northwards led by one Arslan-tigin (presumably a Karakhanid [see İLEK KÎNÂS]) against infidels who were led by a certain Budraç and who were routed, and the Turkish verses which Kâshârî quotes mention the crossing of the Ili and the Yamâr; also hostile to the Muslims were the Basmil (Dâvud, tr. Atelay, i, 144, 452, iii, 556 – tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 163, 340, ii, 330-1). Kâshârî derived information directly from one of the participants in this ghazu, hence it must have taken place in the early or mid-5th/11th century, although the episode very soon became enshrined in legendary accretions (Barthold, Züfafl Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türk.en Mitteleuropas, Berlin 1935, 95-6; Fr. tr. Histoire des Turs d’Asie Centrale, Paris 1945, 76-7).

Islam never penetrated to the Uigrian peoples of the lower middle Ob, and the Turkic peoples of the upper reaches remained shamanists also. In the later 16th century, Kuçu Kân, ruler of the Turco-Mongol khanate of Sibir [q.v.] centred on Isker on the middle Irtys, was finally defeated by Russian forces in August 1598 on the Ob; the Russians had already penetrated to the Ob basin in their thrust eastwards through Sibiria. A Russian army had reached the shore of the Ob, 1884; a fort was founded at Tomsk in 1604, and this place was later to be the seat of the first university in Siberia, inaugurated in 1888; Surgut was founded in 1595 and Barnaul erected into a town in 1771 (see Donner, La Siberie, 144-6; J. Forsyth, A history of the peoples of Siberia, Russia’s north Asian colony 1581-1990, Cambridge 1992, 28 ff.). The river itself, navigable on its upper course for some 190 days a year, became an important means of communication. Novosibirsk, where the Trans-Siberian railway crosses the Ob, was founded in 1893 and soon eclipsed Tomsk, later becoming the largest city of Soviet Asia. At present, the Ob basin falls within the Russian Republic, with only the river’s headwaters in the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Oblast.

Bibliography: Given in the text. See also BSE, xvi, 267-8; BIBL, 76-8. (C. E. Bosworth)

OCHIALY [see ULUDJ ÁLT].

OCRIDA [see orkî].

OCSNOBA [see UKHUNÚBA].

ODJAK (fr.), "fireplace, hearth, chimney", a word which survives with a rather wide range of meanings in all Turkish languages and dialects. Originally otjak < otjak with the elements å "fire" and -jak (perhaps to be connected with a rare suffix denoting a place, cf. S. Tzecan, Eski Uygurca Hsuan Tsang biyografsi X. bólam, Ankara 1975, n. 1074; idem, Das uigurische Insiad-Sutura, Berlin 1974, n. 275). The connotation "iron ring (for a prisoner or criminal)" appears only in Sangdák and in Sheykh Süleyman Buğhari (G. Doerfer, Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neuperisiachen, Wiesbaden 1965 ii, 10-2, no. 421; G. Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 22). The term passed into Arabic (wajak), Persian and most Balkan languages (A. Skaljiç, Turcizmi u srpskokroatkom-hrvatskorskom jeziku, Sarajevo 1973, s.v. odjak, etc.). There are names derived from it, like Odžaci (district of Sombor, Bačka) and Odžak (a town in Bosnia, district Doboj and a locality near Livno).

ODJAKLI [see odjak].

OFEN, the German name of Pest [see rsșgrt] (this meaning "cave or lime-kiln"), later and until recent times that of Buda [see budn], both today parts of the capital of Hungary.

OGADEN, a vast arid expanse in the south-eastern part of Ethiopia approximately delimited by the Wadi Shebille to the south-west, the frontier of the former Somaliland to the north-east, the line Ferfer-Werder (the administrative capital) - Dooomo to the south-west and the line Degeh Bur - Degeh Meda to the north-west. It is ranged over by Somaliland nomads belonging to the Dâröd group, the Ogaden (from whom the region gets its name), and formed part of the province of Harargé (Harar) until 1991, when a new administrative set of arrangements on ethnic and cultural bases placed it within the "Somali province". It is claimed by the Republic of Somalia, and the fact that it actually belongs at present to Ethiopia explains that it actually belongs at present to Ethiopia. In the civil sphere we find groups of workers formed into oðająks (e.g. L. Fekte, Die Syd-qât-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung, i, Budapest 1955, 761; C. Orhonlu, Osmanî imamato-luganda şehrâlık ve ulamân, Istanbul 1984, 33: oğçu-ahenger).

The technical vocabulary of fraternities like the Bektâşîyya and the Mawaliyya [q.v.] assigns to the oðaj special place in their tekkes. Bektâşî tekkes used to have an oðaj in front of the kîba between the post of Seyyid 'Ali and the Khorâşân posta. In Mawlewî-khânes, oðaj was another word for the makâm of the cook (âşajî dede). Amongst the Alevî of Anatolia, aqîdâzâd are spiritual guides who belonged to one of the lineages stemming from the twelve imams (K. Kehl-Bodrogi, Die Kızılhâs-Alven, Berlin 1988, 167-79).

At the beginning of the 20th century, oðaj became an emotive word with nationalist overtones for the Turkist movement (seen in the Türk Oðajî founded in 1911-12). The youth organisations of the more recent Milliyete Haraket Partisi were called Ulkâ Oğlamlar Dernekleri (1968-78).

The traditional name for the month of January was replaced in 1945 by a literal translation (calque sémantique) from Kânî-i tânî to Öcak (law no. 4696).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Gibb and Bowen, index; Pakalin, s.v.

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46 ff.) or a semi-independent sánchez (N. Göyünç, Türkül-otjak daimyeri hakkında, in Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükolu’nun aramağın, İstanbul 1991, 269-77).

The oðaj was equally a unit of recruitment in the Ottoman military administration [see 'ADÂMI OGâLÂN, BOSTANDI, ŞEYBED]. The Janissaries in their totality were the oðaj par excellence [see yeśnie čeri]. Their cognomen Odajî-i Bektâşîîyan was coined for their close relation to the fraternity [see BÊKTÅŞÎYYA]. The Turkish soldiery in the Maghrîb and Egypt was also referred to as the oðaj (M. Colombe, Contribution à l’étude du recrutement de l’O.Gen d’Algérie, in RAdS, Ixxvii [1943], 166-83; A. Raymond, Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII siècle, Damascus 1975-4, passim).

It was after the conquest of the Muslim amirate of Harar [q.v.] in 1887 that the King of Shoa Menelik, the future Emperor of Ethiopia (b. 1844, regn. 1889-1913), ordered the conquest of Ogaden, which was
completed in 1890. Carried out in the context of colonial expansion within the Horn of Africa (Britons, Italians and French installed themselves there in the years 1889-1890), this annexation was confirmed internationally by agreements concluded with Britian, which renounced part of the Haud pastures in favour of Ethiopia (1897), and with the Italians (1908), without however the frontiers being clearly delimited. Despite a certain amount of tension with the two European powers (the frontier incident of Wal-Wal in December 1934 was the pretext for the Italian aggression against Ethiopia (1935-6), the situation remained tense until 1960.

During the rebellion of 1900-20 of the sayyid Muhammad 'Abdil Hassan', the so-called 'Mad Mullah' (who was of Ogaden ancestry [see Muhammad B. 'Abd Allah B. Hassan]) against the British, some of the military operations took place in the territory of the Ogaden, and these last made appeals to the Ethiopians for help on various occasions.

In 1960 the two former Italian and British colonies, Somalia and Somaliland, became independent and united to form the Republic of Somalia [q.v.]. Impelled by a militant pan-Somalia feeling, the new state united to form the Republic of the Ogaden, and these last made appeals to the Ethiopians for help on various occasions.

The first war between Somalia and Ethiopia was begun by the former in 1964, and only international pressure prevented the Ethiopian military advance. The Khartoum Agreements in the spring of that year confirmed the status quo. After the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the Somalis took advantage of the disorder within Ethiopia to make another attempt at invasion (1977). The Ethiopians only retrieved their position thanks to the Soviet Russian volte-face which renounced part of the Haud pastures in favour of Somalis and symbolised by the five points of the star in the national flag, to whose unity Somali nationalism aspires.


**OGADÈN — ÓGODEY**

**OGODEY** or Öçödey, the second Great Khân of the Mongol Empire. Born probably in 1186, he was the third son of Öçigis Khan (Çingiz Khân [q.v.]) by his principal wife Börte. He was the first of the Mongol rulers to adopt the title Ça'an: Düwayni always refers to him thus, almost as though it was regarded as a personal name. Öçigis had during his lifetime indicated that Öçödey should succeed him, in preference to his other surviving sons Çağhatay and Toluy. It is often suggested that Öçödey was a generally acceptable conciliatory figure, and the empire seems to have been administered by Öçödey on the basis of family consultation rather than imperial autocracy. Öçödey does appear to have been, by Mongol standards, an unusually benevolent ruler, if the numerous anecdotes illustrating his tolerance and generosity which are preserved by Düwayni and Shahid also deserve to be believed.

Çingis's death in 1227 was, however, followed by a two-year interregnum before Öçödey was confirmed as Great Khân at a kuriltay in 1229 convened by his younger brother Toluy. Thereafter, the Mongol Empire continued to expand in both east and west. The conquest of the Chin Empire in north China was completed in 1234, and Mongol armies under the generals Couragehun and Baidu campaigned in northern Persia from 1229. The most spectacular campaign undertaken during Öçödey's reign was that in Russia and eastern Europe. In 1235 a kuriltay decided to launch this expedition, which was to be headed by Batu [q.v.], son of Çingis's (deceased) eldest son Djoči, to whom the lands to the west had been allotted as his ulus. The campaigns, conducted triumphantly between 1237 and 1241, culminated in an invasion of eastern and central Europe, from Poland to Hungary and Austria, which was abruptly terminated in early 1242, probably at least in part because the news had reached Batu of the death of Öçödey on 7 December 1241 (possibly as a result of over-indulgence in drink: a not uncommon end among the Mongol nobles). The enduring result of the expedition was the establishment of Batu's and his descendants' rule over what Westerners called the Golden Horde (known in the Islamic world as the Khatan of Kipchak).

The achievements of Öçödey's reign were not solely warlike. It was at this time that the Mongol Empire acquired a capital: Karakorum, in the Orkhon [q.v.] valley of central Mongolia. Çingis seems previously to have used the site, but it was Öçödey who in 1235 had the city walled and who built the substantial though (according to the Franciscan friar William of Rubruquis) sumptuous palace. Its construction was largely financed by American aid by their own. Thus the quite local problem of Ogaden took on an international dimension.

The first war between Somalia and Ethiopia was begun by the former in 1964, and only international pressure prevented the Ethiopian military advance. The Khartoum Agreements in the spring of that year confirmed the status quo. After the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the Somalis took advantage of the disorder within Ethiopia to make another attempted invasion (1977). The Ethiopians only retrieved their position thanks to the Soviet Russian volte-face which renounced part of the Haud pastures in favour of Somalis and symbolised by the five points of the star in the national flag, to whose unity Somali nationalism aspires.


**Bibliography:** Material may be found in the general works dealing with Ethiopia, Somalia and the geopolitics of the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea regions. The following first two titles reflect the Ethiopian case in the Ogaden dispute: Wolde-Mariam Mesfin, The background of the Ethio-Somali boundary dispute, Addis Ababa 1964; S. P. Petrides, The boundary question between Ethiopia and Somalia, New Delhi 1983; I. M. Lewis, A modern history of Somalia, London and Boulder, Colo. 1988. It may also be recalled that A. Rimbaut put together a Rapport sur l'Ogadine from the notes of the Greek merchant Sottirio (Comptes-Rendus des Séances de la Société de Géographie, Paris 1884). (A. Rouaud)

**OGÖDEY or ÖÇÖDEY**, the second Great Khân of the Mongol Empire. Born probably in 1186, he was the third son of Öçigis Khan (Çingiz Khân [q.v.]) by his principal wife Börte. He was the first of the Mongol rulers to adopt the title Ça'an: Düwayni...

(D.O. Morgan)

OGHUL (t.), a word common to all Turkic languages (cf. W. Radloff, Versuch eines Worterbuches der Türk-Dialekte, St. Petersburg 1888-1911, 1/2, cols. 1015-16), found as early as Ogrhon Türkic and meaning ‘offspring, child’, with a strong implication of ‘male child’, as opposed to kiz ‘girl’ ([q.v.]) (Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 83-4), original plural oghlan, still thus in Kağhârî (Dâwân lughât al-târk, facs. ed. Atalay, iv, Dizini, 425-6; C. Brockelmann, Mittelluikischer Wortschatz, Budapest P. 1928).

In connection with the sense of ‘offspring, descendant’, attention may be called to certain formations, such as oğâb oğlu, ‘son of a good house’, kul oğlu, which was used to apply to the sons of the Janissaries.

Oghûl is very frequently found in family names where it takes the place of the Persian zade or the Arabic ibn, e.g. Hekim-oghlu or Hekim-zade for Ibn al-Hekim, or Ramâdan-oğlu for Ramdân-zade or Ibn Ramdân (where it should be remembered that the Arabic ibn does not mean exclusively ‘son’ but ‘descendant’). An incomplete survey of such formations in an early period is to be found in Sîdîq-i Oğhûmâni, iv, 778-812. Atatürk’s law on family names has led in Republican Turkey to many names incorporating the element oğlu after the name of famous persons, families or tribes (e.g. Osmanoğlu, Şahsêvencoğlu) or after the names of practitioners of trades and crafts (e.g. Saracoglu, Ekmekcioglu, Tarakcioglu, Firincicoglu, Dülgeroglu).

From being an original plural, oğlan evolved into an independent singular, meaning ‘youth, servânt, page, bodyguard’, also found in certain compounds, e.g. ile oğlan, ‘sultan’s page’, dil oğlan, ‘language-boy’, ‘interpreter’. From oğlan we also get German Uhlan, the name for light cavalry.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also IA art. Oğul (F. Rahmeti Arat).

(F. Babinger [C.E. Bosworth])

OGHÜZ [see qâwûz].

OGHÜZ-NÀMA [see qâwûz].

OGHÜZ-NAMA, a term which designates the epic tradition of the Oghuz [see qâwûz], Turkish tribes mentioned for the first time in the Ogrhon [q.v.] inscriptions.

After the fall of the empire of the Kök or Celestial Turks (7th-9th centuries), the Oguz tribes migrated westwards. From the 8th and 9th centuries onwards, they are found installed in the basin of the middle and upper Syr Darya, between Lakes Aral and Balkh in the modern Uzbekistan Republic, where they formed tribal confederations. The Seldjûks, who invaded the Persian world and Asia Minor from the 11th century onwards, were part of these. The epic tradition of the Oguz rests on earlier legends and epic tales dating from before their adoption of Islam. The geographical setting reflects the regions of the Syr Darya. Like popular poetry and ethnic origin legends, this epic tradition was at first transmitted orally.

The title Oghuz-nâma denotes the legend going back to the eponymous hero Oghuz. The tales were transmitted by the ozans [q.v.] who recited and sang them to the accompaniment of the kopuz. Written Oghuz-nâmâs are signalled from the 13th century onwards, during the Saldjûk period, but none has come down to us. The first and best known of the Persian historian Rashld al-Dîn (646-718/1248-1318 [q.v.]) in his Diwâni al-tawdnh began in the time of the Il-Khânîd Qhaânaz (694-703/1294-1304 [q.v.]) and presented to his successor Oldjeytii (703-16/1304-16 [q.v.]). The author based himself on oral information in which legend and reality are mixed together, which is why his history of the Oghuz belongs more to the realm of folklore than history. Rashld al-Dîn’s Oghuz-nâma relates happenings from before the Oghuz’s conversion to Islam, but it also contains historical facts concerning the Saldjûk conquests. The author must have used in the first place a text written in Turkish and then translated into Persian, since his narrative contains vocabulary elements from Mongolian and Eastern Turkish. He has added to this Kûrânic verses and poetic quotations from the Qurân, as well as certain phrases aimed at making the subject more vivid, such as ‘in the names of Allâh and Sayrâm, Muslim Turks are living today’.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris there is preserved an Oghuz-nâma in Uyghur script (Suppl. turc 1001, fonds Schefer). According to P. Pelliot, it must have been written ca. 700/1300 in the region of Turfan, but the manuscript itself must have been copied in Kharakasar at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The story contains no Islamic traces, but Ira-
tion, who recites and sings the noble deeds of the old heroes. The second work drawn from the origins of the ancient Oghuz-namas is that of Abu l'Qahhār Jāhār Kadārūder (1012-74/1603-63) [q.v.], a khan of Khāzarzam who led an adventurous life, who belonged to the family of the Uzbek or Özbek [q.v.] Shūbānī and who was a descendant of Čingiz Khān. He wrote two works, one on the ethnic origins of the Turkmen, the Shakārga-yi Tarākīm, and another, the Shakārga-yi Türk, written at Khiwā in the year of his death and forming a genealogical history of the Turks. The author used Rašīd al-Dīn's history, but he states that the historical sources have not been observed. The traditional history of the legendary Oghuz lived on in Central Asia, where numerous Oghuz-namas written between the 9th/15th and 13th/19th centuries are to be found. On some occasions, Oghuz appears in them as a Muslim hero summoning his people to adopt the Islamic faith.


ÖHRID [see OKHRI.]

ÖKÇÜ-ZADE, MEHMET ŞAH BEG (970-1053/1642-50), Ottoman nişanghi and proce stylist.

Ökçü-zade Mehmed Şah (or Şahhi) Beg was born in 970/1052, the son of a long-serving Ottoman chancery officer, later beglerbegi [q.v.] Ökçü-zade Mehmed Pasha (d. ca. 995/1587). His own chancery career spanned 44 years. Appointed kâhit of the divānd-i himāyān [q.v.] (988/1580), he held office as re'ī al-kāhitāb (1005/1596), defter emini (1006/1597), and nişanghi (1007-10/1599-1601). He then served as defterdar [q.v.] of Egypt with the rank of sâlpāye begi (1013-16/1605-8). After several years without official employment, he was reappointed defter emini (ca. 1029/1620), then nişanghi briefly at the start of 'Othmān II's Polish campaign (1030/1621), and again for a short final period (ca. 1031-3/1622-3) coinciding approximately with the second sultaneate of Mustafā I and the tenure of the office of şeyh-i al-Islām by his friend and patron Yahyā, defter emini and nişanghi (1030/1621) and defterdar (1031/1621), respectively. He died in 1038/1629 (New'-zade 'Aṭā'ī, Deygil-i Şahhi-zâde ve nişanghi, Istanbul 1268/1852, ii, 730-1).

Considered by 'Aṭā'ī as second only to Tâdir-zade Djafer Celebi for his skill as nişanghi, Ökçü-zade's inşâ style is comparable with that of Azmī-zade, Nergisi and Weysi [q.v.]. His principal works are: (i) Münâğhabet-i inşâ, a collection of about 80 letters, first compiled ca. 1038/1629, with a valuable autobiographical introduction; various manuscript versions exist. (ii) Abū l-badā'ī (published Istanbul 1313/1896-7), an elegant versification, with prose commentary, of Kitāb hadithîh (cf. A. Karahan, İslam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis toplarna, türkçeye ve terhîlî, Istanbul 1954, 218-22). (iii) A prose translation of Kāshific's [q.v.] Tahfiz-i al-jâlāt (completed 1021/1612). Samples of his verse are also found in tughikes under the mahkâh Şahî. Bibliography: 'Aṭā'ī, ii, 730-1, and Ökçü-zade's Münâğhabet-i inşâ, in Turkish University Library TY 2105, fols. 1b-8b; derived from 'Aṭā'ī's Kāshif Celebi, Fəlülke, Istanbul 1267/1851, 127-8; Ahmed Resmî, Hikayet er-rü'âd ([S]efinet er-rü'âd), Istanbul 1269/1853, 23-5; Şüğlî-i 'Oğlanî, iv, 153; 'Oğlanî'nî mü'difilerî, ii, 78-9. For other references, see C. Woodhead, Ottoman inşâ and the art of letter-writing: influences upon the career of theницан and proce stylist Ökçüzade (d. 1630), in Osmanlı orantıları, vii-viii (1988), 143-59.

ÖKHRI, OHRID, a former Ottoman sangak capital and centre of an extensive kadaî, today a town of ca. 20,000 inhabitants situated in the south-westernmost part of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The Ottoman name of Ökhrî derives from the Slav Ohrid, which in turn goes back to the antique name Likhnikos. Throughout recorded history it was a major centre of Slav Christianity, the seat of an autocephalous patriarchate (976-1567 A.D.) and from 971 to 1018 capital of the West Bulgarian or Slav-Macedonian empire of Tsar Samuel. During the greater part of the Ottoman period (1385 or 1395-1912), it was the centre of a sangak which comprised the south-western corner of modern Slav Macedonia and large stretches of central Albania. During the reorganisations of the T̄anzimâ [q.v.], it was degraded to a kadaî in the sangak of Manastir [q.v.], which was also the centre of the uleimâ of Manastir. Ökhrî was further an Islamic centre of regional importance, possessing a number of mosques, medreses and dervish lodges, of which that of the Hayātiyye was the central tekke of this Khawwāiyeh branch of supra-regional importance, having a large number of tāles, especially in southern Albania. Ökhrî is situated at an altitude of 806 m/2,643 feet above sea level, the shores of Lake Ohrid, and is picturesquely built on the slopes of a promontory, which is on three sides surrounded by the lake and still carries the well-preserved castle and city walls of Tsar Samuel's time, repaired in the Middle Ages and maintained by the Ottomans till the 19th century. Its easily defensible position, on a lake full of fish and at the head of a fertile plain, ensured that the town was inhabited throughout recorded history as well as in pre-historic times. Moreover, Ökhrî commands the Via Egnatia on the eastern approaches of Albania. The old Ottoman chronicles ('Ashih-paşa-zade, Oрудî, Neshrî, Anonymus Giese) do not mention the conquest of Ohrid and present an inaccurate picture of the conquest of the adjacent districts (Manastîr, Pirlepe/Pirple to the east and Karšılli = Central Albania to the west), which are supposed to have been conquered in 787/1385. This date in fact represents a raid into Albania, ending with the Battle of Vijdhe, after which a number of Albanian lords accepted Ottoman overlordship. It is possible that at that time the Albanian ruler of Ohrid, the Grand Zupan Andrew Gropa, who in 1378 is mentioned as such on the foundation inscription of the church of Old St. Clement, was removed and direct Ottoman rule installed. It is nevertheless difficult to imagine
direct rule over the Ohrid area as long as Constantin Dejanović and Marko Kraljević were still ruling over the Ohrid area as long as Constantin Dejanović and Marko Kraljević were still ruling. On one side, this is reflected in the fact that the Ohrid Christians continued to live inside the old walled town and kept almost all their old churches. Moreover, the flourishing Slav Christian arts of the 14th century, architecture, icon painting and wall painting, continued to flourish after the Ottoman ad-

ministration was installed. This is shown by a long list of newly-built or painted churches in the villages around Ohrid and in the town itself (Radožda, 1460, Viniš, 1400-5, Elšani, 1407-8; Njivica (Pšarades), 1409-10; Velestovo, 1444, Godivljce, ca. 1450; Lefčani Monastery 1451-2, Stefan Pancir-Gorica, 1450-60; Sts. Constantin and Helena in Ohrid, 1460; Leskoec, 1461-2; St. Nicolai Bolmica in Ohrid, 1467 and 1480-

1; Korić, 1490, mostly built by local Ohrid noblemen). Interesting is the gap between the 1410s and 1430s, an indication of the unsettled conditions during the civil war between the sons of Sultan Bajezit I and its aftermath under Murad II. The art-

ists of this 15th century "School of Ohrid" also left their works in present-day Greek territory (Banitsa, now Vevi, near Vodena-Edessa, 1460): in Bulgaria, Monastery of Dragalevtsi near Sofia, 1475-6; the Monastery of St. Demetrius of Bobselvo near Dupnica, 1487-8, and the Monastery of Matka near Skopje, painted in 1496-7 at the expense of Lady Milica, also a member of the old nobility. Some churches have a list of their property in land and orchards, others mention the bishop in whose time the building was erected or painted, or they mention the ruling Ot-

toman Sultan, styled as "Tsar". As a whole, these preserved monuments of Christian art mirror the situation in the Ohrid kadašt in a manner not recorded in any chronicle.

After the conquest, the Ottomans confiscated two of the major churches of Ohrid and turned them into mosques for the Muslim settlers who came to form the nucleus of the Muslim Turkish population of the town. The first church was the cathedral of St. Sofia, built in 1056 by the Byzantine archbishop Leo on the site of an older church, perhaps going back to the late 7th or 8th century. The second church, the "father of Sultan Murad Khaan, Sultan Mehmemed Khaan", which is Mehmemed I (1413-21). This sultanic mosque did not get a wakf of its own. The expenditure for its maintenance and for the large staff of its servants (according to an account of 1047/1636-7, sixteen persons) was paid by the income of the okhrı mukada's (BBA, Maliyeden Müdever no. 5625, p. 26). The second church, then episcopal church of St. Clement, built in the late 13th century by St. Clement himself, must have been seized by Sultan Mehemmed II when visiting the town during his Albanian campaign of 1466. In that year, there had been disturbances, of a further unspecified nature, in Ohrid, in which the Archbishop Dorožje and a part of the Ohrid clergy and nobility had been involved. This group was deported to Istanbul and to the town of Elbasan, newly-founded by Mehemmed in that same year. The confiscation of the church is seen as an act of punishment.

This action would explain why the mosque is locally known as the "Mosque of Sultan Mehemmed". In the last decade of the 15th century, the by then 600 year-old church was demolished, and on its founda-

tions the large, single-domed mosque which we see to-

today was erected in the pure Ottoman style of the time of Bajezid II. Before the confiscation, the Ohrid Christians were allowed to dig up the relics of St. Cle-

ment and to take all the icons and church books to the large monastery church of Panayia Perivleptos, built in 1295 by the house of Paleologue. In the early Ottoman law, this would indicate a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which is a lot for its time and place. As, however, the western half of the enclosure was almost certainly empty (steep slopes, and no traces of mediaeval buildings whatsoever), we might suggest a pre-Ottoman population of 2,500-3,000. In the 15th cen-

tury the number of the original inhabitants of Ohrid must have diminished. Almost immediately after the conquest of Constantinople, the Jews of Ohrid were deported to the new Ottoman capital. In 947/1540 the Jews from Ohrid living in Istanbul numbered only 16 families (Tapu Deftor no. 210, pp. 45-72). In 1466 Sultan Mehemmed II deported an unknown number of Ohrid Christians to his newly-

founded town of Elbasan, an event only recorded in an marginal note in a Slavic church book. The Ot-

toman census register T.D. 367 from 1528-9, p. 432, describing Elbasan, gives an impression of the extent of this deportation. Out of the 174 households of Christians, 73 households are mentioned as deportees (gjemat-i surgunin-i gebrin-i nefisi-Elbasan), paying until then considerably lower taxes. The first preserved de-

tailed survey of the urban population of Ohrid is ap-

decently the census of 1583, contained in the muftis defter of the Ohrid sandjak preserved in the Cadaster Office in Ankara (Kuyuydu Kadime, no. 25). It gives the names of 25 Christian mahallas in Ohrid, mostly called after their churches, having altogether 263 households. The Muslims are mentioned as one group with a total of 270 households. The names of the heads of households show us that a considerable part of them were converts to Islam in the first generation (ibn-i 'Abd Allâh), 21% of the total. The numbers of the surviving population, from Vasil Kânević, shortly before 1900, show us the end of the development. Especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, this shows a totally atypical demographic trend.
towns of the kadaš (Ohrid and Ustruga/Struga) and 55 of its villages, constituting almost two-thirds of the whole, we have comparable numbers. In 1519 these settlements contained 203 households, of which 7% were Muslim, all living in the two towns. Instead of showing a massive population growth, as known from most of the Balkans and Anatolia (and all over Europe), the Ohrid area stagnated. In 1583 the Christians numbered 2,490 households, only 35 more than in 1519. The Muslims, on the other hand, had increased from 200 to 523, or to 17% of the total surveyed population. The 1634 register (Nat. Libr. Sofia, Oh. 6-7) shows that the Islamisation of a part of the population of the villages and the towns must have continued, but as a whole the total population suffered only a slight decline, and not the drastic losses known to have taken place elsewhere, in the Balkans, especially in the Greek lands and in Central Anatolia. The poll tax register of 1634 shows that the Christian population of the town of Ohrid had decreased to 210 households. A codex entry of the year 1664 mentions that the town had 142 Christian houses but no less than 37 churches. In 1670 Ewliya Çelebi visited the town, which he describes as counting 160 well-built Christian houses, all situated within the castle walls, and over 300 Muslim houses, also well constructed and palace-like. These numbers look quite reliable. The mid-17th century seems to reflect the lowest point for the Ohrid Christians. In the subsequent period, they recovered, when the town again was witnessing expansion. The same is true for the village population. Some villages, which in the late 16th century seemed to be on the road toward total Islamisation (Delogozda, Livada, Mlševo, Moroža, Novo Selo, Orovnik, Trebeništa, Vapila and Volino), had by 1900 no Muslims at all. Some other Christian population that time still had the metropolitans of Kastoria, the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid, which until the 17th century was still a small town, in spite of its being the capital of the northern districts (Kalkandelen/Tetevo, Uskup/Skopje, Struga/Debar/Kicevo, Veles, Prespa, Moglena, Gora-Mokra and Razlog), which came under jurisdiction of Serbian administration, as well as the bishoprics of Manastir/Bitola and Struga. Besides the above-mentioned buildings, the waqf section of the 1583 census (BBA, TD 717, a setar from 1613, pp. 741-53) gives names of a number of mostly small Islamic institutions and their buildings: the school of Mu'alla'm-khan of Süleyman Bey, the mesdiid of Iskender Bey, the mesdiid and school of Mahmud Çelebi, son of Hâdidji Turghut, the mosque of Sheykh Shudja A11 Celebi near Gorna Dzumaya, the school of Ali Celebi near Hamza, the school and mesdiid of Yûnus Vojvod in Ohrid, and that of Hamza the Bazargan. Okhrî-zade Mustafa Çelebi, who founded a school in Struga, was the builder of a hamam in Ohrid, most probably the one on the Struga road. The fact that Islam was slowly spreading in the Ohrid villages is illustrated by the fact that a Mehmed Bey b. Ishak had constructed a mesdiid and a school in the village of Delogozda, where in 1583 14 Muslim households were living, besides 73 Christian households (in 1900 Delogozda was entirely Muslim). The register also mentions the mosque of Hâdidji Kâsim in Ohrid but gives no details on its waqf. The Aya Sofya mosque/church is not mentioned because it had no waqf of its own, but was maintained from other sources.

In 1081/1670-1, Ewliya Çelebi visited Ohrid, and he mentions that the town had 17 mosques and mesdiids, of which the mosque of Hâdidji Kâsim, the Kuloglu mosque, the mosque of Haydar Paşa and that of Hâdidji Hamza were the most important, besides of course the Aya Sofya mosque/church and that of Sinân Çelebi, who in the 1583 lists and by Ewliya is styled Okhrî-zade or Okhrî-zade Sinân Çelebi. Of medreses, Ewliya mentions the "tekke-medrese" of Sultan Süleyman and the medrese of Siwyâwsh Paşa, both unknown from the extant sources, including the comprehensive work of Cahid Baltaci. The official Ottoman list of medreses of Rûmeli from ca. 1660 (Özergin 1974), however, mentions the only medrese then active in Ohrid as being that of Hamza Bey, a person certainly identical with the founder of the mosque of "Hâdidji Hamza" as mentioned by Ewliya and the "Hamza Bazargân" of the 1583 defter. Undoubtedly these buildings, there were three šârâs in Ohrid in 1583, are the "İmaret Bairns in Ohrid, most probably the centre of an important sanjak. In 1767 the Ottomans, advised by the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, dissolved the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid, which until that time still had the metropolitan of Kastoria, Prilep/Bitola, Strumica, Kërça/Elbasan, Berat, Dërë/Durazzo, Vodena/Edessa, Grevena and Siana under its jurisdiction, as well as the bishoprics of Debar/Kîcevo, Veles, Prespa, Moglena, Gora-Mokra and Drimkol. In 1535 Ohrid had already lost its northern districts of Manastir/Bitola and Struga. Besides of Suleyman Bey, the school and mosque of Mahmud Celebi near Ohrid, which had received from Sultan Bayezid II, when the latter on his Albanian campaign of 1492 visited Ohrid. To the waqf property belonged the villages of Mlševo, Kocarnik, Velesta or Zagracani, on the other hand, were in 1583 14 Muslim households, all situated within the castle walls, and over 300 Muslim houses, also well constructed and palace-like. These numbers look quite reliable. The mid-17th century seems to reflect the lowest point for the Ohrid Christians. In the subsequent period, they recovered, when the town again was witnessing expansion. The same is true for the village population. Some villages, which in the late 16th century seemed to be on the road toward total Islamisation (Delogozda, Livada, Mlševo, Moroža, Novo Selo, Orovnik, Trebeništa, Vapila and Volino), had by 1900 no Muslims at all. Some other Christian population that time still had the metropolitans of Kastoria, the autocephalous archbishopric of Ohrid, which until the 17th century was still a small town, in spite of its being the capital of the northern districts (Kalkandelen/Tetevo, Uskup/Skopje, Struga/Debar/Kicevo, Veles, Prespa, Moglena, Gora-Mokra and Razlog), which came under jurisdiction of Serbian Patriarchate of Ipek/Paža, then restored by the Ottoman administration. In the second half of the 18th century, the Khalewitiye Sheykh Mehmîd Hayâtî lived and worked in Ohrid and founded the Asîînî-ye Hayâtîyiye, the mother tekkê of a large number of others in the...
Macedonia and especially in Albania, as well as in the Greek Macedonian town of Kearsaye/Kastoria. Mehmed Hayati is said to have studied in Edirne under the famous Hasan Sezai (died in 1151/1738) and took his name from that of his new Khalweti suborder, which he and his followers propagated successfully.

From the end of the 18th century till 1830, Ohrid and its district was ruled by the Albanian dey Hayati Devetk Bey, son of the Wezir Ahmed Pagha, who is remembered locally for the restoration of the Ohrid town walls, done with harsh forced labour from the local Christian population. He also brought good drinking water to the town, a feat commemorated in a long Ottoman inscription on the Ihtisab Cemeh in the old town square "Cinar", a work of the poet Sulaiman Fehim (1203-62/1789-1846), dated 1237/1821-2. In 1830, the reformed Ottoman army, on its way to suppress the Bughetti Wezirs of Iskenderiye/Shkoder, drove him away and reinstalled a regular Ottoman administration. In 1262/1846 the Ottoman Kârim-makâm Sherif Bey constructed a large new medrese in Ohrid, of which a long inscription still remains. In the course of the 19th century, a number of mosques were repaired or rebuilt in the style of the period. The most important is the domed AII Pasha mosque in the market-place.

In the course of the 18th century, the population of the town of Ohrid and its kada began to grow. This growth gained momentum in the 19th century and is in accordance with the general trend in Europe and in the Ottoman dominions. One of the characteristic was that the Christians grew considerably faster than the Muslims, having bigger families. The result was that by 1900, when Kancev did his research, which is generally held to be the most reliable, the town's population, in 1583 fifty-fifty Muslim-Christian and in the mid-17th century two-thirds Muslim, became two-thirds Christian. Kancev gives for Ohrid 8,000 Bulgarian-Macedonian Christians, 300 Albanian and 460 Vlach Christians, 5,000 Turks and 500 Albanian Muslims. In the three nahiyes of the kada of Ohrid, great changes had occurred. The mountainous nahiye of the north-east had entirely kept its Muslim population, partly through conversion of the local Bulgarian-Macedonian Christians, 300 Albanian and 460 Vlach Christians, 5,000 Turks and 500 Albanian Muslims. In the three nahiyes of the kada of Ohrid, great changes had occurred. The mountainous nahiye of the north-east had entirely kept its Muslim population, partly through conversion of the local Bulgarian-Macedonian Christians, 300 Albanian and 460 Vlach Christians, 5,000 Turks and 500 Albanian Muslims.

The Christian population particularly flourished and in large and well-built houses, the fur industry being their principal occupation. J.G. von Hahn, travelling in the early 1860s, especially noted that there were very few poor people in Ohrid. In his time, the 'imaret of "Sinan Paşa" was still functioning, but it had lost most of its income. Like Ewliya Celebi 200 years before him, Hahn praised this institution, distributing food to the needy regardless of their religion.

During the Balkan Wars, on 29 November 1912, the Serbian-Montenegrin army took Ohrid, which was then incorporated in the Serbian state. Late Ottoman Ohrid counted, according to the Sihname of the Manastir wisel of 1308/1890-1, 15 hamams, nine mosques and two tekkes. In 1934 Fehim Bajraktarević noted 12 mosques in Ohrid. Most of his names are the same as those encountered by Ewliya Celebi. After 1912 the St. Sofia church/mosque was reconverted to a church. The Ottoman additions, except for the fine marble minbar, were removed. In the years after World War II, the many surviving mediaeval churches and their paintings were restored and studied. To a lesser extent the same was done with the Ottoman monuments. In 1955-6 an important part of the Turkish-speaking Muslims of Ohrid and Struga emigrated to Turkey. Their place was taken by Albanian Muslims, who in the 20th century witnessed an expansive growth, turning Ohrid from a Turkish-Muslim into an Albanian-Muslim town, especially as the Christians hardly grew any more. The Asiâme of the Hayati order under the leadership of Shykh Kadri (born 1932), a direct descendant of Mehmed Hayati, is functioning unbrokenly, its buildings in perfect shape (December 1992). This tekke, which is one of the most important of Macedonian Islam, shared in the general renaissance of Islam after the downfall of old Yugoslavia.

The various censuses of the 20th century, only available for the western half of the old kada of Ohrid, show that the Albanian Muslims and the Pomaks [g.v.] survived the turbulences of the Balkan Wars and the two World Wars. In 1900 the 39 settlements later constituting the Yugoslav district of Struga, basically the plain of Ohrid and the mountains facing Albania, contained 24,640 inhabitants, of which 38% was Muslim. In 1914 it stood at 25,970 inhabitants, 39% Muslim; in 1944 31,341 inhabitants, of which 42% Muslim; in 1953; 33,319, 46% Muslim; and 1961 40,172, 52% Muslim. In 1971 it has been completely reversed, the Muslims having the larger families, and the Slav Christian population, especially since the 1970s, being almost static. In the early 1990s, the Muslim population, Albanian, Slav Macedonian and Turkish-speaking, must have reached two-thirds of the total population of the same area.

Since World War II, the entire old town of Ohrid has been declared a Monument of National Culture, to be preserved for the coming generations. The town, with its many monuments and oriental flavour, and the lake side, has developed into a centre of international tourism, the most important of Slav Macedonia.

His friendship with Orhan Veli, whom he met at the War College, he formed a lifelong friendship with Mustafa Kemal [Atatiirk]. During service with the 3rd Army, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress [see iTTtHAD WE TtÈRK Trees iTtIYETV], which brought about the revolution of 1908. He was then posted as Military Attaché in Paris (1908-11) before returning to serve in what is now Libya (1911) and in the first Balkan war (1912). He was briefly elected to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in 1912, and in 1913 he resigned from the army to become Ambassador in Sofia (1913-17). After re-election to parliament in December 1917, he joined the cabinet formed by 1zzet Pasha at the very end of the Great War. In March 1919 he was imprisoned by the succeeding government of Dâmdâr Ferîd Pasha [q.v.], and then transferred by the British to internment in Malta until 1921. After his release, Fethî joined the nationalist government led by Muştafa Kemîl, becoming Minister of the Interior in October 1921, and twice Prime Minister (August to November 1923, and November 1924 to March 1923). He then left parliament, to become Turkish Ambassador in Paris. In August 1930 he returned to Turkey to establish the Free Republican Party (Serbest Cumhuriyet Fikûrû). This was set up with Atatürk’s encouragement as a Liberal opposition to the ruling Republican People’s Party. Unfortunately the experiment proved premature since, against Fethî’s intentions, the party attracted the support of those opposed to the secular institutions of the republic. Accordingly, it was wound up in November 1930, after which Fethî joined the Liberal opposition to the ruling Republican People’s Party. He served a term as Minister of Justice, but retired in 1942, and died after an illness in 1943. 

**OKTAY, Ali FETHî (1880-1943), Turkish statesman and diplomat, was born in 1914. He was married to the journalist and author and poet, born in Trabzon in 1914. He entered the War College and Staff College in Istanbul, graduating as a Staff Captain in 1921. He fought in World War I. After the war, he formed a lifelong friendship with Mustafa Kemal [Atatiirk]. During service with the 3rd Army, he joined the Committee of Union and Progress [see iTTtHAD WE TtÈRK Trees iTtIYETV], which brought about the revolution of 1908. He was then posted as Military Attaché in Paris (1908-11) before returning to serve in what is now Libya (1911) and in the first Balkan war (1912). He was briefly elected to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in 1912, and in 1913 he resigned from the army to become Ambassador in Sofia (1913-17). After re-election to parliament in December 1917, he joined the cabinet formed by 1zzet Pasha at the very end of the Great War. In March 1919 he was imprisoned by the succeeding government of Dâmdâr Ferîd Pasha [q.v.], and then transferred by the British to internment in Malta until 1921. After his release, Fethî joined the nationalist government led by Muştafa Kemîl, becoming Minister of the Interior in October 1921, and twice Prime Minister (August to November 1923, and November 1924 to March 1923). He then left parliament, to become Turkish Ambassador in Paris. In August 1930 he returned to Turkey to establish the Free Republican Party (Serbest Cumhuriyet Fikûrû). This was set up with Atatürk’s encouragement as a Liberal opposition to the ruling Republican People’s Party. Unfortunately the experiment proved premature since, against Fethî’s intentions, the party attracted the support of those opposed to the secular institutions of the republic. Accordingly, it was wound up in November 1930, after which Fethî joined the Liberal opposition to the ruling Republican People’s Party. He served a term as Minister of Justice, but retired in 1942, and died after an illness in 1943.


Okhri, ruin of Imaret Mosque, late 15th century. (Photo: M. Kiel, 1990)

Okhri, Hayati Tekke, early 19th century. (Photo: M. Kiel, 1990)
from the Çağhatay Khânate. The early years of the reign had in fact seen an attempt, successful for a time, to re-establish peace and harmony between the various Khânates of the Mongol Empire. Oljeiţu refers to this in a Mongolian letter of 1305 to King Philip the Fair of France (A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves, Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkan Arun et Oljeiţu à Philippe le Bel, Cambridge, Mass. 1962).

Domestically there seems to have been considerable continuity with the previous reign; the reform programme associated with Ghazan continued in force, though it may perhaps have been pursued with reduced enthusiasm. The unsatisfactory state of the history compiled by Rashid al-Dîn continued to hold office throughout the reign, though his tenure was not untroubled. His colleague Sa’d al-Dîn Sâwadjî fell from power and was executed in 711/1312, to be succeeded by Tâdî al-Dîn Čâli-Shâh. Relations between Rashid al-Dîn and Tâdî al-Dîn eventually became so bad that the empire had to be divided into two administrative spheres so that the waqî’s responsibilities should as far as possible not overlap: Rashid al-Dîn took the centre and south of the empire while Tâdî al-Dîn was made responsible for the north-west, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Early in the next reign, that of Oldjeiţu’s son Abû Sa’dî, Tâdî al-Dîn was able to engineer Rashid al-Dîn’s fall and execution (718/1318) before himself achieving the unparalleled feat, for an Ilkhanid waqî, of dying of natural causes.

Rashid al-Dîn presented to Oldjeiţu his history of the Mongols which Ghazan had commissioned, and which was to form the first part of the Dîmîsî al-tauârîkh. Oldjeiţu asked him to continue the work as a memorial to Ghazan. This continuation was to contain accounts of all the peoples with whom the Mongols had come into contact: the unique ‘world-history’ sections of Rashid al-Dîn’s great history.

Oldjeiţu’s personal religious pilgrimage was complex even by the standards of the day, encompassing at one time or another almost every currently available faith. No doubt a residual shamanist, he had in infancy been baptised a Christian, with the name of Nicholas in honour of Pope Nicholas IV, with whom his father had negotiated. Subsequently he became a Buddhist, but after Ghazan’s decisive conversion to Islam, he became a Sunni Muslim, dallying in turn with the Hanafî and Shâfi’î schools and Shâﬁ’î madhab. Thereafter he became a Shî’î.

For much of the reign work continued on a new capital, Sultaniyya [q.v.], on the plain to the south-east of modern Zandjan. The city had been founded by Arghun; it was completed in 713/1313-14. Since Oldjeiţu maintained the nomadic habits of his ancestors, migrating seasonally from summer to winter quarters, Sultaniyya should perhaps be called his ‘chief seasonal residence’ rather than his capital (C.P. Melville, The itineraries of Sultan Oldjeiţu, 1304-16, in Iran, xxviii [1990], 55-70). It is said that Oldjeiţu wished to transfer the mortal remains of the Shî’î imâms Āli and Husayn to a new shrine in Sultaniyya. This remarkable mausoleum eventually became, instead, Oldjeiţu’s own. It still stands, the only important building of the new capital to survive and the most striking positive memorial of the Mongol period in Persian history.

Bibliography: Primary sources: The most important is Abu ‘l-Kâsim Kâshânî, Tâhâkî-i Oljeiţu, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969. The unique ms., Aya Sofya 3019, ff. 135a-240b, should if possible be consulted. See also Waṣâfî, Tâhâkî-i Waṣâfî, lith., ed. M.M. Işfâhânî, Bombay 1852-3. Sources from the Timûrid period are also of value, e.g. Hâfîz
population. In 1642 there were 85 Christian households liable to pay the djizye (BBA. Mai. Mud. 1000, p. 5), but in 1688-9 only 27 households (Sofia, Nat. Libr. F. 195/2), on top of which an unknown number of families must be counted who were too poor to pay, or otherwise exempted. An official Ottoman list of kadiîîks of the European provinces of the empire, dating from 1670, mentions Olendirek in the eleventh of the 12 ranks of kadiîîks, a pointer to the relative unimportance of the place (M. Kemal Özşergin, Rumeli kadihîîlansdndan 1078 dâzenlemesi, in Ord. Prof. Ismail Üzungru'yi armaqan, Ankara 1976, 276).

Ewlyiye Çelebi, who in 1081/1669-70, on his way from Salona to Karpensi (Krenbeâ), must have passed through Olendirek, does not mention it, as his travel notes of this section were apparently in disorder.

Throughout its history Lidori-ı-Olendirek describes Olendirek as a bourg of 180 families, Greeks and Turks all speaking the same language because the Muslim state, transferred the capital to Omdurman, where he died on 22 June 1885 and was buried. Under his successor, the Khalîfa 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad al-Ta'âebîî (q.v.), the early settlement grew into a town. Like the Mahdi's earlier seats during the revolutionary war, it was officially styled Bukat al-Mahdi, and the Mahdi's tomb (bubbat al-Mahdi) was a place of pilgrimage in lieu of the hadj to Mecca. Beside the tomb (now restored) are the Khalîfa's house (now a museum) containing a labyrinth of rooms, and to the west the great walled space which formed the mosque. Other official buildings were the arsenal-storehouse (hayîl al-amâna, now a football stadium), the treasury (al-sîxîr), and the prison (al-sarîr), from the name of the gaoler). A great wall protected the inner city. From this central area ran three main roads: one southwards to the desert-fringe; and the Khalîfa's black troops (ajihadiyya); one westwards to the former Fort Omdurman (al-kdra), garrisoned by the Khalîfa's black troops (dibbhâdîya); one westwards to the parade-ground at the desert-fringe; and the ominously-named darb al-shuhado? (awldd al-balad).

The Mahdi, now the victorious head of a Sudanese Muslim state, transferred the capital to Omdurman, where he died on 22 June 1885 and was buried. Under his successor, the Khalîfa 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad al-Ta'âebîî (q.v.), the early settlement grew into a town. Like the Mahdi's earlier seats during the revolutionary war, it was officially styled Bukat al-Mahdi, and the Mahdi's tomb (bubbat al-Mahdi) was a place of pilgrimage in lieu of the hadj to Mecca. Beside the tomb (now restored) are the Khalîfa's house (now a museum) containing a labyrinth of rooms, and to the west the great walled space which formed the mosque. Other official buildings were the arsenal-storehouse (hayîl al-amâna, now a football stadium), the treasury (al-sîxîr), and the prison (al-sarîr), from the name of the gaoler). A great wall protected the inner city. From this central area ran three main roads: one southwards to the desert-fringe; and the ominously-named darb al-shuhado? (awldd al-balad).

Like other migrations to the presence of the living or dead Mahdi, this movement was designated hiajra. Accounts of life in the town were the centre of an Ottoman military establishment, and the Mahdi's tomb (bubbat al-Mahdi) was a place of pilgrimage in lieu of the hadj to Mecca. Beside the tomb (now restored) are the Khalîfa's house (now a museum) containing a labyrinth of rooms, and to the west the great walled space which formed the mosque. Other official buildings were the arsenal-storehouse (hayîl al-amâna, now a football stadium), the treasury (al-sîxîr), and the prison (al-sarîr), from the name of the gaoler). A great wall protected the inner city. From this central area ran three main roads: one southwards to the desert-fringe; and the Khalîfa's black troops (dibbhâdîya); one westwards to the parade-ground at the desert-fringe; and the ominously-named darb al-shuhado? (awldd al-balad).
Omdurman by three former European prisoners, Slatin (as above), Father Joseph Ohrwalder (in London 1899, have found a wide readership. (Egyptian) Military Intelligence, while the third is an older grouping, with its headquarters in Omdurman, established with government assistance in 1912, and became the leading nationalist organisation and the settlement there of migrants from all parts of the country, the speech of Omdurman became the leading nationalistic organisation and the seedbed of future political developments.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, there are frequent references to Omdurman in standard works on the Mahdiyya and Condominium, e.g. P.M. Holt, The Mahdist state in the Sudan 1881-1898, Oxford 1970; M.W. Daly, Empire on the Nile, Cambridge 1986; idem, Imperial Sudan, Cambridge 1991. (P.M. HOLT)

OMER EŞHİK famous Ottoman Turkish saz poet of the 11th/17th century, d. 1119/1707. Apart from one or two sources, information on him stems mainly from what he says in his own diwan. Basing themselves on such statements, some scholars (Bursali Mehmed Tahir, Fuad Koprulu and Cahit Oztelli, for instance) have claimed that he was a mystic and a miniaturist. But it seems more likely that he was an Ottoman historian, active both in the capital, Khartoum, and in Omdurman.

From his poems, Omer is known to have had a certain level of education, including a knowledge of Persian and Arabic. He gives his personal name as Omer and his pen-name as 'Adli, although he most frequently signs his poems with the pen-name Asik Omer, changed to Hejdat at this time. Although post-Tanzimat poets like Divyat Pagda and Mu'allim Nadjid may have been a bit disparaged him, they themselves could not deny having been influenced by him in their formative years. Many of his poems have been set to music; the miniaturist Lewni made a miniature of him. Turgut Kut, Ayyanvari Hafiz Hussein b. Ismail and ersiteri, Istanbul 1989, third ed. (1936-1980), 342-3; Sükru Elcin, Asik Omer, Ankara 1987; Saim Sakaoglu, Turkish saz siirleri, in Turkish Dili Ozeli Savaşı III (Halil Siiri), no. 445-50 (Jan.-June 1989), 138-42; Abdulkadir Karahan, Asik Omer, in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslami Anıtkapodisi, iv, 1991, 1; Hussein Awansarayi, Mevlâna'si tarihi, Ankara 1962, 69.

ÖMER EFENDI, an Ottoman historian, according to popular tradition originally called Elkasovic or Çaulevi, who belonged to Bosna-Novai (Bosanski-Novai). Of his career we only know that he was acting as kadi in his native town when fierce fighting broke out on Bosnian soil between the Imperial troops and those of Hekim Ogluu Ali Paşa (1150/1737). Ömer Efendi at this time wrote a vivid account of the happenings in Bosnia from the beginning of Muharram 1149/May 1736 to the end of the month (1150/1737); written in a smooth, easy style, this work is of considerable importance for social history. It seems to have been called Hczawati-i Hekim Ogluu Ali Paşa, but is usually quoted as Hczawati-i diyar-i Bosna, and sometimes as Hczawati-nâme-yi Bândâlûk (i.e. Banjaluka in Bosnia).
As a reward for this literary effort, Omer Efendi was promoted to be one of the six judges (rüle-i adil-i-i sitte). Of his further life and death, nothing more is known. It is certain that he ended his days in Bosna-Novi and was buried there. The site of his grave is still pointed out but the tombstone has disappeared.

Omer Efendi's little book is fairly common in mss. (usually copies of the first printed text); cf. F. Babinger, GW, 277, to which should now be added: Zagreb, South Slav Acad. of Sciences, coll. Babinger, no. 390, 391, as well as no. 631, iv (here called "Omer Efendi". The present Ibrâhim Müteferrika [q.w.] revised and corrected Omer Efendi's narrative (cf. Hanif-zade, in Hadjdjî Khalifa, no. 14533: Ghazaâdât-i diydr-i Bosna) and published it under the title Ahsâul-i ghazaâdât der Diyar-i Bosna (8 + 62 pp., Istanbul 1154; cf. Babinger, Stambuler Buchweisen im 18. Jahrh., Leipzig 1919, 17). On later editions cf. Babinger, GW, 277. The book is also accessible in a rather bad German translation and a not very successful English one, cf. GW, 277.

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Omer Seyf ül-Dîn (Omer Seyfeddin), late Ottoman and early modern Turkish writer (1884-1920).

A major figure of Turkish fiction, Omer Seyf ül-Dîn (modern rendering Seyfeddin or Seyfettin) was a pioneer of realism and of the common idiom. A 1903 graduate of the Istanbul War College, he served as an officer, saw action, fell captive, and retired upon his release in 1913. Having published poems, short stories and essays since 1900, he joined his nationalist colleagues Ali Djânib and Diyâ (Ziya) Gökalp in Salonica (1911) where they published the influential magazine Genç Kalemler (“Young Pens”). From 1914 until his death on 6 March 1920 he lived in Istanbul, where he served as a teacher of literature, editor-in-chief of the journal Türk Sûzû (“Turkish Speech”), and a member of the Istanbul University Linguistic Research Board.

His 16-volume complete works comprise poetry, essays, children’s stories, etc., in addition to fiction. He was not an accomplished poet. His articles and essays, which exerted considerable influence in launching the ideals of nationalism in literature for the benefit of a wider reading public, are concise, lucid and deft. Among his published translations are those of parts of the Iliad and Kalela...

His fame rests essentially on his 138 short stories, mostly derived from childhood recollections, military life including combat, and everyday events. Many of them make use of traditional folk tales and legends, often recounting heroic deeds. In some, Omer Seyf ül-Dîn criticised entrenched institutions and superstitions. With a progressive spirit, he articulated the prospects offered by the awakening of Turkish nationalism for a better future. He took a stand against Ottoman Turks’ deleterious imitation of European models. He expressed faith in traditional Turkish culture blended with modernisation. He was one of the earliest among literary pioneers who brought the Anatolian countryside into urban literature. Reacting against the ornate elite poetry and prose of his predecessors, who were influenced by the Arabs and Persians, he wrote for and often about the common man in an attempt to make literature accessible "to the people."

His major novel, Efrûz Bey (1919), is an acerbic satire of the life and times of an upper-class, quixotic pseudo-intellectual and is the author’s most mature and most compelling work of realistic fiction. With several dozen of his well-made short stories, two or three novellas, and Efrûz Bey, he brought new dimensions to, and earned an enduring place in, the history of Turkish fiction.


(Talat Salt Halman)

On IKI ADA, Turkish rendering of the Dodecanese (Dodekanesos, “Twelve Islands”), the greater part of the Southern Aegean archipelago; they are grouped in a north-west to south-east direction in the south-eastern segment of the Aegean along the Turkish coast. The concept and even the number is somewhat artificial and underwent different interpretations and political expressions in the course of history, hence the relativity of the definition as to how many and which islands constitute this archipelago. The earliest mention seems to occur under the Byzantine emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-40), when the “Dodecanese or Aigion Pelagos” formed one of his three naval commands. In the later Middle Ages Italian maritime control asserted itself over much of the Aegean, and some of the Dodecanese became a Venetian possession, but others passed under the sway of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem after their establishment in Rhodes (1310). It was from the latter two powers that Ottoman Turkey seized control of the Dodecanese: those pertaining to the Knights as a result of the conquest of Rhodes in 1522, and those belonging to Venice during the kapitan-paşa Khayr al-Dîn Pasha [q.v.] Barbarosa’s two campaigns in 1537 and 1538. It was then that twelve islands within this archipelago acquired a special status of “privileged islands” that gave the inhabitants a sense of cohesive identity and firmly established their group as a geopolitical unit; the islands were: Ikaria, Patmos, Leros, Kalimnos, Astipalea, Nisros, Tilos, Simi, Chalki, Karpathos, Kos, and Meis; this was recognized with their voluntary submission and consequent treaty sanctioned by Süleyman I, to be confirmed by a number of later firman; the mostly Greek and Orthodox islanders had self-rule, against payment of a fixed annual sum (maktû). An illustration of the administrative rather than geographical nature of this Ottoman Dodecanese is the fact that the group included Meis (also known as Kastelorizon, Italian Castelrosso), an islet by the southern Anatolian coast near Kas to the east of Rhodes, but not Rhodes itself; like Rhodes, Kos too was excluded, although geographically situated in the midst of the group. The islands of Simi, and later Patmos, appear to have constituted the centre of political gravity and representation of the islanders in their dealings with the Porte and eventually also with other powers.

The inhabitants extracted some livelihood from their deforested islands (fruit, vegetables, wheat, tobacco), but for the most part they depended on the sea: local shipping, fishing, and especially sponge-diving, were their traditional occupations. Their smooth relations with the Porte began to suffer with the appearance of Greek as well as Turkish nationalism in the 19th and early 20th century. Istanbul first tried to cancel the islands’ privileged status and, following the constitu-
tional movement of 1909 and against the islanders' expectations, attempted to impose measures that amounted to incipient Turkicisation. The upheavals caused by the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12, the Balkan War of 1912-13, and World War I brought about the final separation of the Dodecanese from Turkey and its establishment, enlarged by Rhodes as the administrative centre, as an Italian possession (Possementi Italiani dell'Egeo). Only in 1948 did the entire archipelago pass to Greece. The Muslim Turkish population of the islands, numbering about 10,000, had to face any great changes during the period of Italian rule, and the community's newspaper, Selâm, continued to appear in Arabic characters. But during World War II, from 1941 to 1944, the islands were occupied by the Germans (and the Jewish minority largely deported for extermination at Auschwitz), and then the Treaty of Paris of 1947 awarded the Dodecanese to Greece. From then on, under the pressure of Hellenisation, emigration to the Turkish mainland, especially to İzmir, accelerated; most of those who remained became Greek subjects, though retaining their Turkish language, with only a few of them retaining the Turkish citizenship which they had been able to keep since the time of Italian rule. In 1974 there were ca. 4,000 Muslims in their two main centres, Rhodes and Kos, those of Rhodes mainly in the town of Rhodes but those on Kos are in the town of Kos and the hamlet of Toroni as Türk Köyü. The communities are at present ageing ones since, under Greek aegis, young people find career prospects on the islands very confined, and the communities seem destined for gradual disappearance.

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Road system: Although there are not much but tracks used for intertribal communications, these routes must have played a more prominent part in ancient times. Oramâr is connected with Gawar via Şamsîkî, the pass of Başţazîn, ʿAlî Kâni, Başîrzâ and Dizza. It is a road which shows traces of works undertaken at the more dangerous places. To the south, the road going through a very narrow defile leads first to Nerwa (cf. below) where it forks to the west and to the east. A third road goes from Nerwa to Nehri, the centre of Şamdiyân, via Razza, the heights of Peramizi (frontier of the three tribes—Rekâni, Harki, Duskânî), Derî, defile of Harki (Şiwâ Harki), Begor, Mazra, Nehri.

Ethnography. The following Kurdish tribes may be mentioned in Oramâr itself and in the vicinity, with ramifications inevitable as a result of the Kurd migrations. After the name of each tribe that of the district and the number of households in ca. 1930 is given: Duskânî Zîhûrî (Oramâr, 2,000); Nīrwe (Nerwa, kadâd of Amâdiyâ), 800; Dîrî (Gawar and Gelia Dîrî, 1,000): Penînîsh (between Gawar and Djuţâmêr, and the part of the Pirhulki, near Başğâldâ'î, 4,000); Duskânî Zherî (kadâd of Dukh, 2,000); Mizîrî Zherî (ibid., 5,000); Berwârî (ibid., 4,000); Guweî (settling at Dukh; summering at Gawar and Oramâr, 1,400); Čêlî (Djuţâmêr, 6,000); Arûtûsh (summering at Firaşhîn; wintering at Berîji Zengâr, 6,000); Arûtûsh (sedentary: Albâk, 1,000; Nurdîz, 1,000); parts of Arûtûsh: Gewdan, Mâm Khoran, Zhirki (around Djuţâmêr, 6,000).

History. Oramâr has a rich history full of associations with the Nestorian Christianity of south-eastern Turkey and its European Missionaries.

ORAMÂR, ORAMAR, modern Turkish Oramar, a district (nakîye) of the south-east of Turkey, just to the north of the frontier with İrak, and in the modern îçe of district of Gawar (Yûksekoşa) in the îl or province of Hakkâri, with its chef-lieu of the same name (lat. 37°23' N., long. 44°04' E., altitude 1,450 m/4,756 ft.). In 1953 the settlement of Oramâr itself had a population of 943, whilst the nine villages comprising the nakîye had a total population of 3,632.

The boundaries of Oramâr are on the north Îskâţîn and Gawar; on the south Rêkân; on the west Dîlû, Baz and Tkhûma and Arûtsh; in the east Sît [see Şîmîdîn]. Oramâr is a group of hamlets scattered on the two sides of a rocky mountain spur above the Rûdbârî-Sîn. On the spur itself, which is called Gaparanî Zherî, at the place named Gîre Bûtî, is the capital of this part of the district and the Nestorian church of St. Mâr Dînîyâl at Nâw Gund or "the middle of the town". A large cemetery occupies the promontory at the end of the spur. The name Gîre Bûtî, explicable as the "hill of the idol", seems to indicate the antiquity of the settlement. The fact that the slopes separated by the Gaparân are very carefully cultivated and present a complicated system of little terraces, each of which is a field or tiny kitchen garden, leads one to believe that man chose this site for habitation a long time ago, perhaps simply on account of its extreme isolation in the centre of a wild country.

Gorography. Oramâr is at the east end of the curve traced by the system of the Djîlû Dâhû. According to Dickson, the chains and valleys of Turkish Kurdistan run roughly along the parallels of latitude and take a south-eastern direction as they approach the Persian frontier and at the point where they change their axis form a complicated system of heights and valleys. The most complicated part near the centre of the change of axis in question may be called Harki-Oramâr.

In trout (1900) although there are not much but tracks used for intertribal communications, these routes must have played a more prominent part in ancient times. Oramâr is connected with Gawar via Şamsîkî, the pass of Başştazîn, ʿAlî Kâni, Başîrzâ and Dizza. It is a road which shows traces of works undertaken at the more dangerous places. To the south, the road going through a very narrow defile leads first to Nerwa (cf. below) where it forks to the west and to the east. A third road goes from Nerwa to Nehri, the centre of Şamdiyân, via Razza, the heights of Peramizi (frontier of the three tribes—Rekâni, Harki, Duskânî), Derî, defile of Harki (Şiwâ Harki), Begor, Mazra, Nehri.

Ethnography. The following Kurdish tribes may be mentioned in Oramâr itself and in the vicinity, with ramifications inevitable as a result of the Kurd migrations. After the name of each tribe that of the district and the number of households in ca. 1930 is given: Duskânî Zîhûrî (Oramâr, 2,000); Nîrwe (Nerwa, kadâd of Amâdiyâ), 800; Dîrî (Gawar and Gelia Dîrî, 1,000): Penînîsh (between Gawar and Djuţâmêr, and the part of the Pirhulki, near Başğâldâ'î, 4,000); Duskânî Zherî (kadâd of Dukh, 2,000); Mizîrî Zherî (ibid., 5,000); Berwârî (ibid., 4,000); Guweî (settling at Dukh; summering at Gawar and Oramâr, 1,400); Čêlî (Djuţâmêr, 6,000); Arûtûsh (summering at Firaşhîn; wintering at Berîji Zengâr, 6,000); Arûtûsh (sedentary: Albâk, 1,000; Nurdîz, 1,000); parts of Arûtûsh: Gewdan, Mâm Khoran, Zhirki (around Djuţâmêr, 6,000).

History. Oramâr has a rich history full of associations with the Nestorian Christianity of south-eastern Turkey and its European Missionaries.
The cross-continental movements of the Turco-Mongol peoples in the 13th and 14th centuries ensured for the word a wide diffusion into Eastern Europe, including the East Slavonic, Magyar, Balkan and New Greek linguistic areas, finally entering such Western European languages as English and French.

Under the Ottoman Turks, ordu-yü hâmiyyân was a general term for the imperial army, and appears also as an element in the names of various functionaries connected with the army, e.g. the orduülü başlangıçtılı, who was the chief of a staff of tax collectors (moder-

nicians (ehl-i hıref, arabbâ-i hıref) who accompanied the Janissaries [see VENI ÜÇLERI] on their campaigns away from the capital (see I.H. UZUNÇARŞI, OSMANLI DÖRLÜ İLETİŞİMLERINDEN KAPITALİ ÖZELLİKLERI, Ankara 1943-4, i, 368-73; M.Z. PAKALIN, TARİH DEYİMLER VE TErIMLERi SİZLÜĞÜ, İstanbul 1946-54, ii, 728-9).

In South Asia, through usage amongst the Mughals [q.v.] of India, with the royal residence at Dilli styled the ordu-yü mualla, "excited camp", the term zabâni-

rdu was used for the mixed Hindustani-Persian-Turkish language of the court and the army, now the Urdu language of a large proportion of the Muslims in the subcontinent (see Yule and Burnell, HOBBON-JOBSON, A GlosSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN COLOquIAL WORDS AND PHRASES, 639-40; HIND. III. LANGUAGES; and urdu). The term was still used in the Soviet Persian (cf. the Tağıkhana al-malsik, tr. MINORSKY, LONDON 1943, TR. 51, 62), but must by the time the latter work was written (early 18th century) have been archaic and obsolete.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In Mongol historical usage

In sources dealing with the period of the Mongol Empire, ordu is normally used in the sense of the camp or household of a Mongol prince, which would be under the supervision of one of his wives. He might therefore have several ordus. During the Ilkhanate, "to go to the ordu" meant to travel to the ruler's presence, whether that was to be found at one of the fixed capitals such as Tabriz, or wherever the royal encampment happened to be. This kind of usage was perhaps due to the Western term "Golden Horde" for what in the Islamic world was usually known as the khanate of Kıpçak. Quatremère (RASCHID-ELDIN, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, Paris 1836, 98, n. 25) suggested that the word urduk was sometimes used to indicate, to some extent by contrast, the military camp in a more general sense. During his journey to Mongolia in the 1250s, William of Rubruck, whose Latin word for ordu is generally curta, picked up a confusion between ordu and orta ("middle"): "The court is called in their language orda, meaning 'the middle', since it is always situated in the midst of the men" (THE MISSION OF FRAR WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK: HIS JOURNEY TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN MONGKE 1253-1255, TR. P. JACKSON and ED. J. MORGAN and D.O. MORGAN, LONDON 1990, 131 and n. 4). The transformation in English of the meaning of "horde" from the camp to the nomadic warrior people who (in large numbers) sometimes furnished the contemporary English use of the word "to travel to the ruler's camp" gives us the sense of ordu, and probably ordu, from the time of the OED's first cited reference (1555).

Bibliography: G. DOEGER, TÜRKISCHE UND MONGOLISCHE ELEMENTE IM NEUPERSISCHEN, ii. TÜRKISCHE ELEMENTE IM NEUPERSISCHEN, Wiesbaden 1965, 35. Already in the Sâmândî period (4th/10th century), the geographer al-Mukaddasî, 263, 275, mentions "Urdu aksas" as "the residence of the ruler of the Turkmens", and in the ensuing Karâkânî period Ordu is record-

ed as a mint in Transoxania, possibly to be equated with their capital at Balâsâghân (E. von ZAMBAU, DIE Münzprägungen des Islam, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 42).
invasions or of the ensuing Il-Khânid, especially as
the latter made Adharbaydžan the centre of their
activity and with the group of dervishes known as the
Khânid-zâde Hasan Sirrî, who was a government of-
official and translator. Nahit Sirrî attended Galatasaray
lycée, graduating in 1913. He lived in Europe until
1928, and after his return to Turkey, worked as a cor-
respondent for the newspaper Cumhuriyet and as a
translator for the Ministry of Education. He travelled
in Anatolia and wrote articles, mostly concerning the
archaeological and historical antiquities of the places
he visited. He continued to work as a journalist until
his death on 18 January 1960, never having married.
Nahit Sirrî admired and loved Istanbul deeply, and
this is reflected in his works. The style he adopts for
his historical novels is the objective, calm and good-
humoured reporting of events with life in the Istanbul
of the past a dominant subject for his works and his
language remaining faithful to refined Ottoman style.

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cular, 1938; Ayn yazısı, 1952. (d) Research and criticism: Edebiyat ve sanat bahisleri, 1933; Türkü şebeke, sâhil, 1933; Yazılı yolcular Türk meşhurlar an-
Ottoman troops learned the topography of Thrace and Macedonia, while they became rich by pillaging the property of Cantacuzenus' opponents and by taking them into captivity together with the peasants, who had remained faithful to the legitimate heir, in order to sell them as slaves. Cantacuzenus himself confesses that he could not control his Turkish allies. During the same period, around 1346, the Ottomans annexed the adjacent amirate of Karasi [q.v.] thus gaining access to the Aegean Sea. Orkhân, who had a fleet of at least 36 vessels as early as the 1350s, acquired the important fleet of the Karasi Turks who, besides the sea trade, engaged in a naval warfare, began to collaborate successfully with the Ottomans by organising raids on the Greek littoral. The alliance between Cantacuzenus and Orkhân continued after the end of the civil war in 1347, because the former, insecure and suspecting that some of the Thracian towns were ready to revolt against him, frequently appealed to his son-in-law for military support. Orkhân's son, Süleyman Paşa, often resided in Thrace at the head of troops sent to assist Cantacuzenus.

The war between Genoa and Venice, which broke out in 1351 and in which the Byzantines were eventually involved, gave Orkhân the opportunity to emerge on the international scene. He supported the Genoese by supplying them first with victuals and later with soldiers, and he placed a little fleet consisting of 9 vessels at their disposal. In 1351-2 the first Genoese-Ottoman treaty was concluded. Around the same time, the powerful kral of Serbia Stefan Dusan, whose territories were harassed by the Ottoman raids, tried also to conclude an alliance with Orkhân and proposed to give his own daughter in matrimony to one of his sons. It is not certain that the marriage ever took place.

In 1352 Süleyman Paşa accomplished the first Ottoman conquest in Europe by occupying the fortress of Tzymbé. In 1354 an earthquake destroyed the walls of several towns in Thrace, including the strategically important fortress of Kallipolis/Gelibolu [q.v.]. The Turks who were encamped in the countryside proceeded immediately to occupy them, while their inhabitants fled before them to escape captivity. Süleyman Paşa immediately took care of Kallipolis by restoring its walls and by inviting some prominent Turks to come to settle there. In 1357, the Turks occupied two important towns in Asia Minor, Ankara and Kratsea Gereye.

The Ottoman expansion was temporarily halted in 1357, when Orkhân's son Khalil was captured by Genoese pirates and taken to Phocaea, a town nominally under Byzantine rule. Orkhân was obliged to ask for the help of the Byzantine emperor, who put forward as a condition the end of the Ottoman raids on Thrace, perhaps as a result of the activity of the papal legate Pierre Thomas, who visited Constantinople with his fleet and then proceeded to an attack on Lampsakos in the autumn of 1359. It was probably in 1361 that the Ottomans conquered Didymoteichon/Dimotoka [q.v.]. Orkhân died in March 1362 (P. Schreiner, Die Revolutionen des jüngeren Osman, iv, Vienna 1977, 290-1). He left a state extending over Asia Minor and Europe. He had consolidated his rule by organising the administration of his territory, which was divided into domains governed by his sons and by some military chiefs. According to the Ottoman chronicles, in his years, besides the irregular force of the akıngis [q.v.], a cavalry was created consisting of müsellemes [q.v.] and an infantry of yayus. The information given by İdris Bifidî [q.v.] that the corps of the Janissaries was founded in Orkhân's days seems to be inaccurate (see V.L. Tatic, Söke ten on the Dervishes, in BSOAS, xxix [1966], 64-78). Regulations regarding dress produced a clear distinction between the Ottoman army and that of the other amirates, and 'Ali'd al-Dîn induced his brother to adopt the white cap (bork) for his soldiers.

Orkhân founded several mosques, establishments for dervishes, charitable institutions and schools. Religious life was vigorous in his days and the fraternities of dervishes, who were, in this period, the orders of dervishes, who remained popular religious leaders often inspired by heterodox doctrines. However, orthodox Islamic traditions became gradually predominant through the growing influence of theologians indicated in the sources as dânmşmend. On the other hand, there existed close relations with the local Christian population, and the early Ottoman chronicles mention many a Byzantine lord, even groups of Christians, who collaborated with the Ottomans. In 1354 Gregory Palamas, Metropolitan of Thessalonica and distinguished theologian, was taken as a prisoner to the Ottoman territories, where he had the opportunity to meet the Christian communities and also to participate in a public theological debate organised by Orkhân in Nicaea.

The economic situation of the state which Orkhân left behind, was apparently prosperous. The currency was the silver akçe [q.v.] struck in his name. Apart from agriculture and cattle-raising, the revenues of his state derived from booty, which was important as it included war captives sold as slaves or liberated after paying ransom; from the annual tribute paid by the Byzantines and the other Christian states and from the money paid by Christian states in order to be allowed to recruit soldiers within their amirate; and finally, from customs duties since trade was carried out, as suggested by the commercial treaty concluded with the Genoese.

ORKHAN — ORKHON 177
ed. Th. Menzel, Leipzig 1932, 329-54; E.A.
Zachariadou, 'laropfa xat OpuXoi TWV ... of what is
now the Mongolian People's Republic; it joins the
Selenga to flow northwards eventually into Lake
Baikal.

was a lawyer who became a first-term MP (1920-3)

novelist, born in Adana, Ceyhan, on 15 September

came back to Adana, working as a labourer, weaver,

and Minister of Justice for a while and founded the

EhalT Djumhuriyyet party in Adana but was forced to

military service, he wrote poetry under the

secretary and stock-taker in the cotton mills (1932-8).

In Bursa prison he met Nazim

prisoned for 5 years (1938-43). He published his first

he had engaged in political propaganda and was im-

prisoned for 5 years (1938-43). He published his first

story Balık, in 1940, and between 1941-3, his stories

were published in Yeni edebiat, Yarışyüş, Ikdam, Yurt

dunya, and Adimlar. In Bursa prison he met Nâzım Hikmet [q. v.]

and wrote prose under his influence, and in 1945, the literary journal Varlık
declared him to be the most interesting writer of his time. In 1943 he had

come back to Adana, and when he could no longer

find employment, moved to Istanbul with his family

and tried to make a living as a writer. In 1949 Ekmek

kaşası and his first novel Baba evi were published, and

he then became famous; in 1958 Kardeş payı and in 1969

Once ekmek won literary prizes. He still had to

write for his living, and produced novels, short

stories, interviews, scripts for cinema and theatre. In

1972 he was invited to Bulgaria, where he died on 2

June.

In his works Orhan Kemal told of the small people

who struggled to earn their daily bread—labourers

who worked in the fields and factories of the

Çukurova, people who lived in the slums of the big

city. His characters therefore are workers, small
government officials, beggars, garbage collectors,
inmates, villagers, drivers, wives and the like.

He played a great role in introducing 'life in the prison'
as a theme to Turkish short story.

He was keen to reflect the social state of women and children in his

works. His women have the traditional positive at-
ttribute, and his child heroes begin to work before

they can enjoy their childhood. Some of his works

reflect the conditions after the war years: effects of in-
dustrialisation, capitalism, changing traditions of the

low classes, especially in the Adana region. He

reflected on his childhood, and the stories he heard from his inmates during his imprisonment.

His works after 1946 are about the class war, and the bitter indif-
ference of the big cities to poor people became a domi-
nant theme. He does not describe the psychological dispositions of his characters, but this is reflected in-
stead in the dialogues of the characters themselves.

His language and style are plain, without metaphors and

similes. Most of his works have been made into films,

with the scripts by the author himself.

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1. First editions, (a) Novels:

(Firfinawekdr, 1919; Peri kiži ile čoban hikayesi, a poetic tale with a Turcik theme written in

symmetrical metre, was published in 1919. He taught

literature at several schools in Istanbul, and then in 1922 he began to publish Ak babâ, the famous satirical

magazine, with Yusuf Ziya.

In 1914, the same year he became a secretary at the

Othmanlı Medjlisi-Mebûthânî until its suspension.

In 1913 he published a small book of poems Firfinawekdr ve

kâr in 'arîd metre. His second book, Peri kiži ile čoban

hikayesi, a poetic tale with a Turcik theme written in

symmetrical metre, was published in 1919. He taught

literature at several schools in Istanbul, and then in 1922 he began to publish Ak babâ, the famous satirical

magazine, with Yusuf Ziya.

In 1924 he launched Reşmi günü, a children’s magazine, followed by

Günneh, Papagahen ve Yeşil kalem magazines in 1927. In

1932 he published Edebiyat gazetesi, in 1935 Ayda bir,

and in 1942 Çinâraltı. In 1946 he became an MP for the

Halk partisi (Republican People’s Party) from

Zonguldak. In 1960 he returned to journalism. In

1965 he joined the Adalet partisi (Justice Party) as an

MP from Istanbul. From 1969 until his death on 22

August 1972, he worked as a journalist.

Throughout his whole life, he wrote for many newspapers

and magazines, including Taşvir-i efüôr, Cumhuriyet,

Ulus, Zafer and Son Havâdis. As a poet, his first poems are

in 'arîd ârzâ, but later he became one of the famous promoters of symmetrical metre of the National

literary movement between 1908-12. In fact, he is known as one of the group of young poets called the

"Five poets of the symmetrical metre" (Faruk Nafiz

Çamlıbel, Enis Behiç Koyrükê, Halit Fahri Ozansoy

and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç being the others). His popular

poems have been set to music.

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ORKHON, a river of the northern part of what is

now the Mongolian People’s Republic; it joins the

Selenga to flow northwards eventually into Lake

Baikal.
For Turcologists, the banks of this river are of supreme importance as the locus for the Old Turkish inscriptions, carved in the middle decades of the 8th century, and the first popularly derived ultimately from the Aramaic one [see TURKS. Languages]. These inscriptions are the royal annals of the Kūkūtürk empire, covered on this region till its fall in 744 and supersession by a Uyghur [q.v.] grouping based on Kara Balghasun on the Orkhon; these Uyghurs were in turn dispossessed by the Kirghiz [q.v.] in 840 and forced to migrate southwards to Kan-su and Turfan [q.v.]. Some of the Araməcgeographers of the Orkhon, but we know nothing of Kara Balghasun (whose ruins are still visible) from the visit to it by a Muslim traveller Tamim b. Bahr al-Muṭṭawwi', which probably took place, in Minorsky's view, in 821 A.D.; this is the only first-hand Muslim account of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia. 

Bibliography: See V. Minorsky, Tamim ibn Bahr's journey to the Uyghurs, in BSOAS, xii (1948), 275-305. (C.E. Bosworth)

OROMO, a people of eastern Africa, partly Islamised, present in Ethiopia but also, although in small numbers only, in Kenya, Somalia and even in the Sudan. Among its constituent groups are the Arssi (Arusi), Boran, Guji, Karayu, Leqa, Macha, Raya (Azebo), Tulama, Wello, etc. The Amharas, amongst whose people they have become installed, have for a long time given them the name of "Galla", whose etymology is uncertain.

Numerically, the Oromo form one of the leading ethnic groups of Africa. In Ethiopia they represent 40% of the total population, i.e. between some ten and fourteen millions. Linguistically, they are the majority, ahead of the Amhara speakers. Their language is called by themselves afam oromo and by the Amharas oromoňa or gallehna, and belongs to the Cushitic group [see KUSIT] at the side of Afar, Agaw, Beja, Saho and Somali. The writing of Oromo in Latin characters seems now to be becoming generalised, even though the Ethiopian or Arabic alphabets have sometimes been used for it also.

Religious differences (they include Christians faithful to the national church, Catholics and Lutherans, also Muslims, and also followers of their traditional religions), as well as a sort of cultural diversity of their own, the denial of the existence as a people before 1975, have not prevented the gradual formation of a common identity among the Oromo. This is based on a substantial degree of linguistic intercommunication and on common values (such as the gada system). For some people it shows itself in a nationalism which the setting-up of a new, decentralised Ethiopian administrative system (1992), which endeavours to regroup the Oromo lands into an entity called "Oromia", would probably not satisfy completely.

The cradle of the Oromo, originally nomads, is believed to have been the region which stretches from Lake Abaya to the upper course of the Webi Shebele. The most important warrior raids and migrations which pushed them northwards began in the middle of the 16th century. They were favoured, if not provoked, by the disorder brought about by the wars which had set the Christian empire against the Muslims in the first half of that century, and especially against the sultanate of Harar [q.v.]. These migrations brought them to the Blue Nile, to Tigré and, in the northeast, to Harar, in the midst of peoples whose customs and beliefs, and even language, they often adopted. In this way, some of them early became Muslim.

From the 18th century onwards, Muslim political entities took shape, often engaged in trading. In the north, the Tajju and Wello were capable of having an influence on the political evolution of the Christian states until 1853. In the south, petty kingdoms (Ennary, Jimma, Gera, Gomma and Guma), originating from the middle of the 18th century, became Muslim under the influence of merchants, mainly Harari ones. Divided by internal rivalries, they were integrated into the empire by Menelik between 1881 and 1897, together with the Arssi region which had become Muslim in the second half of the 19th century and whose inhabitants made up the Bura frontier.

Oromo Islam is far from "orthodox", and its devotees are sometimes Muslim only in name. The famous pilgrimage to the kabba of Šaykh Nür Hušen takes place in the Arssi territory, and the rites practised there strongly resemble those of the traditional pilgrimages at Abbà Mudda. The influential tajrās have come from the Sudan (Tijāniyya, Samānīyya) or from Arabia (Aḥmadīyya, Kādirīyya). 


(A. Rouaud)

ORONTE(s) [see AL-ʿAŠĪ]

ORTA (t.), literally "centre", in Ottoman Turkish military terminology, the equivalent of a company of fighting men in the three divisions (the Segmen, the Dījmaʿat and the Būlūk) of which the Janissary corps was eventually composed [see OĞAK and VENİ ĖRİEL]

The number of ortas within the corps varied through the ages, but eventually approached 200; d'Ohsson reckoned the total to be 229. The strength of each orta likewise varied; in the time of Mehmed II Fāṭih [q.v.], they said to have been composed of 50 men, but in the low hundreds at subsequent periods. The commander of an orta was called the Çorbağlı (literally, "soup purveyor" [q.v.]), and amongst the officers below him were, inter alios, the Adağlı ("cook") and the Baglı ("guard"). These were the titles, the origin of much Janissary nomenclature in culinary terms. The several officers in an orta seem to have reflected a variety of military functions rather than a hierarchy of ranks, as in modern armies. Also, each orta had its own clerk, oda pazağlı, who kept the rolls of the soldiers on the company's strength.


ORTA OYUNU (t.), "entertainment staged in the middle place", a form of popular Turkish entertainent so-called because it takes place in the open air, palanka, around which the spectators form a circle. One side is reserved for the men, the other for the women. Behind the spectators is found the place where the actors get ready to enter the stage by means of a passage which is left free. The décor consists solely of a chair—or a table—called dükkan "shop, booth" and a folding screen, yetı günüş "new world". An orchestra made up of a zurna, oboe, a çiftê nekârê "double drum" and a dasıîul "big drum" plays a tune for dancing, and the dancers (kötek) enter the stage, followed by the dJonathan "comic dancers". After this
preliminary demonstration, the actors proper appear. The two main characters, Kawuklu and Pishekar, have, respectively, the same characteristics of those of Karagoz and Hacivad in the shadow theatre [see karagoz], likewise the character of Zenne ‘lady’ (here a male actor in woman’s dress) and the various other types representing the minority groups of the Ottoman empire: Jew, Armenian, Frank (here the Frenchman, or European, resident in Turkey) and the Anatolian peasant, here called Türk. The role of Bebe Ruhi of the shadow plays is here played by an actor of an ethnic group other than Turk. As in the Karagoz plays, these are stripped of their serious nature, enriched by comic elements and provided with a happy ending. What distinguishes the Orta Oyunu from Karagoz is, so it would appear, its mode of presentation: the coming together of living persons who are entirely free to draw comic effects from the motifs. A burlesque dialogue between Kawuklu and Pishekær is called čene yarış’ ‘chink competition’, a term signifying in Turkish ‘contest in gossiping, talking at length’; the two actors, drawing upon the term’s ambiguity, reinforce their repartee with a miming contest which consists of twisting and deforming the chin to produce the most comic effects possible.

Certain types of taklid ‘comic imitation’ of the Turkish tradition attested from the 12th century onwards have some common features with the Orta Oyunu, but only the imitative element can be traced back to there. The same applies to the spectacle known as koli oyunu ‘entertainment with troupes’ about which Ewliya Çelebi speaks. One could also compare the Orta Oyunu with the improvised street displays of rural areas. Nevertheless, with the full array of its characteristics, the Orta Oyunu is only attested in written sources after the beginning of the 18th century.

Some Orta Oyunu texts, transcribed rather late, have been published in the works of Martinovitch (one text in translation) and of Cevdet Kudret (nine texts). In the work of Selim Nüzhet Görçek appears a list of thirty-nine authors. The Orta Oyunu was popular in the 18th century and until 1967 he worked for the magazine Akba. He died on 11 March 1968. For Orta Oyunu texts, see Oscar, 1943; San çiçimleri Mehmed Ağa, 1956; Güm deşmanları, 1960. (f) Memoirs: Bir varmış bir yokmuş: portreler, 1960; Bizim yokmuş, 1966.


OSMAN DIGNA [see usman dan fodio]
OSMAN NÜRI [see ergin, osman nuri]
OSRUSHANA [see usrushana]
OSSETIANS, an Iranian-speaking people who live in the central part of the North Caucasus, primarily in the North Ossetian ASSR and neighbouring areas on the southern slopes of these mountains in Georgia. According to the 1989 census, the number of the population was 538,000. The people are Muslim (Sunni Islam), and until 1967 they were part of the Soviet Union, 355,000 live in North Ossetia and 164,000 in Georgia. Sixty-five thousand of the Ossetians living in Georgia live in what was the South Ossetian AO.

The Ossetians are divided into two major religious groups, the Orthodox Christian Ossetians (Iron and Tuallag) and those professing Sunni Islam, the Diger Ossetians. The Diger, or Eastern Ossetians, live primarily in eastern North Ossetia, and the Tuallag in Georgia. The Digers live primarily in the mountains and valleys of the northwestern part of Northern Ossetia, in a small portion of eastern Kabarda, and in the major Ossetian urban centre of Vladikavkaz.

The Muslim Ossetians are a relatively small minority, constituting between 20 to 30% of the Ossetian population. The ancestry of the Digers accepted Sunni Islam under the influence of Muslim Turks and KurdishOssetians of the 16th to 19th centuries. Although both Christianity and Sunni Islam are represented in Ossetia, both of these faiths form only a thin veneer over a strong residual influence of the ancient polytheistic and animist beliefs of the north Caucasian tribes. Pagan rituals, deities and folkways of Caucasian culture have survived throughout Ossetia, mixing with traditional Christian and Islamic beliefs and published in 1916, followed by Cebdet aktina in 1917, a work which aimed to give moral support to the army and the nation during the war. In 1918 he began to write satirical poems. He launched a journal called Şıkard and wrote in the journal Diksen using the pseudonym of Çimdiş. In 1919 he published his satirical poems in Şıkard, comprising twenty poems which criticise the social and administrative life of Istanbul. In 1922, he published Ak baba, a satirical magazine, with Orhan Seyfi [q.v.], which became the forerunner of the journals of satire during the first years of the Turkish republic. Yusuf Ziya Ortaç wrote for the newspapers ıdam and Cumhuriyet between the years 1927 and 1933. In 1935, he published Ayda bir with Orhan Seyfi Orhon as well as Her ay, a journal devoted to arts, economy and politics, and also the journal Çirnavat. He left journalism to work as a literature teacher and later became an MP between the years 1946-54. In 1962 he published his last book Bir rüzgar esti and until 1967 he worked for the magazine Akba. He died on 11 March 1968.
practices. For example, polygamy was practiced well into the Soviet period among both Christian and Muslim Ossetians, and both groups appear to have been relatively relaxed about practicing their respective faiths. This syncretic blend has resulted in a curiously unique and distinct Ossetian culture. In addition to adopting many beliefs of the local Caucasian peoples among whom they lived, including the Balkars, Ingush, Kabardinians, and Georgians, the Digors and other Ossetians also maintain fragments of the ancient cultural practices of their nomadic ancestors, the Alans.

The Ossetians are considered to be descendants of the ancient Scythian and Sarmatian tribes who inhabited the steppe region north of the Black Sea. In the fourth century A.D., the Alans, descendants of these tribes, were forced southward from their steppe homelands by more powerful nomadic tribes, including the Huns and the Mongols. Although they generally maintained their nomadic way of life, the Alans formed a loosely structured state called Alania in the foothills and mountain valleys between the upper Kuban River and the Darial Gorge of the Caucasus. Strong ties were established between Alania and the Byzantine Empire, and, in the 10th century, Christianity became the official religion of Alania [see further, ALAN].

Following the Mongol invasions of the 13th century, the Alans scattered. One group migrated to what is now Hungary and parts of western Europe; culturally mixing with the local Caucasian peoples, the Alans re-emerged three centuries later as a distinct ethnic group now known as the Ossetians.

The Ossetic language is the only survivor of the northeastern branch of Iranian languages, also known as Scythian. Ossetic is divided into two main dialects: "eastern" or Iron and "western" or Digor. Among the Digor Ossetians, a form of Ossetic developed incorporating linguistic elements from Kabardinian (Circassian), a Caucasian language. Many archaic loan words and structures remain more closely related to small Turkic and Aramaic-influenced isolating Ossetian than to Tuallag Ossetic preserved in Digor. Iron and Tuallag are more heavily influenced by the Russian and Georgian languages, respectively. In the late 19th century a distinct Digor literary language was created, which used Arabic characters. At the same time, the Iron dialect was written in the Cyrillic alphabet and Tuallag in the Georgian alphabet. In 1923, all dialects of Ossetic were changed to the Latin alphabet, and in 1939, the Digor literary language was abolished and replaced by standard literary Iron, adopting many beliefs of the local Caucasian peoples.

In 1944 the Digors were deported to Central Asia along with other Muslim peoples of the North Caucasus. In the late 1950s, the survivors of the deportations were permitted to return to homelands in the North Caucasus, and the Digors were resettled more or less in their traditional territories in the Digor Valley along the border of Kabarda. In the Digor region of North Ossetia, there are no major cities. The Ossetian language is the only survivor of the northeastern branch of Iranian languages, also known as Scythian. Ossetic is divided into two main dialects: "eastern" or Iron and "western" or Digor. Among the Digor Ossetians, a form of Ossetic developed incorporating linguistic elements from Kabardinian (Circassian), a Caucasian language. Many archaic loan words and structures remain more closely related to small Turkic and Aramaic-influenced isolating Ossetian than to Tuallag Ossetic preserved in Digor. Iron and Tuallag are more heavily influenced by the Russian and Georgian languages, respectively. In the late 19th century a distinct Digor literary language was created, which used Arabic characters. At the same time, the Iron dialect was written in the Cyrillic alphabet and Tuallag in the Georgian alphabet. In 1923, all dialects of Ossetic were changed to the Latin alphabet, and in 1939, the Digor literary language was abolished and replaced by standard literary Iron.
two sons to ʿOthmān: Orkhan and ʿAli Pasha. ʿAshik-pasha-zade (ed. CAI, Tevdnkh-i Al-i ʿAli, Istanbul 1932/1913-14, 39-40) adopts this scheme, but renames ʿAli Pasha as ʿAlaʾ al-Din Pasha (q.v. ʿAlī al-Din Bey). Most later historians follow ʿAshik-pasha-zade. However, the figure of ʿAli Pasha/ʿAlaʾ al-Din Pasha is wholly fictitious, despite inclusion in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. (For the origin and development of this legend, see C. Imber, Canon and apocrypha in early Ottoman history, in C. Finkel and C. J. Heywood (eds.), Festschrift für V.L. Menage, Istanbul 1935) accepts that the Ottoman tradition making ʿOthmān a leader of the Kayi [q.v.] tribe is, at least in essence, himself an independent ruler, since the issue of ʿOthmān is claims, “was the beginning of great trouble for the issue of ca. 825/1422, also refer to ʿOthmān’s conquest of a fortress called Karağüşhâş (“Black Fortress”). This toponym may correspond to the Melangeia of Pachymeres, since alternative forms of this name are Melagina/Melaina, which resemble the Greek word melaina (f. sing. “black”) and suggest that the Turkish form is a calque of the Greek. The correspondence of these places with the general locations of ʿOthmān’s conquests to be inferred from Pachymeres suggests that in these few particulars the Ottoman tradition is historically accurate.

In general, however, Turkish traditions about ʿOthmān are clearly unhistorical and should be understood as belonging to the literary genres of folk Epic (dāsidā [q. v.] and manākbī [q. v.]). These traditions appear in their most primitive and disjointed form in the Anonymous chronicles and Oruç, which derive the core of their material from the “common source” of ca. 825/1422. The starting point of Span- dugino’s story is a stone that derives the names of ʿOthmān’s followers and companions from toponyms, and creates battles and events from folklore and popular traditions. Pachymeres presents a fuller and more coherent narrative, adding a great deal to the stories which it shares with these two chronicles. For this reason, it is ʿAshik-pasha-zade whose narrative has come to form the basis of the modern historiography of ʿOthmān’s reign. However, ʿAshik-pasha-zade’s additional material is similar in type to what he took from the “common source”. For example, he also derives the names of ʿOthmān’s followers and companions from toponyms, and creates battles and events from folklore and popular traditions.

His chronicle records a victory which ʿOthmān won over the Byzantine hetairoparches Mouzalon at Baphesus, identified as the district around Nikomedia/Izmit (Pachymeres, op. cit., 333). The battle, Pachymeres claims, “was the beginning of great trouble for the whole region.” In a second attempt to defeat ʿOthmān, the Byzantine chronicle of George Pachymeres (1242-87) identifies as the district around Nikomedia/Izmit the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II sent another force against him under the stratopedarch Siouros. ʿOthmān defeated this army in a night attack near a fortress called Katoikia, which he had also occupied (Pachymeres, op. cit., 414). Pachymeres follows his account of this victory with a statement that ʿOthmān next occupied Belokome/Bileşik [q. v.], thereby “gaining great wealth and living in prosperity, and using the fortresses as places of safekeeping for treasures.” (Pachymeres, op. cit., 414-15). The exact sequence of events is, however, unclear. In a slightly earlier passage, Pachymeres already refers to the loss of Belokome, together with Angelokome (inégol?), Melangeia (Inönü?), Anagourdia and Platanera (unidentified), without, however, attributing these conquests to ʿOthmān (Pachymeres, op. cit., 413). It would perhaps be reasonable to assume that it was ʿOthmān who captured all these places, at about the same time of his victory at Katoikia. Pachymeres reports that he also laid siege to Prousas/Bursa [q. v.] and to Pegai on the coast, where the besieged population suffered famine and plague (Pachymeres, op. cit., 414), and finally that he made a determined but unsuccessful assault on Nikia/Izink [q. v.] (Pachymeres, op. cit., 637). His final reference to ʿOthmān reads: “So in this way ʿOthmān was greatly inspired to ambitious plans. There was nothing in the regions around Nikia, Pythia and everywhere right down to the coast which he did not control” (Pachymeres, op. cit., 642). The disjointed sequence of events that Pachymeres describes must have occurred before 707/1308, the closing date of his chronicle. One can infer from this source that by this date the occupation of Belokome/Bileşik and other fortresses had given ʿOthmān a secure base in the Sakarya valley and that he controlled the countryside westwards as far as the Sea of Marmara.

The earliest Ottoman lists of ʿOthmān’s conquests also indicate that his secure base was the Sakarya valley. The Iskender-name of Ahmed (loc. cit.) credits him with the capture of Bileşik, İnegöl and Koruhışar, at least the first two of which correspond with Pachymeres’ narrative. A Chronological list of 804/1401 lists Bileşik, Yarhisar, İnegöl and Yenihisar (C. N. Ates, Osmanlı tarihine ait takvimler, Istanbul 1961, 25), and the subsequent chronicles by Şükürullah (ca. 1460) (ed. Th. Seif, Der Abschnitt über die Osmanen in Şükürullah’s persischer Universalgeschichte, in MOA, ii [1923-61], 81) and Enver (ed. M. H. Yılmaz, Diir-i-name-yi Enereti, Istanbul 1928, 82-3) offer permutations of these earlier lists. The Anonymous chronicles (ed. Giese, 6), Oruç (ed. Babinger, 12) and ʿAshik-pasha-zade (ed. Afr, 18), all deriving their information from a common source of ca. 825/1422, also refer to ʿOthmān’s conquest of a fortress called Karağüşhâş (“Black Fortress”).
true. R.P. Lindner (Nomads and Ottomans in mediaeval Anatolia, Bloomington 1983) also postulated a tribal origin for ‘Othman and his followers, but generally modified the traditional stories to account for modern anthropological theory. P. Wittek (The rise of the Ottomans Empire, London 1938) rejected the traditions of ‘Othman as leader of a tribe, in favour of the view that he was leader of a ghazi corporation and that these ghazi origins pre-determined the future trajectory of the Ottoman Empire. (On the intellectual roots of Wittek’s famous theory, see C.J. Heywood, Wittek and the Austrian tradition, in JRAS [1988], 7-23, idem, ‘Rountree’s dreams of the Levant’. Paul Wittek, the George Kreis, and the writing of Ottoman history, in ibid. [1989], 30-50. See also R.C. Jennings, Some thoughts on the ghazi -thesis, in WZKM, lxvi [1986], 151-61.) Another thesis harmonises the ‘nomad’ and “ghazi” theories (Halil Inalcik, The question of the emergence of the Ottoman state, in International Journal of Turkish Studies, iv [1981-2], 71-80. Another view is that the Ottoman traditions concerning ‘Othman’s origins and forbears are myths of a higher level of myth than the course of the 9th/10th century and had the function of legitimising Ottoman dynastic rule (C. Imber, The Ottoman dynastic myth, in Turcica, xix [1987], 7-27; on the legitimising functions of the Ottoman genealogy, see Wittek, op. cit., 1-15; Barbara Fleming, Political genealogies in medieval states, in Osmanli Arastirmaları, vii-viii [1988], 123-37).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

‘OTHMAN II, sixteenth sultan of the Ottoman empire (regn. 1027-31/1618-22), was born on 19 Dümamd II 1012/15 November 1603; cf. Sıdilli: ‘otthamı, i, 56), the son of Sultan Ahmed I. After the death of his father in November 1617, the brother of the latter had been proclaimed sultan as Mustafa I [q. v.] but ‘Othman, taking advantage of the weak character of his uncle and supported by the Muf- ti Es’ad Efendi and the Kızlar Ağası Mustafa, seized the throne on 26 February 1618 by a coup d’état.

The youth of the new sultan at first assured the promoters of the coup d’état of considerable influence. To them was due the replacement of Khalil Paşa [q. v.] as grand vizier by Özkız Mehmed Paşa [q. v.] in January 1619. Khalil had just concluded a treaty of peace with Şāh Abba’s I of Persia, after a campaign which had to some extent undermined the confidence of the other powers, Austria and Venice, with which the capitulations were renewed, were also peaceful. But in January 1620, after Mehmed Paşa had been replaced by the very influential favourite Güzeldel ‘Ali Paşa [q. v.], who removed from the court all possible rivals, the chances of war increased. This time it was a war with Poland, which broke out through the intrigues of the voivode of Moldavia. In the battle of Jassy on 20 September 1620, the Polish army was annihilated by the ser-i asker Iskender Paşa. The grand vizier, who held office mainly by satisfying the avarice of the young sultan, never lost an occasion to irritate and provoke the enmity of Austria and Venice. He died on 9 March 1621 and under the influence of the Kızlar Ağası Suleymân and his Khodja, Möllâ ‘Omer, had begun to act independently, he had not been able to gain the sympathy of the army on account of his brutal treatment of the Janissaries, nor of the people chiefly as a result of his aversion for the use of the ‘ulëmâ. ‘Othman was particularly horrified at the sultan’s wish to take four legitimate wives from the free classes of his entourage; he actually married the daughter of the Mufti Es’ad. His unpopularity increased still further when he wished to put himself at the head of an army to fight Fakhr al-Din Ma‘n [q. v.], the Druze Amir, and to go on and make the pârigrame to Mecca. Preparations had already been made for this expedition when on 18 May 1622, a mutiny broke out among the Janissaries and Sipahîs, who plundered the house of Möllâ ‘Omer. Next day, the rebels secured the cooperation of the chief ‘ulëmâ? and demanded the heads of the Kızlar Ağhasi, the Khodja, the grand vizier and three other high officials. ‘Othman at first refused, but after the rebels had forced the third wall of the palace he had to submit to the grand vizier and the Kızlar Ağhasi. But in the meantime, his uncle Mustafa had been brought out from his seclusion in the harem to be proclaimed sultan. ‘Othman tried during the night to secure his throne through the influence of the Ağa of the Janissaries, but the latter was killed on the following morning and he became the prisoner of the Janissaries, who took him to their barracks. The rebels had no intentions against his life, but meanwhile the direction of affairs had passed to Dâwûd Paşa, the favourite and son-in-law of Mâh Pêyker, the mother of Sultan Muștafâ. Dâwûd Paşa, being appointed grand vizier, had ‘Othman taken to the castle of Yedi Kule, where he was put to death in the evening of 20 May 1622. He was buried in the turbe of his father Ahmed I. ‘Othman is praised for his skill as a horseman and for his intelligence. He was also a poet with the makâ麻烦 of Fârisî. He was the third of three sultans to lose his life in a rising, the others being İbrahim and Selim III.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources are the works of Na‘mâ, Peçevi, Hasan Bey-zade, the Rawdat al-abrâr of Kara Celebi-zade, and the Fedhleke of Hadjdji Khalifa. The Wâq‘-yi Sultan ‘Othman Khan of Tügli is specially devoted to the deposition of ‘Othman (tr. by A. Galland; cf. GOW, 157), while his whole reign is described in ‘Othman as leader of a tribe, in favour of the view of Sir Thomas Roe. See also the general contemporary western accounts, see the Relazione quoted by von Hammer, in the note on p. 806 of GÖR, ii, and that of Sir Thomas Roe. See also the general histories by von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, i.H. Uzuncaşılı, Osmanî tarihi, iv/1, 337-41, iv/2, 370 ff.; A.D. Alderson, The structure of the Ottoman dynasty, Oxford 1956, index; S.J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, i, Cambridge 1976, 246; R. Mantran (ed.), Histoire de l’empire ot- toman, Paris 1989; index; iA, art. Osman II (İnşâni Altundag).

‘OTHMAN III, twenty-fifth sultan of the Ottoman empire (regn. 1168-71/1754-7) and son of Muştafâ II, succeeded his brother Mahmûd I on 14 December 1734. He was born on 2 January 1699 (Sıdilli: ‘otthamı, i, 56) and had therefore reached his advanced age when he was called to the throne. No events of political importance took place in his reign. The period of peace which had begun with the peace of Belgrade in 1739 continued; at home only a series of seditious outbreaks in the frontier provinces indicated the weakness of the empire. In the absence of any outstanding personality, the sultan was able to
rule as he pleased, but his activities were practically confined to changing his grand vizier frequently (six times). His favourite, Şihhiyar ʿAli Pasha, grand vizier from 24 August to 22 October 1755, had his career terminated by execution. The appointment on 13 December 1756 of Râşîb Pasha [q.v.] was an important one, as for five years this great statesman showed himself an excellent administrator of the empire under the following sultan Mustâfa III. ʿOthmân III’s other activities were the suppression of cafés, of the liberty of women to show themselves in public and the regulation of the dress of women. His name is associated with the great mosque of Nûr-i ʿOthmânî (Nuruosmaniye), which had been begun by Mâmmûd I and was solemnly opened in December 1755. The reign of this sultan is remembered for the great fires in the capital in 1755 and 1756. He died on 30 October 1757 and was buried, like Mâmmûd I, in the tomb of the Yeni Dâniš.  


J. H. KRAMERS

ʿOTHMÂN HAMDÎ (b. İstanbul, 1842; d. Kuruçeşme, 1910; buried in Eskıhisar), Ottoman painter and archaeologist. He was the eldest son of İbrahim Edhem Paşa [q.v.], grand vizier under ʿAbd al-Hamîd II, and brother of İsmâ’il Qâhib [q.v.] and Kâhil Edhem (Edem [q.v.]). Sent to Paris ca. 1857 in order to study law, ʿOthmân Hamdî gravitated toward the École des Beaux-Arts, where he studied painting under the leading proponents of Academic painting, in particular G. Boulanger and J.-L. Gérôme. He also attended courses in archaeology. From his teachers he absorbed a knowledge of classical antiquity, a precise descriptive technique and a taste for “Oriental” themes. In 1867 he functioned as representative for the Ottoman section of the Exposition Universelle in Paris visited by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz. On his return to the Ottoman Empire in 1869, ʿOthmân Hamdî spent two years in Bağdad in the service of Mîhad Paşa, then governor of ʿIrâk. For the 1873 International Exhibition in Vienna he served as Head of the Turkish section and compiled a book, Les costumes populaires de la Turquie. During the 1870s he served in various administrative posts, pursued his artistic interests and became associated with the newly established Müze-yi Hümayûn (Imperial Museum; continues as Arkeoloji Müzesi). In 1881 he was appointed director of this museum and shortly thereafter participated in founding the Şanâisi Altındağ. From 1881 to 1891 he served as museum director (1881-1910). ʿOthmân Hamdî was also responsible for overseeing archaeological activities in Ottoman territory and was instrumental in drafting the 1884 ʿAtâr-ı ʿAtika Nizâm-nâmesi, a law which declared all antiquities to be the property of the State, forbidding to archaeologists a share of their finds and making clandestine excavation and antiquities smuggling criminal offences; the basic provisions of this law remain in force today. His father’s position as Minister of the Interior (1883-5) facilitated the speedy enforcement of this law, which was soon to give the Müze-yi Hümayûn an outstanding collection of antiquities as well as an archive of tablets excavated in ʿIrâk and Anatolia. ʿOthmân Hamdî’s zeal for preserving the relics of the past led him to undertake excavations where finds of antiquities were reported. Most notable was his 1887 excavation of a necropolis in Sidôn which yielded a sarcophagus portraying battles of Greeks and Persians initially thought to have been made for Alexander of Macedon. The finds from Sidôn were published by ʿOthmân Hamdî in collaboration with Théodore Reinhart (Une nécropole royale à Sidon. Fouilles de Hamdî Bey, Paris 1892). Antiquities from Sidôn and other sites soon made it necessary to build a proper museum near the Çiniî Köşk of Topkapı Palace which had been used since 1876 to house objects collected from pre-Islamic and Islamic sites in the Ottoman Empire. ʿOthmân Hamdî gained international recognition as archaeologist and museum director; among other awards for him were the title of Grand Officier de la Légion d’Honneur (1906) and the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa from Oxford University (1909).

Throughout his career as administrator and archaeologist ʿOthmân Hamdî continued to paint, and his works were exhibited in both Turkey and Europe. Most of his compositions were close variants of types used by his teacher, J.-L. Gérôme, and are characterised by a painstaking attention to detail in the rendering of setting, figures and ancillary objects. Because of this, it is possible to discern that many paintings are self-portraits or contain likenesses of his immediate family. Most of the settings are also recognisable, and include buildings in Bursa, Karaman and İstanbul. Several have as a background the Çiniî Köşk and some of the objects he portrayed are known to have been part of the museum’s collection.

As a painter, administrator and scholar, ʿOthmân Hamdî devoted his life to the study and preservation of the artistic and cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire, laying the foundations for institutions which continue to function in the Turkish Republic.  


P. and S. SOUCEK

ʿOTHMÂN PASHA, ÖZDEMİR-OGHLI, Ottoman grand vizier and celebrated commander in the Ottoman-Safavid war of 1578-90.

Born in Egypt in 933/1526-7, his father was Özdemir Pasha [q.v.], a mamlûk who became Ottoman governor (beyleybe) of Yemen and conqueror of Abyssinia (Habesh [q.v.]). The earliest documentary evidence of ʿOthmân’s holding office in Egypt dates from Dhu ’l-Hidjâd 957/December 1550; yet it is generally claimed that he had been a sangâbekî, the rank he held in Rabî 1 1668/December 1660 when appointed Egyptian amir al-Bâdî.

ʿOthmân followed his deceased father as beyleybe of Habesh, probably in late 968/mid-1561. It has been suggested (Orhonlu, Habês rayeti, 49), though without supporting evidence, that he was chosen because he had earlier served there under his father and was familiar with the province’s lands and peoples.
During his six years in this office, 'Othman Pasha apparently operated mainly in the coastal region south from Maṣawwālī [q.v.], seeking to forestall Abyssinian contacts with the Portuguese. He may also have taken measures aimed at linking Habès with Upper Egypt to counter the Fundjī [q.v.] tribes, who in 971-2/1564 besieged Sāwākīn, the province’s administrative centre.

Released from Habès in Safar 975/August 1567, 'Othman returned to his native Cairo. There he shortly learned that, from 14 Djamād II 975/16 December 1567, he had been appointed governor of Sanā’, the first of two, the other in Yemen (Maḥmūd Pasha) where a Zayādī rebellion was out of control. Although ordered to depart for Yemen immediately with a modest force in advance of a larger one under the sardār (commander-in-chief) Muṣtafa Paša Lala [q.v.], 'Othman lingered in Cairo and became drawn to Muṣtafa Paša in his bitter rivalry with Kōdja Sinān Paša [q.v.], the governor of Egypt. When finally he left Suez early in 976/mid-1568 with 3,000 troops, 'Othman found the beylerbeyi and sardār of the reunited single province of Yemen. His troops rescued the beleaguered Ottoman garrison at Zābid in Djamād II 976/November-December 1568 and quickly recovered Tā’izz in the interior. But 'Othman shortly came under close Zaydl siege until relieved in Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 976/ April 1569 by Kōdja Sinān Paša, then sardār in place of Muṣtafa Paša. Subsequent cooperation between the beylerbeyi and sardār proved elusive, owing to their dislike of each other. Thus the sardār exercised his discretionary authority to dismiss and expel 'Othman from Yemen.

The next several years of 'Othman Pasha’s career remain somewhat obscure. Proceeding to Istanbul during 977-8/1570, he was initially refused domicile in the city by the grand vizier Şokollū Mehmed Paša [q.v.], to whom Kōdja Sinān Paša had reported on him adversely. Nevertheless, his friend Muṣtafa Paša Lala [q.v.], now the popular conqueror of Cyprus, commended him to Sultan Selīm II and secured for him the governorship of al-Ḥasā’ in eastern Arabia. After a year there, he was transferred to al-Baṣra, where, as instructed, he organised for an assault on Hurmūz, before being named beylerbeyi of Dīyār Bākhr (980/1572-3). 'Othman held this office for four years, and, when replaced by a relative of Şokollū Mehmed, then one of two beylerbeyliks in the Ottoman system of awarding military fiefs and to admit non-kulls (kapukulu) into the system of the grand vizier himself volunteered to resolve it. But 'Othman was appointed grand vizier (sadr-i a’zam) on 20 Ṭa’īdib 980/24 July 1584.

When in Ramādān 992/September 1584 it was learned that there was renewed conflict in the Crimea, the grand vizier himself volunteered to resolve it. But while in winter quarters in Anatolia, the ailing 'Othman learned that matters in Bāgbī’ī Sarāy had been settled satisfactorily. He shortly also learned that he was to succeed Ferhād Paša [q.v.] as sardār of the eastern front and to exercise the vast armaments minister’s machinations by remaining in Dīyār Bākhr.

When it was decided in 985/1578 to make war on Saḥāwīd Persia, Muṣtafa Paša Lala, who was chosen sardār, invited 'Othman Pasha to participate. 'Othman accepted and was commissioned for the campaign on 20 Muharram 986/29 March 1578. Advancing with the main army east from Erzurum in the summer of 1578, 'Othman commanded forces which scored two decisive victories over the Saḥāwīds, the first on 5 Djamād II 986/9 August 1578 at Çıldır, and the second a month later near the Alazān River. These successes both gained 'Othman renown and made possible the Ottoman occupation of, respectively, Georgia and Shīrāwīn, including the key centres of Ṣamākhī and Derbend. Muṣtafa Paša subsequently withdrew the army to winter near Erzurum, having persuaded 'Othman to stay and defend the conquests with a modest army, the rank of vizier, and the status of governor-general of Shīrāwīn and Dāḡištān.

Predictably, the Saḥāwīds reappeared once the main Ottoman army had departed. Despite the arrival of a support contingent of Crimean Tatars, 'Othman was compelled, after two sieges during Ramādān 986/November 1578, to abandon Ṣamāmah and retreat to Derbend on the Caspian. He maintained this Ottoman foothold in the Caucasus until Şahbān 987/October 1579, when, at Sultan Murād III’s bidding, Mехmed Gīrāy, the Crimean gān, arrived with a substantial force. Although shortly afterwards 'Othman Pasha and the Tatars recovered Şamāmah and swept the Saḥāwīds from Shīrāwīn, Mехmed Gīrāy returned home, leaving only a token Tatar contingent under his brother, Gḥāzī Gīrāy (II [q.v.]).

Thereafter, 'Othman withdrew to Derbend, his base until 991/1583. His communicating with the sultan directly to report his desperate circumstances resulted in the Ottoman army of the Crimea, the Tatar contingent under his brother, Gḥāzī Gīrāy (II [q.v.]).

'Othman Pasha the following spring won his greatest victory when he defeated a formidable Saḥāwīd army between the Samur River and Shābīrān. This engagement, known as the “Battle of the Torches (Mesjest Sawashi)” because of the use of torches to fight by night, raged during 14-18 Rabī‘ II 991/11-15 May 1583 and resulted in a Saḥāwīd withdrawal to Shirwān and Dāḡištān for some time hence.

'Othman Pasha left the Caucasus in Shawaqwāl 991/October 1583, with more than five years’ continuous service there and a reputation as a brilliant commander. He returned through the Crimea, under orders to execute Mехmed Gīrāy Khān for not supporting the war in the Caucasus after 987/1579, and to instal as gān a brother being sent from Istanbul. Mехmed Gīrāy was eventually assassinated, but only after the arrival of the Ottoman fleet in the spring of 1584 forced him to lift his 37-day siege of 'Othman in Kafīfa and flee. The celebrated warrior reached Ṭanbul in early summer and received a hero’s welcome by all but the envious viziers of the dome [see Ṣabībe wazzik] and suspicious palace factions. Following an audience with Murād III, to whom he related his experiences, 'Othman was appointed grand vizier (sadr-i a’zam) on 20 Ṭa’īdib 992/24 July 1584.

When in Ramādān 992/September 1584 it was learned that there was renewed conflict in the Crimea, the grand vizier himself volunteered to resolve it. But while in winter quarters in Anatolia, the ailing 'Othman learned that matters in Bāgbī’ī Sarāy had been settled satisfactorily. He shortly also learned that he was to succeed Ferhād Paša [q.v.] as sardār of the eastern front and to exercise the vast armaments minister’s machinations by remaining in Dīyār Bākhr.

When it was decided in 985/1578 to make war on Saḥāwīd Persia, Muṣtafa Paša Lala, who was chosen sardār, invited 'Othman Pasha to participate. 'Othman accepted and was commissioned for the campaign on 20 Muharram 986/29 March 1578. Advancing with the main army east from Erzurum in the summer of 1578, 'Othman commanded forces which scored two decisive victories over the Saḥāwīds, the first on 5 Djamād II 986/9 August 1578 at Çıldır, and the second a month later near the Alazān River. These successes both gained 'Othman renown and made possible the Ottoman occupation of, respectively, Georgia and Shīrāwīn, including the key centres of Ṣamāmah and Derbend. Muṣtafa Paša subsequently withdrew the army to winter near Erzurum, having persuaded 'Othman to stay and defend the conquests with a modest army, the rank of vizier, and the status of governor-general of Shīrāwīn and Dāḡištān.

Precisely, the Saḥāwīds reappeared once the main Ottoman army had departed. Despite the arrival of a support contingent of Crimean Tatars, 'Othman was compelled, after two sieges during Ramādān 986/November 1578, to abandon Ṣamāmah and retreat to Derbend on the Caspian. He maintained this Ottoman foothold in the Caucasus until Şahbān 987/October 1579, when, at Sultan Murād III’s bidding, Mехmed Gīrāy, the Crimean gān, arrived with a substantial force. Although shortly afterwards 'Othman Pasha and the Tatars recovered Şamāmah and swept the Saḥāwīds from Shīrāwīn, Mехmed Gīrāy returned home, leaving only a token Tatar contingent under his brother, Gḥāzī Gīrāy (II [q.v.]).

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44,220 Muslims and 9,660 Christians, the latter concentrated in the above four townlets and in two mixed villages (Konak and Kabdağı-i Zir' Dolnja Kabda). The 19th century kada? of Othman Pazar, an area of some 50 km in length and 25 km wide, was composed of two historical landscapes with different geographic features, a different settlement history and a different administrative history. The south-eastern half of the kada? is a hilly basin 300 m above sea level, which is surrounded on all sides by mountains. At least since the early 14th century, it was known by the Old Bulgarian name of Gerlovo, which became the Ottoman “Gerilova” or “Gerilâbâd” (first mentioned so in the Tahtâ fragment OAK 45/29 (Sofia), from 1479). The north-western half of the kada?, in popular parlance known as Tozluk/Tuzluk (officially, Slannik), constituted since at least the late 15th century the nahije of Ala Kilise/Kenisa. This name is apparently first mentioned in the Tahtâ no. 77 of 925, 1519 (BBA), which notes that a group of Yurük of the Rhodopes (Tanrı Dağı) in southern Bulgaria had “forty years ago migrated to a place called Aladja near Gerlovo, its new name was Gerilova.” Aladja or Aladja, Kilise refers to the ruins of a conspicuous church, built of alternating courses of white stone (from the nearby Preslav Balkan) and red bricks in the style of the Bulgaro-Byzantine Middle Ages. Tuzluk, or the district of Ala Kilise is an infertile plateau of about 600 m above sea level, largely covered with woods or shrubs. The population of this district, living in more than 50 small villages and hamlets (mehalit), was in the past exclusively Turkish-speaking Muslim, disregarding the two mixed villages of Konak and Kabdağı on the northern edge of the area.

Very little is known about the pre-Ottoman Gerlovo. Its centre appears to have been Gerilgrad, the forerunner of Vâbita, which is situated on the banks of the Gerila brook, a tributary of the Golyama Kamčija. The ruins of a Byzantine castle are still to be seen on the hill of Gradiste, where hundreds of Byzantine coins from the 12th century have been found. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Vâbita was by far the largest settlement of Gerlovo and almost wholly Christian. In Gerlovo are at least twenty deserted sites, called Kiliselik, pointing to disappeared pre-Ottoman settlements. Bulgarian historiography has suggested that many of these sites were destroyed during the Ottoman conquest. Yet in the 1530s by the Kosovo rebellion, in a proper manner, that near the village of Kara Demir (after 1934, Vinica), showed that this settlement, around a church, existed from the 9th till the 12th centuries. It seems that the great European economic and demographic crisis of the 14th century caused Gerlovo to become deserted, the inhabitants moving to the much more fertile lowlands, where after the depopulations there was enough room to settle. Vâbita, Çitak (pointing to a pre-Ottoman Christian Turkic population) and Kotel remaining the corner stones of the Christian settlements in the area. Yurük settlers from Asia Minor arrived in Gerlovo as early as the second half of the 15th century. The oldest preserved Tahtr of the area, the incompletely preserved Icmal of 1479 (Turks Izmor, ii, 1966) mentions six meza’s in “Gerilova” which were worked by Yürük (Yürükler ekerler): Ak Dere Yakası, Bolu’lu Süleyman, Dobroka (later known as Sağırtepe), Gagraleten, Hısaıa Sendai and Veyşel. Together they paid 2900 akçel, which might indicate a population of 40-50 Yürük families. Ak Dere, Dobroka/Şağırtepe and Veyîsel later developed into villages which still exist today (as Bja Reka, Râltina and Orlovo). According to the Tahtr of 1516, contained in the Tapu Defter 370 (BBA), pp. 549-55, which was compiled around 1530, the Christian population of Gerlovo still dominated. The Muslims lived in more than 20 very small villages, mostly bearing the name of their founders or the occupations of the first settlers. In the 16th century they witnessed a rapid expansion, partly through high birthrates but largely through the arrival of new settlers. The place names suggest a largely heterodox adherence (Aşklar, Abdalâlar, Şahl Veli, etc.). In 1936 Vasil Marinov found that the villages of Alvanlar, Kûcûkler, Topuzlar and Velredler were almost exclusively inhabited by Kizilbâbâ. Most likely the bulk of the Gerlovo Turks arrived after the suppression of the Kizilbâbâ in the reign of Selim I and after the Kalenderoghlu rebellion, causing great unrest in Anatolia. The settlement of these Turkish nomads must have caused unrest in the area. To keep the Christian population in its place, the Ottoman government gave the three above-mentioned Christian settlements derben status, so that they could defend themselves, and in the course of the 16th century formed Kabdağı and Konak as other gathering points for Christians of Dobrudja. A 1516 land census showed 736 houses, whereas “Dobrosta” became “Dobrudja” and Islamised completely after the end of the 16th century. So the ethno-religious composition remained thus till the 19th century, the only fluctuation being the number of households, which for both groups went up in the 16th century, down in the 17th and early 18th and steeply up again since the second half of the 18th century. Throughout that time, Kazahan/Kotel was the largest settlement of the area, with an almost entirely Christian Bulgarian population. Çitak was partly Islamised; Vârbitsa came to house an important group of Crimean Tatars, who around 1780 followed the deposed Kalâhat Mes’ûd Giray. Their descendants still live in Vârbitsa, Meedali Giray serving a number of decades as deputy in the Bulgarian Parliament (beginning of the 20th century). Their monumental late 18th century saray was destroyed by Bulgarian nationalists during the aftermath of the assimilation campaign of 1985. Vârbitsa is apparently the only place of the kada? 2 of Othman Pazar which is mentioned in the early Ottoman chroniclers, where Nezârî in the Codex Manisa has already described the area. A later description (in the printed edition, very much mutilated and misidentifed).

Of the district of Ala Kilise in pre-Ottoman times even less is known. It is much more fertile than Gerlovo and considerably cooler, little suited to agriculture. Disregarding the later Turkified village of Dobrosta/Dobrudja (1516, 25 Christian households; 1580, 45 of them), it must have been almost uninhabited when the first Turkish settlers arrived. Only extensive archaeological research might modify this picture. The village of Ala Kilise, 10 km to the west of Othman Pazar, was also known as Hasan Fakih. It is first mentioned in the 1752 Myusalı Avârin Tahtr, but might have existed before. The Ottoman registers (1516, 1525, 1550, 1580, 1642 and 1752) give a picture of an unstable settlement pattern, with many very small tribal villages, continuously splitting into new mahalas, often changing names and with many settlements being given up after a certain time. According to the ethnographic and linguistic research of Gadiyanov at the beginning of the 20th century, the original settlers must have come from the region of Kastamonu in northern Anatolia. The Anatolian origin of the Muslim population of the district of
Othman Pazar is also not denied by modern Bulgarian historiography (cf. art. "Omurtag", in Enüez, na Bâlg., 1984), but usually the colonisation is thought to have taken place in the 17th and 18th centuries, whereas in reality the bulk of the settlers arrived shortly after 1500. Especially for the case of Gerlovo, the majority of the Muslims are held to be Turkified. Some of the earlier settlers are thought to have been descendants of Turks who lived in Gerlovo in the 16th and 17th centuries. The exact number of Turks living in Gerlovo at this time is not known, but it is estimated that there were between 2,000 and 3,000.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, both the districts of Gerlovo and Ala Kilise were dubbed "kada" of Shumnu/Sumen. In the 1530s the northern part of this large "kada" was cut off and added to the newly-formed "kada" of Djum/yi Atik/Eski Djum/a (now Târgoviste) and Hezârgrad/Razgrad. In the 1630s the nahiye of Ala Kilise was upgraded to the status of "kada", and Othman Pazar, then just founded, was made its seat.

The town of Othman Pazar itself came into being in the first half of the 17th century as a centrally-located market place for the entire village network. At the locality of Irincik near the town are the ruins of a Late Antique castle, which in the early 9th century was restored by the Turco-Bulgarian Khan Omurtag; the modern name of the town refers to this fact. According to local legends, written down by Felix Kanitz ca. 1870, the town was founded by the Turkish cartwright Othman, who "about 300 years ago" built an inn on the lonely plateau, which became the nucleus of the new settlement. The Avariz Defter MM 7086 from 1052/1642 (BBA) is apparently the first source mentioning Othman Pazar as a district, and from 1102/1690-1 (MM 3801, BBA) mentions that no less than seventy adult male Christians were found in the kasaba of Othman Pazar doing their jobs but were not permanent residents from there. The Mufassal Avariz Defter of 1165/1752 (BBA) calls the district: "Kada" of Ala Kilise, also known as Alah Fakhi", than contained 25 Muslim households, all mentioned person by person. According to the same source, a complete new TahIR of a number of kada's in north-eastern Bulgaria, the town had 103 households, of which two were of convert Christian households. It is remarked that, "according to the old register", the town had but one mahalle. Now there were two, the Mahalle of the Mosque of Mehmeh Pasha and Orta Mahalle. After this date, the town saw a rapid development into the leading centre of crafts, especially textiles (abas, goat-hair blankets) and metalwork.

In the mid-19th century, the old "kada" of Othman Pazar was considerably enlarged. It came to include the entire basin of Gerlovo (formerly only the western parts), which until that time had been a part of the "kada" of Shumnu/Sumen, and the important Christian villages of Konak and Kapdaju/Zhir, which were detached from Hezârgrad. On the other hand, the whole chain of old Bulgarian villages to the south of the Pre-Slav Balkan, which for long had belonged to Gerlovo (Smolvce/Ca°ushk6y, Jamla, Tîrnovitsa, Cerkovna and Vardun) were now attached to the "kada" of Eski Djum/a. According to the Sülannâ of the Tuna vilayet of 1290/1873-4, which contains the results of a census of six years earlier, the district had 86 settlements, of which only two had non-Turkish place names. The town of Othman Pazar then contained ca. 5,000 inhabitants, of which one-fifth was Christian (Aubaret, Kanitz). According to the Sülannâ of 1291/1874-5, the town had 958 houses, eight mosques, 310 shops, one hammâm and one church.

During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, which led to the independence of Bulgaria, the town was burned down and suffered an eclipse because of the flight of a large number of settled Turks. The religious-ethnic composition also remaining as it was. The same can be said for the villages of the former "kada" of Othman Pazar. In Gerlovo, groups of old Turkish inhabitants emigrated to Turkey, and their place was taken by Bulgarians from elsewhere (details by V. Marinov). The north-western part of the old "kada" of Othman Pazar. In Gerlovo, groups of old Turk

Bibliography: G. Aubaret, Province du Danube, in
Othman-zade was regarded by his contemporaries as the most important poet of his period. He was particularly celebrated for his chronograms (a‘râd) and kâ’âf. A chronogram on the birth of prince Ibrahim (1133/1720-1) made such an impression on Sultan Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30) that he gave Othman-zade first, the title “chief poet” (râ‘î-i şair-ı mâna), and then that of “king of poets” (mulk [sultan] al-qawam), and granted him a special hâkimûn. Othman-zade left behind him a dîtawin of the usual type (mürettet dîtawin) which consists of 12 kâfiefs, 32 chronograms and 77 ghazels. Along with these are isolated poems, e.g. a satire (hadjîye) on Thâkib Efendi composed in 1124/1712. He also wrote in verse a commentary on the 40 hadjîye entitled Şah-i Hadîq-i arba’in, which is also known as Sihhat-i al-badâ’d; it was written in 1128/1715.

It is, however, to his prose works that he owes his fame with posterity, especially his historical works, some of which are still popular and valuable at the present day. The most important is his biographical collection Hadîkat al-wuzerîn, a most estimable and still important collection of lives of the first 92 grand viziers of the Ottoman empire, from ‘Alâ al-Dîn ‘Ali Paşa to Kâmil Mehmed Paşa, which was dismissed in 1115/1703. The 93rd vizier’s work was composed six years before his death. It was printed at Istanbul in 1217/1854.

Othman-zade’s idea was later taken up by others. His biographical collection was continued by: Dilâwer Agha-zade ‘Omer Efendi (‘Omer Wahib), a friend of Râghîb Paşa’s who wrote a Deyâ’i-i Hadîkat al-wuzerîn, also called İljâmî-i menâkib-i wuzerîn-i 4’îzâm or Gül-i zîbâ, which covers the period from the grand vizier Kowans Ahmed Paşa to Sa’dî Mehmed Paşa; also by Ahmed Dâvid Bey, who compiled a continuation entitled Wird al-muratâr which covers the period 1172-1217/1758-1802, from Râghîb Paşa to Yusuf Dîya Paşa, the conqueror of Egypt; finally, by ‘Abd al-Fettâh Shékat-i Bagdâdî, entitled Berk-i sebz, covering the period 1217-71/1802-54 from Dîya al-Dîn Yusuf Paşa to Alemdâr Muştafa Paşa.


The two sketches of Turkish history by Othman-zade also attained great popularity. The longer one, İljâmî-i menâkib (or tevâruhî-s) Selâînî-i Âl-i Othman, deals with the first 24 Ottoman sultans, from the founder of the dynasty to Ahmed III. The shorter version, Fihrist-i Şâhân or Fihrist-i Şâhân-i Âl-i Othman or Muhdân-i Ta’rîh-i Selâînî or Tuhfet al-muluk or Hadîkat al-muluk covers the period from Othman to Muştafa II. The number of varying titles shows the popularity of the work. The book, sometimes quoted as Fâdî-i Âl-i Othman, dedicated to Dâmid Ibrahim Paşa [see AL-DAMAD], seems to be only a variant title of one of these books.

In the year of his death (1136/1724), Othman-zade wrote a history of Fâdî Ahmed Paşa entitled Ta’rîh-i Fâdî Ahmed Paşa, which like most of his works is only accessible in ms. The Mundâsr-yi dextelâm ("struggle between the two kingdoms") in the form of questions and answers is also dedicated to Ibrahim Paşa (ms. in Vienna) and is an interesting contribu-
tion to the very highly developed munazara literature.

As further independent works may be mentioned 'Eizas nas'h al-hukmadi and Tuhfit al-nu'man. Here we may mention his anthology 'Dinmi al-le'tif (a collection of anecdotes, jests etc.). His stylistic collection 'Mudhaki al-ta'h.r Efendi was intended for practical purposes; it is a collection of letters in three fa'thi and a concluding chapter.

His extracts from and editions and translations of other works are very numerous. The greater part of his work is collected in his Kulliyat with an introduction by Ahmed Hanif-zade. Some titles, cited by von Hammer and Bursali Mehmed Tahir, which apparently go back to Hanif-zade, the compiler of the Kashif al-zunun of Hadjdji Khalifa, are probably not correct and refer to double or subsidiary titles.—Translations by him are: Mehariik al-anwar and Mehariik shrif, the latter entitled 'Tawsil al-matna'il on hadith.—Extracts from or versions of other works are: Akhlik-i Muhsini (or Mudhaki-i Akhlik-i Muhsini or Khosrav al-Akhlik) from the Ehihs of Husyan b. 'Ali Khashayar (or Abu 'Ali Khashayar or Khashayar), Iznik 1212, 54 ff. (ed. Fliigel, esp.). The original work, which was written in Persian for Mirzâ Muhsin b. Husayn Baykara, was translated by Pir Mehmed known as Gharami, with the title 'Ani al-sarifin in 974/1566; Akhlik-i 'Ali's, an extract of the work of 'Ali b. Amr Allah, known as Ibn Hinnân (Khalfâne ver. [q. v.]) which was written for the Amir al-Umara of Syria, 'Ali Pasha, and therefore called after him, the Menâbik: 'Inâm-i a'zam, i.e. of Abu Hanifa. We also have from his pen a synopsis of the Humayun-nâme. The Amsed-i Suhayli, the Persian version of Ibn al-Mukaffa's Arabic version from the original Indian (Pahlawi) of Bidpai, was the work of Husayn Wâzîr Kashîf, court-preacher to Husayn Baykara of Harât. This Amsed-i Suhayli was translated into Ottoman Turkish by 'Abd al-Wasi'î. Alî Molla 'Ali Celebi b. Sâlih, known as 'Ali Wâsi'î or Sâlih-zade al-İmran, with the title Humayun-nâme and dedicated to Sultan Süleyman. Othman-zade abbreved the Humayun-nâme to about a third of its length. This version was printed in Istanbul in 1256/1840 under the title Thimdr al-asmdr. In the Kulliyat this extract is entitled 'Zuddet al-nas'h al-ta'kh.r.

The version of the Nas'h (Nas'at) al-malik of Re'is Efendi Sarî 'Abd Allah entitled Talâq al-hikam is also described as a synopsis of the Humayun-nâme. A synopsis of the Naskat of al-akhar of 'Ali is also attributed to Othman-zade.

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(Th. Menzel)

OTHMÂNÎDÎJK, modern Turkish Osmanî Defter, the administrative centre of an il-i or district of the same name in the il-i province of Corum [see Corum] in northern Anatolia, in the southern part of classical Paphlagonia. It lies on the Haly or Kizil Irnak [q. v.] at an important crossing-point of that river by the Tosya-Merzifun road (lat. 40°58' N., long. 34°50' E., altitude 430 m/1,310 ft.).

The town is situated in a picturesque position at the foot of a volcanic hill which rises straight out of the plain and is crowned by a castle which formerly commanded the celebrated bridge said to have been built by Bayezid I. The settlement is probably very old, as is evident from the numerous rock chambers cut out of the cliffs; it is probably on the site of classical Pimolisa (see PW, xx/2, cols. 1386-7 [W. Ruge]). The importance for us of the place, however, lies entirely in the part it has played in Islamic history. The name "Othmanîdîjk is connected with that of "Othmanî [q.v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and it is said that "Othmanî took his name from this place which had been granted him as a fief. This suggestion, which is found as early as the 15th century (probably for the first time in the Geschichte von der Turcley of Meister Jörg v. Nürnberg, Memmingen n.d. but about 1496, and again in Spandugino, van Busbeek, etc.), has little claim to credibility although it has been revived in modern times, e.g. by Cl. Huart, in JA, ser. 11, vol. ix (1917), 345 ff., and by J.H. Kramers, in GN, xiv, 403 ff., and by H. J. and R.P. Blake, in American Historical Review, xxxvii (1932), 496, note with other references. It is probable that "Othman is the arabicised form of a Turkish name which may have sounded something like Atman, Azman, and we must not forget Ibn Ba'tûta's assertion that the founder of the dynasty called himself "Othmanîdîjk, i.e. "Little "Othmanî" to distinguish himself from the third caliph. The Turkish sources are contradictory: Hadjdji Khalîfah says that the town of "Othmanîdîjk took its name from the fact that in the 10th century a leader named "Othman conquered it. Ewliya Celebi (1647-8) says (ii, 180 ff.) that many see in "Othmanîdîjk the birth-place of the amir "Othman. This opinion had become the current one about the middle of the 17th century, as may be seen from a passage in Les voyages et observations of François le Gouz (Paris 1653, 65). Ewliya does not appear in the clearer light of history till 1794/1392 when it was taken by Bayezid I from the lord of Kastamuni, Bayezid Kûrûmî, and definitely incorporated in the Ottoman empire. The fact is worth mentioning that there was evidently a considerable Bektashi settlement here at an early date, and the tomb of the famous Bektashi saint Koyun Baba [q. v.] in "Othmanîdîjk has always been much visited. The inhabitants, according to Hadjdji Khalîfah, belonged to the same order as the Bektashîs. See on this point, in reference to events in 1546, Le voyage de Moniteur d'Aramon, ed. Ch. Scherfer, Paris 1887, 66 (where Cochini-Baba should be read Koyun Baba). Makarius of Antioch mentions a place called "Othmanîdîjk near Marâsh. He visited the site there where said to have been formerly a large town of this name also called Osman Deda (= "Othmanî Deda?) (Travels, ii, 453 ff.).

The plain around modern Osmancik is a fertile agricultural region for cereals, fruit and vegetables. In 1953 the town had a population of 5,559.

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OTTOMANES (Fr.), OSMANEN (Ger.), etc. ultimately of Oghuz origin [see GHUZZ], whose name appears in European sources as OTTOMANES (Eng.), OTTOMANOS (Fr.), OTTOMAN (Ger.), etc.

I. Political and dynastic history
II. Social and economic history
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I. POLITICAL AND DYNASTIC HISTORY

I. General survey and chronology of the dynasty

The Ottoman empire was the territorially most extensive and most enduring Islamic state since the break-up of the Abbasid caliphate and the greatest one to be founded by Turkish-speaking peoples. It arose in the Islamic world after the devastations over much of the eastern and central lands of the Dar al-Islam by the Mongols and survived the further onslaught at the opening of the 15th century of Timur. Also, it originated on the periphery of the Islamic world, in Anatolia, into which Muslim Turks had been infiltrating by the time of the establishment of the Saljuq sultanate of Rûm [see SALJUKS] and was to play a dominant role in the processes of Turkicisation and Islamisation—even though this was not to be completed till the very end of the Ottoman dynasty, in 1922—of the formerly Greek and Armenian land of Anatolia [see ANATOLIA], A further consequence of the rise of the Ottomans was the overrunning of most of mainland Greece and many of the Aegean islands, Albania, the Slav lands of the Balkans and much of Hungary, by the 10th/11th century, and although this tide of conquest subsequently receded, Turkish occupation has left permanent traces in the Balkans in the forms of pockets of Turkish-speaking peoples and of the indigenous peoples who adopted Islam [see MUSLIM].

The achievements of Ottoman culture, an amalgam of native Turkish traditions with Persian and Arabic literary and artistic currents, were quantitatively great and often of the highest aesthetic standard (see sections V-VIII below). The alliance of the sultans with the Sunni 'ulama' and with such Şüfi orders as the Mewlewis [see MAWLAWIYYA], later strengthened by the fact that they tacitly assumed for themselves the caliphate after the demise of the 'Abbasid puppet caliphs of Cairo in 1517 [see KHALIFA (i)], led to the dominance of the Hanafi madhab of Islamic law over the central Turkish lands and over much of the Arab lands also, an influence not quite extinguished today [see MAHKAMA, 1, 2, 4, and MEDELE].

But after the high point in the 17th century of the occupation of Crete (1645-69) and the siege of Vienna (1685), a period of slow decline set in for the empire. In the early centuries, the Ottomans had been vigorous and expansionist and the scourge of Christian Europe. Now, however, the stimuli to intellectual enquiry from the Renaissance and Reformation and the dying-down of religious passions in Europe after 1648, enabled the West to forge ahead scientifically and technologically, with the application of new ideas to the art of war and to economic and commercial activities, so that the Ottoman empire fell more and more on to the defensive, its frontiers vulnerable to superior military and naval techniques and its craft industries and commerce vulnerable to industrial mass production and new financial mechanisms evolved in the West. In the 19th century, the new forces of ethnic and linguistic nationalism released by the French Revolution meant that the subject peoples of the Balkans, for centuries peoples without history, were no longer content to accept a clearly-defined but subordinate place in the Ottoman empire, especially as, by reaction, it began in the later 19th century to grow more specifically Turkish [see PAN-TURKISM]. Hence the frontiers of the empire receded in the Balkans, until by 1913 only Eastern Thrace remained of the European territories. Nor were the Arab lands of the empire unaffected by the new ethnic and cultural nationalisms, and already by 1914 the increasingly shadowy Ottoman authority in the North African countries and Egypt had been thrown off. Turkey's decision in November 1914 to enter the First World War on the side of the Central Powers proved the crowning disaster for the empire, and in the wake of the new Turkish nationalism aroused by the post-War dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, there was no place by 1924 for the Ottoman ruling family and the old Islamic religion-based culture which it epitomised.

Chronology of the Ottoman sultans

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and A.D. Mordtmann, in ZDMG, xxx (1876), 467; Sânî Bey, Kâmûs al-âlam, Istanbul 1894, iv, 3127 ff.; Admiralty Handbooks, Turkey, London 1942-3, ii, 577-8; IA art. s.v. (Besim Darkom).

(F. Babinger*)

'OTTOMÂNÎYYE [see ergani].

OTTOMANLI, the name of a Turkish dynasty, ultimately of Oghuz origin [see GHUZZ], whose name appears in European sources as OTTOMANES (Eng.), OTTOMANOS (Fr.), OTTOMAN (Ger.), etc.

I. Political and dynastic history
II. Social and economic history
III. Literature
IV. Religious life
V. Architecture
VI. Ceramics, metalwork and minor arts
VII. Carpets and textiles
VIII. Painting
IX. Numismatics

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824/1421 Mustafa Celebi, Düzme (counter-sultan in Rumeli until 825/1422)
848/1444 Mehmed II Fâtih ("the Conqueror"), first reign
850/1446 Murâd II, second reign
855/1451 Mehmed II, second reign
886/1481 Bâyezîd II
918/1512 Selîm I Yavuz
926/1520 Süleyman II Khanûnî ("the Magnificent")
974/1566 Selîm II
982/1574 Murâd III
1003/1595 Mehmed III
1012/1603 Ahmed I
1026/1617 Mustafa I, first reign
1027/1618 "Qâhîmân II
1031/1622 Mustafa I, second reign
1032/1623 Murâd II
1049/1640 Ibrahim (as caliph only)
1060/1654 Mehmed IV
1099/1687 Süleyman III
1102/1691 Ahmed II
1106/1695 Mustafa II
1115/1703 Ahmed III
1143/1730 Mahmûd I
1168/1754 "Qâhîmân III
1171/1757 Mustafa III
1187/1774 "Abd ül-Hamîd I
1203/1798 Selîm III
1222/1807 Mustafa IV
1223/1808 Mahmûd II
1255/1839 "Abd ül-Medjîd I
1277/1861 "Abd ül-"Azîz
1293/1876 Murâd V
1293/1876 "Abd ül-Hamîd II
1327/1909 Mehmed V Reshad
1336/1918 Mehmed VI Wahid ul-Din (last sultan)
1341-1922-4 "Abd ül-Medjîd II (as caliph only)
(Republican régime of Mustafa Kemâl)


(C.E. Bosworth)

2. The foundation and expansion of the Ottoman Empire

Recent research on the subject of the founding of the Ottoman state, especially epigraphic, numismatic and archival discoveries, has made clear many things that formerly had been seen mainly through the medium of Ottoman historical tradition as reflected in the sources belonging to the second half of the 9th/15th century and later, namely, the different versions of the chronicles of Alî Qâhîmân and half-legendary sources of mystic orders known as menâbî, nâmés and wâlîyât-nâmés. The nucleus of the state of the Ottomans was a far advanced outpost (ugî) in the region of the Sakarya [q.v.] river, which for many centuries constituted the frontier zone between the old Saldjûk state of Rûm and that of the Byzantines. The former had gradually relapsed into anarchy after its defeat by the Mongol army at the battle of Kôsedağ [see Kôse Dâgu] in 1243, Asia Minor at that time had already been turcised to a large degree; the greater part of the Anatolian Turks belonged to the Oğhûz tribes [see Qûzûz] who invaded the country during the second half of the 5th/11th century, especially after the battle of Malâzgîrd [q.v.] (1071). Moreover, in the first half of the 13th century, the Mongol advance in Asia caused a new migration of Turkish tribes and of fugitives into the country; many of these fugitives came from the former Khûrâzmiân state and were Persians. Part of the Anatolian Christian population, not abandoning its old religion, continued to live in the Saldjûk state in which there was no sharp social division between Muslims and Christians. On the contrary, there was a conflict between the townspeople and the nomads or Turkomans, who were roving all through Asia Minor, as they did also in the adjacent territories of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. These Turkomans had still preserved many pre-Islamic religious traditions within the particular form of Islam to which they adhered. This form of Islam was the result of the preaching of wandering dervishes, known under the name of Kalenderiyye and Hayderiyye, who spread from the 5th/11th century all over northern Persia and Transoxania; their preaching was imbued with mystical doctrines containing a large amount of heterodox elements. After their immigration into Asia Minor, the Turkomans had remained under the same influences and those who exercised religious authority amongst them, called babas, had still much resemblance to the pre-Islamic dûmanûn. Under these religious leaders in 1239, the fearful revolt of the Bâbâ'îs [q.v.] had taken place (cf. A.Y. Ocak, La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle, Ankara 1989). The government at that time had been at last to suppress the revolt, but the heterodox opposition among the lower classes in Asia Minor still deeply influenced the history of the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire. These Turkomans were indeed far more numerous that the governing classes and the townspeople, as is shown by the present geographical nomenclature of Asia Minor; numerous villages, rivers and mountains have pure Turkish names of tribes such as Kayûl, Salur, Bayat and Çepni (cf. Koprülü-zade Fuat, Öğuz etnolojisi türkîî nolâr, in Türkiyât Medemîzâtı, i. 185 ff.). Insofar as the Turkan tribes were still militant, the best use that could be made of them was as frontier guards and as conquerors of new territory. After settling down, they may have mixed with a good deal of the original rural population and this mixture explains the curious half-Christian views and customs that are reported in later times as existing among the lower classes in Anatolia. The Saldjûk government and the upper classes of society had followed the orthodox Sunni Islamic tradition, which is to be traced back to the times of the Sâmândî empire in Khûrâsân and Transoxania. These were also the regions with which the Anatolian Turks had always been in constant contact. The higher culture was mainly Persian in character. These contacts explain also how the Hanafi madzhab became officially predominant in Anatolia and afterwards in the Ottoman empire. The upper classes of society were not free themselves from a strong mystical influence of a higher order. It had likewise its source in Khûrâsân, whence had come the theologian and mystic Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî [q.v.], who lived in the Saldjûk capital Konya and who influenced for centuries Ottoman Turkish culture through the Mewlewi order [see mawlawiya]. So the townspeople were likewise familiar with the form of their mystical lines, entering within the category of the futuwâ, [q.v.]. One of the fraternities which played an important rôle was that of the Alaîî [q.v.], and cf. F. Taeschner, in Islamica, iv/1 (1929); a similar fraternity was formed by the Qâhîmân. On this basis of religious and social controversy is to be understood the development of events since the end of the 7th/13th century. In the many small principalities that appeared during the break-up of the Saldjûk state we...
see sometimes the influence of the orthodox element and at other times that of the heterodox Turkoman element as predominant.

When the Ottoman state was founded in Bithynia, presumably around 1299, it was one among several other small Turkish states, such as that of the Karasli-oghlu [q.v.], the Sarukhân-oghlu [q.v.], the Aydinli-oghlu [q.v.], the Menteşe-oghlu [q.v.], the Dândar-oghlu or Isfendiyar-oghlu [q.v.], the Karaman-oghlu [q.v.], the Germiyan-oghlu [q.v.], the Hamid-oghlu, etc. All these states had this in common with the Ottoman one, that they were established between the frontier of the Seljuks and the Byzantine Empire, on that part of the frontier zone, that is, in the most remote regions from the Islamic cultural centre of Anatolia; their lords, bearing the Turkish title beg [q.v.] or the equivalent Arabic title amir [q.v.], were descendants of the Turkoman chieftains who were frontier guards (udî begleri). Furthermore, they had the possibility to expand by attacking the coastal regions ruled by the Byzantines and the islands ruled by the Italian colonists. It was this opportunity of westward expansion, which proved most favourable for the 'Othmân-oghlu and secured them in the end the superiority over the other principalities.

The historical tradition of the Ottomans has preserved reminiscences of the Turkoman nomadic origin of the founders of the state. The father of 'Othmân, Ertogrul [q.v.], is said to have established himself with his little tribe in the neighbourhood of Söğüt [q.v.] and the pedigree given for Ertogrul and his father Süleyman Şah shows them as belonging to the Kayal [q.v.] division of the Oghuz Turks. As the various reports about Ertogrul have a good deal of a legendary character, his very existence was put under doubt until a coin of 'Othman also bearing his father's name, was found. (I. Artuk, Osmanî beylîgîn kurucusu Osman gazi'ye ait sikke, in Papers presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University 1977, Ankara 1980, 27-33). When Ertogrul died, 'Othmân took over the leadership. It is not certain that his name was 'Othmân, that is, a prestigious Arabic name; his contemporary the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres wrote the name down as Atam, which is a simple Turkish name (cf. L. Bazin, Antiquité méconnue du titre d'Ataman?, in Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Essays presented to O. Przysiat, iii-iv [1979-80], 61-70). He was, at any rate, one of the ghaziyan-i Rûm and surrounded by other ghâzîs (Turkish alp) as well as by people belonging to the fraternity of the Âkîsî. His father-in-law, the shaykh Edebali, was deeply involved with the group of dervishes known as the Abdülâli-i Rûm, which was connected with the mystic order of the Bektâshîs [q.v.], and cf. Irène Mélikoff, Un ordre de derviches colonisateurs: les Bektachis, in Memorial Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Paris 1980, 149-57). As a result of collaboration of these various elements, a small amirate was established. Its centre was the fortress of Kârâşâ Hişâr, the exact location of which remains unknown; its identification with the Byzantine Melagina proposed by von Hammer is not valid anymore (V. Laurent, La Vita retratata e le miracoli postuma di Saint Pierre d'Atroa, Brussels 1958, 10, 66, 74); During 'Othmân's reign, the history of the amirate is not different from that of the contemporary Anatolian principalities. By organizing raids against the Byzantine territories, but also by stratagems and personal relations, he succeeded in extending his rule. In 1302 he inflicted a serious defeat on the Byzantines at Baphius and his troops reached the littoral opposite Constantinople. At his death, in 1326, the Sakarya was practically the eastern boundary of the state, while the Byzantine towns of Bithynia had been blockaded for several years. During the early years of his son and successor Orkhan [q.v.], important towns, unable to resist any more, surrendered: Bursa, which became the capital, in 1326, Iznik (Nicaea) in 1331 and Iznikmêd/İzmit (Nicomedia) in 1337. In this year Orkhan also performed his first important raid on Thrace. On the other hand, he added the adjacent amirate of Karasî to his dominions, around 1346, and by this acquisition his state became one of the prominent maritime amirates since the Karasî Turks possessed fleets of light vessels and had experience in naval warfare.

In Orkhan's years, the more orthodox Islamic traditions gradually became predominant, though the dervishes remained in high esteem as popular religious leaders. It is a noteworthy fact, however, in the history of 'Othmân and Orkhan that there apparently existed close relations with local Christian chiefs and commanders; the most representative of them was Kose Mîkâhî, lord of the fortress of Khar- mankaya, who collaborated with 'Othmân, eventually embraced Islam and was the ancestor of a notable military family in the Ottoman Empire [see mihâl-oghlu]. This early collaboration with Christian Greek elements makes it probable that, in this way, Byzantine traditions and customs early entered the Ottoman state, in the same way as was the case in some other contemporary maritime amirates. Both the Christian and the Muslim heterodox element were gradually assimilated by the growing influence of the orthodox mullaî, often indicated in the older sources as dânishmand; some of these belonged to the Alchi circles, as is said of the Kâdî Dândarî Kara Khalîl, later vizier to Murâd I under the name of Khayr al-Dîn Paşâ; many of them had also come from the more eastern parts of Asia Minor. During Orkhan's reign these fairly different elements contributed to the foundation of a typical form of administration and civilisation, from which the later development of the Ottoman state must be explained. The administration, similar to that of the other contemporary amirates, was basically a military one, following Salûdî tradition. The state belonged to the family and it was ruled by the father considered as the senior lord, or in Turkish, ulu beg. It was he who concluded treaties, struck coins and was also granted territory by the growing public prayer. The territory of the amirate was divided into domains governed by his sons. Military chiefs were also granted territory by the ulu beg and this institution may have reposed on earlier Byzantine or Salûdî ones [see 1:381]; Apparently under Orkhan there was created a cavalry force of mizûlems [q.v.], and an infantry of molas, as the irregular force of the akbânts [q.v.]; originally composed of Turkoman tribesmen, was no longer adequate. In this time also the title paşa [q.v.], originally peculiar to military dervishes, began to be given to statesmen (e.g. Sinân Paşâ under Orkhan) and military commanders.

The natural extension of the young state was towards the west, in keeping with the naval raids of the Sarukhân-oghlu and mainly of the Aydînli-oghlu on the islands and on the Greek coast. Orkhan's military expeditions on the Thracian littoral became more frequent, the amirate was no longer a temporary Anatolian principality, but the rise of his power is notably connected with his alliance with the emperor John VI Cantacuzenus during the Byzantine civil war which erupted in 1341. In 1352, however, began the conquest of towns on the European side when Orkhan's son Süleyman occupied the fortress of Tzymbe. In 1354 the Ottomans, profiting from an earthquake, occupied the
strategically-important town of Kallipolis or Gallipoli [see GELIBO\L]. In the meantime they established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Genoa and a commercial treaty was concluded in 1352. After Orkhan's death in 1362, military operations were launched by Murad I, who conquered all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople; Adrianople (Edirne [q.v.]), captured in 1369, became soon after-wards the European Ottoman capital. Then followed the wars against the Bulgarians and the Serbians, and the latter were crushed in the battle of Maritsa in 1371 [see MKR]. This victory assured the Ottomans the guarantee of the Ottoman sultan against the latter were crushed in the battle of Maritsa in 1371 [see MKR]. This victory assured the Ottomans the guarantee of the Ottoman sultan against the
Serbians and Byzantines were reduced to the status of tribute-paying vassals of the Ottoman sultan (cf. G. Ostrogorsky, Byzance etat tributaire turc, in Zbornik Radova, v [1958], 49-58). The Serbians were crushed for a second time in the battle of Kosowa [q.v.] in 1399, where Murad was killed.

Bayezid I's military expeditions extended over a still wider range, including Hungary, Bosnia and Serbia. The latter were crushed by Murad I, who conquered all the Byzantine territory to the west of Constantinople, French and German armies [see SIKOL]. Bayezid began a siege of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine state seemed to have come. On the other hand, the Ottomans began to extend their rule in Asia Minor. Murad I acquired a large part of the Germiyan-oghlu territory, which included important mines of alum, as a wedding present to his son, and also the amirate of Hamid-oghlu by sale. Bayezid I continued the conquest of the Anatolian amirates but in a brutal manner and with the assistance of his Christian vassals. Sarukhan, Aydin and Mentche were annexed in 1390 and the amirate of the Isfendiyar-oghlu in 1391. His policy provoked the intervention of the Turco-Mongol khan Timur [q.v.] who invaded Anatolia with his army, crushed Bayezid's army in the battle of Ankara (1402) and captured him. Bayezid committed suicide in captivity in 1403.

While the Ottomans conducted the military operations, the organisation was in the hands of their statesmen, among whom Dincer and Kara Khalil is the most notable (see DINDAR1 and cf. F. Taeuschner-P. Wick, The Ottoman Empire, gov. and admin., Denkmaler, in I., xviii [1929], 61-115). To him is attributed the institution of the Janissaries [see VE\XEH] in connection with the reservation of a fifth part of the war booty for the sultan. The Janissaries were usually taken from the captured Christians, but a Greek source indicates that the droshirma [q.v.] was already applied in Bayezid's days. Their organisation on the lines of a fraternity after the model of the Aghas and the ghazis, and their connection in this respect with the dervish order of the Bekta\x99i\x92a [see BKT\x9B\x9B], shows again the influence of the peculiar religious tradition of the state.

The first beg of the Ottoman dynasty, in the older sources generally bearing the titles of khan and of h
dr, had originally taken over some of the Saljuk customs and traditions, such as the bearing of lahadis [q.v.] opposed to dink and dink, and from the time of Murad I this custom was abandoned. Murad I is also the first to take the title sultan [q.v.] in inscriptions, although the Moroccan traveller Ibn Ba\xfdi [q.v.], who visited the Ottoman lands, mentions Orkhan with the title of sultan. These rulers followed also the traditions of other Anatolian rulers by marrying high-born Christian ladies: Orkhan was the first to take a Byzantine princess for his wife. To the same early time is to be traced back the investiture of the sultan by the girding on of a sword, which perhaps symbolised originally his admission to the order of the ghazis (khit\x9b alay [see TAK\x9B\x9E AL-SAV\x9E]). An important fact of the first century of Ottoman history was the enforced migration of populations (s\x96gin), which ancient oriental custom was particularly applied by Bayezid I, mostly from the east to the west.

When Timur left Asia Minor again, the country was as divided as it had been a hundred years before; from the river Euphrates up to the Aegean coast the amirates had been restored to their former lords. The Ottomans, while the Christian states tried to take the maximum advantage from the division of the Ottomans by supporting one prince against the others. Although the European possessions, where a son of Bayezid, Suleymann, resided, had been left untouched by the Mongols, the restoration of the Ottoman state had again its centre in Anatolia, where another son, Mehmed, established himself as a master of a considerable territory having Amasya [q.v.] as its capital. Suleymann first concluded a treaty with the Christian powers of Romania (1403), making territorial concessions to them, abolishing taxes paid by them and confirming old commercial privileges. Then he crossed to Anatolia to fight against his rival brothers, 4\x9b\x9b and Mehmed; another brother, M\x9b\x9a\x9c\x9c Ce\x9b\x9b, appeared in the European territories and obliged him to return there.

It was Mehmed I who finally emerged victorious from the fratricide strife and restored the unity of the Ottoman state in 1413. Three years later, in 1416, this state was shaken by a revolt with deep social roots, apparently under the spiritual leadership of sheikh Bedr al-Din [q.v.], the ex-kadi\x92akber of M\x9b\x9a\x9c. Mehmed suppressed the revolt by a huge massacre.

After a short period of peace, the chief military activity of the Ottomans was given to the expansion of their power in Europe. The Ottomans themselves rested most of the time there and led many campaigns in person. The maximum advantage from the division of the Ottoman state in 1413. Three years later, in 1416, this state was shaken by a revolt with deep social roots, apparently under the spiritual leadership of sheikh Bedr al-Din [q.v.], the ex-kadi\x92akber of M\x9b\x9a\x9c. Mehmed suppressed the revolt by a huge massacre.

During the reigns of Mehmed I and of Murad II there began a second incorporation of the various Anatolian amirates into the Ottoman state, but this time this was effected gradually and without much bloodshed, with the exception of the Karaman-oghlu state, the old rivals of the 'Ogh\x99\x9a-oghlu. But even there the Ottomans began by following a remarkably conciliatory policy. The descendants of these
dynasties were generally granted high military posts in Europe. During Murâd’s reign trade began to thrive. Venetian, Genoese, Ragusian and other merchants developed important activity in several Ottoman cities, which expanded considerably, such as Bursa with its silk market.

Murâd II died in 1451 and was succeeded by his son Mehemmed II [q. v.], who immediately began preparations to put an end to the Byzantine empire, which was then limited to the city of Constantinople, a few islands and some towns on the western Black Sea coast. On 29 May 1453, the Ottoman empire succeeded the Byzantine one. The capture of Constantinople, which made such a profound impression among the Turks as well as in the Occident, was only the realisation of a part of a political scheme of Mehemmed II, that of bringing the whole Balkan peninsula under the direct government of the Ottoman state. After continuous military campaigns this scheme had nearly become a reality. There were still Venetian enclaves in the Morea and Albania, and in the north Belgrade was still held by the Hungarians; but even Bosnia had now passed under Ottoman rule. The large Aegean islands, except Rhodes, were incorporated in the same manner. Only the Danube principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, and, since 1475, the Crimean Khâname, had remained vassals. Mehemmed II also finished the conquest of Anatolia proper by the conquest of the empire of Trebizond in 1461 and when at last the Karamânîd dynasty was extinguished, in 1475, the Ottoman empire stood face to face with the Ak Koyunlu [q. v.] dynasty in the east and the Mamlûk state in the south-east. The dangerous policy of the Ak Koyunlu lord Uzun Hasan [q. v.] came to an end in 1473 when Mehemmed II defeated him at Otruk Beli. Under Bâyezid II, this neighbour was succeeded by the young Safawid dynasty of Persia; still, until the reign of this sultan, the Ottoman territory was not enlarged on the Asiatic front, though there were several inglorious frontier wars with the Mamlûk forces in Syria.

During all this time, the Christian powers were scheming and planning crusades to expel the Turks from Europe, while trying also to contract alliances with their Asiatic opponents. But no really great event occurred until 1455, when a disaster was inflicted on the Turks by the Hungarian Hunyadî, the Wallachian Wlad Dracul, the Albanian Skander Beg [q. v.], and by some Venetian naval expeditions. All these Ottoman military successes in the East were obviously a part of Mehemmed II’s political scheme, that of bringing the greater part of non-Turkish elements recruited from the ranks of the Christians. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that the administrative institutions should show the influence of Byzantine ideas, as was also the case with the court organisation. By Kârim-nâmes [q. v.], of which those of Mehemmed II and later of Süleyman the Magnificent are the best known, the hierarchy of officials was minutely regulated.

Besides the older troops of irregular skîndîgis and ‘azabs [q. v.] the army consisted chiefly (a) of the cavalry of the sipahis, whose organisation was not intimately connected with the military administration of the territory [see Timâr], and (b) of the Janissaries, apparently levied in the time of Murâd II by the deuyşîrme. Agriculture, constituting the financial support of the cavalry, was closely connected to the timâr system. Firearms may also have been used for the first time during Murâd II’s reign [see Bâb-ıı bo. iv]. The fleet [see Gelibolu and Darva Beg] was mainly manned with Christian renegades, ‘azabs and Christian prisoners as galley slaves. It began to well-organised under Mehemmed II.

The revenues of the state or rather of the sultan consisted for the most part of the constanty-increasing diyaze [q. v.] and dâmâr [q. v.], both of them levied on non-Muslim subjects, and of the annual tributes paid by the vassal states. The different kinds of custom-duies were also considerable. Trade remained largely in the hands of the dirrîmîs, the merchant class having increased in number by the massive arrival of Jews from Spain and Central Europe. Exports and imports were also largely in the hands of foreigners, especially Italians, who had their communities in Constantinople [see Qalâta in Suppl.] and some other towns. These communities were treated as if they were independent non-Turkish communities; they were allowed considerable autonomy under their consuls, including consular jurisdiction. These privileges were granted by the sultans in the well-known form of ‘capitulations’, in which were prescribed also the commercial duties to be paid by the foreigners, who, in accordance with the principles of Muslim law, were considered as müstemin [see İmtiyâzat].
The civilisation of the Ottoman Empire of the later Middle Ages was not yet separated from central and western Europe by the wide gap that became characteristic for later centuries. It has been pointed out that the friendly relations between Mehemmed II and Italian princes and artists and his liking for pictorial art entitles him, in a way, to a place among the Renaissance rulers of the time. In the days of his successor Bâyazid II, however, the Muslim attitude to life began to be again more predominant.

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At the end of the reign of Süleyman I, the Ottoman empire found itself between two powerful continental neighbours: the Austrian monarchy in Europe and the Safavid empire in Asia. In Europe, the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hungary were the bulwarks against Austria, while farther to the east the half-independent principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Tatar Crimea were allowed to exist; from the Turkish point of view also, Poland with its Cossacks, and even Muscovy, held similar intermediate positions between the two empires; during this period Turkey raised more than once claims to the suzerainty of the last-mentioned countries. In Asia, the geographical situation did not allow for the existence of this intermediary kind of state, with the exception of Georgia [see AL-KURDJ] which was invaded and brought under Turkish authority in 1578. In Asia, however, the Turkish feudal system left places for a number of petty local rulers who were given the title of Pasha. They were found on the Persian frontier in Kurdistan (the princes of Bitlis), but also in Syria (the Druze amirs). The Şhârîf of Mecca occupied likewise a vassal position, while Yaman, after its reconquest in 1568-70, was again partly a more direct Ottoman possession. After 1550 the Turks had even obtained a footing in Maşâwa [q. v.] on the African coast and had begun to interfere with Abyssinian affairs; the opportunities were came to an end after the unlucky war of 1578. Egypt was at this time still somewhat under the control of the Turkish Pasha [see MİŞ. D. 6]; the Barbary states were nearly independent; the Şhârîf of Morocco recognised in 1580 the authority of the Turkish sultan.

This general political system of the empire was maintained throughout the third period, a kind of equilibrium being established between the Ottoman empire and the great continental powers.

Under Selim II, or rather under the administration
of Mehmed Sokollu Pasha, Cyprus was conquered (1570-1), but this conquest occasioned immediately the naval defeat in the battle of Lepanto [q. v.] in 1571, considered to be the first great military blow inflicted on the Turks. The impossibility of further military expansion brought about an inner weakening of the Empire that was marked on the whole by unsuccessful campaigns against Austria (defeat of Mezökeresztes [q. v.] in 1596) and against Persia (loss of Tabriz and Erivân in 1603 and 1604) and found its expression in the unfavourable peace treaty of Zsitvatorok with Austria in 1606 and the recapture of Tabriz, which had been conquered by the Persians in 1612, under the strong rule of Shâh 'Abbâs the Great. In the last decade of the 16th century, Transylvania [see Erdel] and the Rumanian principalities even made themselves for some time independent; from 1572 Poland also played often an active role in the complicated political and military course of events on these northern frontiers of the Turkish empire. The raids of the Cossacks in the Crimea had not yet the dangerous aspect of a century later, when the Muscovite power began to appear on the horizon. A favourable circumstance for Turkey was the weakening of Central Europe by the Thirty Years' War, among the west European countries the already existing friendly relations with France, followed in 1580 by England and in 1603 by Holland, were on the whole profitable for the empire, while Spain had ceased since the end of the century to be a serious maritime danger. In view of the never very strong maritime position of Turkey, the relations with Venice remained subject to surprises on both sides, such as the annexation of Cyprus; during the 17th century this was followed by the conquest of Crete (1645-69) and about 1655 by the important Venetian conquests in Morea and in the archipelago, so that for a moment an Istanbul coup d'état seemed to be possible. Still, the relations with Venice were on the whole friendly, Turkey being the stronger power on account of its continental position. On the Asiatic frontier, Turkey's weakness led temporarily to the loss of Bagdad in 1623 and a renewed Persian danger. But here the old position of the empire was restored by the revival of its military strength under Murâd IV; under his reign and after Shâh 'Abbâs's death, Persia was again defeated by Ottoman power and by the Turks and, and finally Bagdad reconquered (1638); in 1639 there began a long period of peace with Persia. After 1640 the stronger position of the empire was used, as well as for the conquest of Crete, for strengthening the authority of the Porte in Transylvania and the Danube principalities, and for a fortification of the frontier to the north of the Black Sea, where Azov was taken from the Cossacks, now under Muscovite authority, and fortified in 1660. In this same year the hostilities with the now-recovered Austria began again and took on at first a crusading character; even France was this time an ally of Austria (Turkish defeat of St. Gotthard 1664). But this was only a prelude to the final struggle with Austria that began in 1683 with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, and finished in 1688 with the loss of the Ottoman province of Hungary and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Austrian armies. Following the battle of Garagnizza (1685 [see Karlovač]) in which Turkey, considerably weakened again, had to give up nearly the whole of Hungary and its claim on Transylvania, while it had to recognise the authority of Venice in Morea.

The weakening of the Ottoman empire at the beginning of this period was mainly due to domestic reasons. During the 17th century it had already been observed that the empire in this form could only subsist by continuous warfare; it had to be adapted now to peaceful conditions, and this went beyond the possibilities of the personal rule of the sultan, which was based essentially on military conquest. The successors of Süleymân the Great were not equal to the task of meeting these new conditions; it is true that Mehmed III, Othmân II and Mehmed IV occasionally accompanied their armies, but Murâd IV was the last sultan to revive the military traditions of his dynasty, the last real şâhi. So the sultans, whatever their personal qualities were, became less directly concerned in the administration of the state, though their personality remained surrounded with the traditional veneration. This did not prevent, however, the deposition and murder of Othmân II in 1628, nor the deposition of İbrahim in 1648 and of Mehmed IV in 1688. Instead of the sultans, the statesmen and generals became now more prominent, first in time and in importance Mehmed Sokollu Pasha [see Sokollu] under Selim II, Sinân Pasha [q. v.], the great enemy of the Austrians, under Mehmed III, Murâd Pasha [q. v.] and Khalil Pasha [q. v.] under Ahmed I and Othmân II; and in the second half of the century the great members of the Köprüli family [q. v.]: Mehmed Pasha, his son Ahmed Pasha and their cousin Mustâfa Pasha; to the same period belonged also Kara Mustâfa Pasha [q. v.], the bâshbashi of Vienna in 1683. These military statesmen belonged to the numerically feeble renegade class and were supporters of the typical Ottoman government system as it had been perfected under Süleymân I, but they did not represent any considerable group of the strongly diverging population of the empire. There was not yet an Ottoman Turkish nation. Several other groups were competing with them in the direction of the state affairs; the most formidable being the military corps of the Janissaries and the Sipahis, who several times, especially after serious military defeats as at the time of the enthronement of Murâd IV in 1632 and of Mehmed IV's deposition in 1688, were masters of the political situation. The Janissaries were now even less recruited in the ancient way from the Christian populations, while many abuses had ruined the former discipline of their corps. Several Grand Viziers fell victims to their fury. Another powerful group were the Kızlars, who sometimes, as in 1660, supplemented the Janissaries in the command of the military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful Wâlide Sultan or by a Kızlar Ağâhi. Finally, the 'ulûm with the Şerif al-Islâm succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e.g. the mufti Sa'd al-Dîn under Mehemmed III); the deposition of sultan İbrahim was sanctioned by jetsâd of the Şerif al-Islâm. These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Koll Bey's [q. v.] famous Rısâla. Only Murâd IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups; he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the Segbans) alongside of the old military elements, was the court circle, led several times by a powerful Wâlide Sultan or by a Kızlar Ağâhi. Finally, the 'ulûm with the Şerif al-Islâm succeeded repeatedly in playing a decisive part in the direction of the state affairs (e.g. the mufti Sa'd al-Dîn under Mehemmed III); the deposition of sultan İbrahim was sanctioned by jetsâd of the Şerif al-Islâm. These symptoms of decay were truly analysed in Koll Bey's [q. v.] famous Rısâla. Only Murâd IV was able to suppress, often by violent means, the influence of these different groups; he succeeded even in raising a new military force (the Segbans) alongside of the Janissaries. In the capital there were several times outbursts of religious fanaticism directed against the Christians, as happened under İbrahim I, but it cannot be said that political events were influenced by them; the great statesmen showed on the contrary a remarkable tolerance.

The non-Muslim element, though excluded from all direct influence on the government, had adapted itself to the circumstances. A new Greek aristocracy had arisen in Istanbul, which by wealth and intrigue had powerful relations in Turkish circles, as well as in the leading circles of the Christian principalities on the Danube; they likewise were able to control the nomination of the Greek patriarchs. To this time
belongs also the definite turn of the Ottoman Greeks towards Greek Orthodoxy under the influence of the patriarch Cyril Lucaris (executed in 1638); the consequence was a decisive rupture with the Roman Church and indirectly a strengthening of the Orthodox world and of the Greek patriarchate in Constantinople. The Ottoman Turks had still many religious traditions in common with the Greeks, and Christian saints were also venerated in Turkish circles. Next to the Greeks, the Jewish element, considered since the 14th century as the most representative of this group was that of the Nasi [see NASSI and NAŞI], the favourite of Selim II.

The lower classes in Asia Minor participated as little in the direction of the state as those of European Turkey. Some dangerous revolts proved, however, that the old religious traditions of the 13th and 14th centuries had not wholly disappeared. In 1599 began the movement of Kara Yaziğlı [q.v.] in Urfa; much more dangerous was the revolt of Kalender-oglu in Sarukhan (1606), who ruled for some years independently over a great part of western Anatolia, until he was crushed by Murad Paşa. Soon afterwards, in 1623-8 took place the insurrection of Abaza Mehməd Paşa [q.v.], the relentless persecutor of the Janissaries. Farther to the east, the movement for independence under the Kurd Djanbulat [q.v.] in northern Syria like that of the Druse Fakhır al-Din Ma'n [q.v.] in the Lebanon had to be tolerated to some extent. The inclination to mysticism and veneration for mystical hikayehs (such as Məhəmməd of Scutari, where several grand viziers found asylum under ʿOthmān II) continued its hold on all classes of the population; several new mystical orders were founded during this period. The foreign trade remained as before in the hands of foreigners, Venetians and other Italians; of Italian origin were also many of the leading personalities of the Turkish navy that was rebuilt after the battle of Lepanto, such as Cığhale-zade Sinan Paşa [q.v.].

4. The period of decline

During the 18th century the inevitable action of the elements of decay began to be felt more and more in the empire and brought about a situation that has been, too superficially, described as decadence. The cause of the decline was to be sought mainly within the body politic; they were still the consequences of the transition from a conquering state to a peaceful administration, but they were now ever more exploited by foreign powers. Among these Austria was in the beginning still a formidable opponent; after the war of 1716-18 the peace of Passarowitz [see PASAROVICE] meant the loss of what had been left to Turkey of Hungary and Transylvania, and even of Belgrade, but the peace of Belgrade in 1739, in which this town itself was restored, proved that from the Austrian side the real danger had ceased. Moreover, in 1715, Morea had been reconquered from the Venetians by the grand vizier Djiq ʿAli Paşa [see MORA], which success had shown that Venice also was no more to be feared. A new and formidable enemy had risen, however, in the form of the now much enlarged Russia, which tried to implant the Orthodox Christians of Rumania and Serbia, seemed more welcome liberator than even Austria had ever been. The war of 1711 with Peter I, intimately connected with the coming of Charles XII of Sweden to Turkey, ended with a Turkish victory at Pultawa and brought back Azov to the empire in 1712, and the war of 1732, equally successfully closed by the already-mentioned Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, was not yet disastrous for Turkey; Russian navigation in the Black Sea was even formally prohibited. After 1739 there followed a period of peace for the empire in Europe. The military and peaceful relations with Persia during this time were mainly influenced by the political events in that empire, by which the Turks sought to profit. The successes of Nadir Shāh [q.v.] of Persia in 1730 were for a moment threatening; they even occasioned the deposition of Ahmad III, but at last the peace of 1736 restored the frontiers of the time of Murad IV. The real military weakness of the Ottoman empire was finally revealed after the tonkine expedition of Nasi [see NAŞI and NASSI] had begun in 1768 with a Turkish declaration of war; this war brought the Russian armies deep into Bulgaria and was ended by the memorable treaty of Kūtuk Kaynardja [q.v.] in 1774, by which the Crimea became wholly independent (to be annexed in 1783 by Russia), while Turkey had to recognize the Russian protectorate in the Danube principalities. The right of religious protection accorded to the sultan with regard to the Muslims in the treaty of Dünip also disappeared; in 1784-92, closed by the peace of Jassy, this time the Dniepr became the frontier between the two empires: Austria also had tried to profit by this war and had occupied Bucharest, but in the separate peace of Zistowa (1791) Austria did not gain the expected profits.

During all this time, the friendly relations with the western countries, France, Britain and Holland, to which Sweden was added in 1737, Denmark in 1756 and Prussia in 1763, had often been of great value to Turkey by the services rendered by them as intermediaries in the peace negotiations; especially France, which obtained in 1740 its well-known final capitulations, had considerable influence by its right to protect the Roman Catholics. At the end of the century, however, the Ottoman empire began to be a factor in the new expansionist schemes of the western powers, in connection with their colonial acquisitions and political influence in South and East Asia. These interests did not show at that time any wish to possess Ottoman territory, but they needed between themselves and their possessions a state over which they could exert control, since they saw the necessity of communicating with the Persian Gulf and India by a more direct way than the southern sea-route. The more immediate cause of the occupation of Egypt by the French in 1798 was the rivalry between France and Britain; this made for the moment Britain and even Russia allies of Turkey. But in 1802 peace with Britain was restored, to be followed some years later by a new war with Russia and hostilities with Britain (the British fleet before the capital in 1807). By the peace of Bucharest (1812), the Ottoman Empire again lost territory (Bessarabia [see BESARABIA]) to Russia, while Britain, after the elimination of France's colonial power in India and the weakening of the Ottoman authority in Egypt, was for the moment satisfied. The war, however, was again severely affected by the ups and downs of the Greek revolution that began in 1820 and ended in 1830 with the recognition of the independence of Greece, not, however, before a disastrous war with Russia—that had played from the beginning an important part in the Greek troubles—had obliged Turkey to conclude the peace of Adrianople (1829). Still, the action of the other European powers had prevented Russia from
reaising its territorial aims; it had to be contented with a strong political ascendancy over Turkey, as was proved in 1833 by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kaikos, which, in the secret article, forced Turkey to become Russia's ally in the matter of the navigation in the Black Sea. This unnatural alliance with Russia was occasioned by the action of Muhammad 'Ali (q. v.) of Egypt (begun in 1831), who threatened for a moment to deprive the empire of Egypt, Syria and Cilicia, but led at the end only to the recognition of Egypt as a privileged part of the Empire under a hereditary dynasty (1846) which was enfranchised by the European powers. Important events of the European powers had been decisive for the territorial status of the empire. The existence of the Ottoman empire was justly considered as a political necessity; already in 1789 there had been a treaty between Prussia and Austria to guarantee the northern borders of the Empire. About the year 1830, moreover, Turkey concluded several new treaties, on the lines of the capitulations, with the United States of America, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain. The conquest of Algiers by France (1827-57) (see AL-DJAZA'R) could hardly be called a loss to the empire.

The administrative system of the empire remained much the same during this period; in every direction the central authority was, however, losing its influence. At the beginning of the 18th century this was not yet very perceptible. Istanbul was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Ahmed III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as lâle dewri (q. v.). In this period also belongs the expansion of higher literacy, specifically Ottoman, culture beyond the empire. At the beginning of the 18th century this was not yet very perceptible. Istanbul was still the brilliant capital of a powerful empire, where the court of Ahmed III set the example of a luxurious life; to this time falls the curious passion for the cultivation of tulips, that makes the epoch known as lâle dewri (q. v.).

The weakening of the central authority had indeed been characteristic of the Ottoman empire of the 18th century. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli were ruled by hereditary Beys; only Tripoli was brought by Mahmud II again under the direct authority of the Porte. Egypt had seen in 1767 the usurpation of 'Ali Bey. In Rûm-iîl some powerful vassals had come forth from the ranks of the great timar (q. v.) holders or timariots; they were called aşyân (q. v.). Under Selim III and Mahmûd II the most noteworthy were 'Ali Paşa Tepedeleni (q. v.) of Yanina and Paswân-oghlu (q. v.) at Vadin. In Anatolia there had been in 1739 the dangerous insurrection of Şerif Bog-oghlu, after which the so-called derebos were as good as independent, as was also the case in Kurdistan. In Mesopotamia and 'Irâk the same conditions were prevalent; in 1706 was formed in 'Irâk the powerful Bedouin confederation of the Muntakf (q. v.), and under Selim III Bahgâ'd was ruled autocratically by Suleyman Pasha (d. 1810). In Syria, the Druses of the Lebanon had their own amirs (see DURUZ. ii), and on the coast ruled, in Selim III's time, Djâzzar Paşa (q. v.) of 'Akkâ. In Arabia, the Wahhabîs (see WAHHABIYYA) had taken Mecca in 1803, and Yaman and 'Asir could hardly be called parts of the Ottoman empire; on the isthmus of the Aegean archipelago, hardly any Turks were to be found; here, as in Syria, there was strong European influence. Still, although the Ottoman real power had sunk everywhere, the Ottoman type of administration had put its seal on the cultural life of all these different regions; the great Ottoman tradition held them together and enabled Mahmûd II and the statesmen who, after him, continued the centralisation of the Empire, to keep together their political unity for a century more to come.

5. The beginnings of reform and westernisation, and the end of the dynasty

In this period, the transition of the Ottoman empire to a national Turkish state was completed, but in a way not intended by the Christian powers, nor expected by the Turkish ruling classes themselves. The new course was followed in the administrative reorganization, and the gradual application of the Tanzimat measures (q. v.) had meant to establish, mainly after the French model, a modern state where all citizens, whatever their religion, had equal political and civil rights, under the direct authority of the Ottoman government; only Egypt, the Danube principalities and Serbia (since 1815) and in Asia the Hîjâz were allowed a privileged position. The ideal of the new Ottoman
state was, however, far from the democratic ideals that worked in Europe and which by now began to show their effect, especially among the Christian populations. The revolutionary movement of 1849 in Moldavia and Wallachia [see BOSCH-DAN and EFLAK] was equally opposed by Turkey and by Russia, but had as result the convention of Balta Liman, by which the Turkish authority in these principalities was reduced to a negligible point. When Russia, as a result of a conflict over the Holy Places in Jerusalem, invaded again the principalities, in 1853, the Ottoman empire found Britain and France at its side: this began the beginning of the Crimean War. By the peace treaty of Paris (1856) the integrity of the empire seemed secured. In reality, the intervention of Britain and France and soon again of Russia was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Lebanese and Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Jidda in 1840 and in Damascus the formal regulation of the position of Crete in 1866. For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of internal administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations. These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the Tanzimat tried to realise. From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the 19th century, had taken on the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations. Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside [see IMTIYAZAT].

In 1862 the Ottoman government was able to restore its authority in Montenegro [see KARA DAGI] and Herzegovina, while, on the other hand, Serbia, and the two Danube principalities, since 1861 united in one state, recovered a nearly complete independence in 1865. Twelve years later the Bulgarian troubles again brought about an armed conflict with Russia, which country, in 1870, had already broken the conventions of 1856 about the Black Sea. The preliminaries of San Stefano (1878), mitigated by the Treaty of Berlin (1879), brought about the complete loss of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania, while Bulgaria was constituted a semi-dependent principality; on the Caucasian frontier, Turkey lost Kars and Batum [q. v.], and Britain obtained the administration of the isle of Cyprus [see KUBURS]. This abandonment of Britain’s policy hitherto followed of respecting the integrity of Ottoman territory was followed in 1882 by the occupation of Egypt [see KHUDAW and MISR. D. 7]. The reason was in the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe: the Greek-Turkish war (1897), by which the Greek territory was enlarged towards the north, the autonomy of Crete (1898) and, after the deposition of Abd-ul-Hamid II, in 1909, the declaration of independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. Then, after Tripoli had been lost in the war with Italy (1912, Peace of Lausanne), the Balkan War of 1912-13 reduced the territory of Turkey in Europe to Eastern Thrace, including Edirne, which town had even been occupied for some time by the Bulgarians.

During the 19th century, the relations with Persia had been on the whole peaceful; conflicts were only occasioned by frontier questions, such as the dispute about authority over the Kurdish territory of Sulaymaniyya [q. v.], which was settled in 1847 in favour of Turkey. The territory round the Persian Gulf had come more and more under the control of the British, but the territorial status in Asia remained for a long time unchanged. In the meantime, Turkey had been drawn gradually into the economic expansion schemes of the German empire as manifested by the project of the Baghdaad railway; this diminished Britain’s interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman state. So, when in the first year of the First World War, Turkey joined the Central Powers, Russia and British co-operated for the first time to take away Turkey. Britain’s interest in the territorial integrity of the Ottoman state was greatly diminished. The influence of the British in the Levant was now more firmly established than ever. This was not only the case in political questions, as for instance the armed intervention in the Lebanese and Syrian troubles of 1845 and 1860, after the troubles of Jidda in 1840 and in Damascus the formal regulation of the position of Crete in 1866. For the influence of the foreign powers was likewise extended to many points of internal administration, which kind of intervention was made possible by the capitulations. These originally unilateral privileges were looked upon now as bilateral treaties, but their contents had become incompatible with the new state conception that the Tanzimat tried to realise. From 1856, indeed, the Porte had tried in vain to get rid of this international servitude, which, at the end of the 19th century, had taken on the character of a collective tutelage of all countries possessing capitulations. Not till 1914 did the conflict between the European powers enable the Turkish government to put the capitulations aside [see IMTIYAZAT].

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Such was the outcome of a long series of events, in which the inner development of the empire played no less a part than the outward political circumstances.

The subject period, in fact, was a matter of an inner power factor in the dissolution than the political interest of foreign powers. The Tanzimat [q.v.] were a more deliberate continuation of the reforming measures under Selim III and Mahmid II, and they were by no means the execution of a programme supported by a large group of the population. Reshid Pasha, Âli Paşa and their helpers wanted to turn Turkey into a modern state ruled by a council of a non-powerful government, whose president was the sâdiq a'sem, but their methods were those of an absolute government in the name of the sultans, who did not in the beginning interfere. When, however, the first real constitution was elaborated by Midhat Pasha [q.v.], it happened that the new sultan Abd-ul-Hamid II preferred to govern himself, and with the same absolutist methods as his predecessors; only his aim became ever less the copying of European models, but their strengthening and the securing of the position of the sovereign, to which end there was finally developed the notorious system of censorship and espionage which has made known this period in Turkish history as dever-i istibdâd "the period of despotism". This period cannot be called reactionary, in that it abolished the institutions of the Tanzimat; it opposed only some consequences of the reforms.

The reforms had brought into existence a middle class of intellectuals of Turkish speech and Islamic religious tradition, mostly divided between the army and the state functionaries and, in a less degree, the 'ulema. These intellectuals, of very different extraction, had developed a new ideal of patriotism, as reflected most eloquently in Namik Kemal's [q.v.] Wejan, and they had begun to form a public opinion that claimed a certain influence in the government of the state. About this time was also born the Turkish daily press [see EGARIDA. iii]. Gradually, as this social group took more definite forms, it became ever more separated from the different groups of the Christian and Jewish population, and also from the non-Turkish speaking Muslims in the Asiatic provinces. At the same time, however, relations between Christianity and Islam had worsened since the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the Tanzimat period, in fact, was a matter of a strengthening of the other class of the Turkish population, still strongly imbued with mystical traditions, and with the non-Turkish Muslims of the empire. Abd-ul-Hamid, while emphasising his dignity as Khalifâ, relied mainly on Islamic sentiment, though, in course of time, the persons who surrounded the ever more suspicious monarch came to be of the worst kind. Utterances of patriotism were opposed in the most drastic way and many intellectuals had to take refuge abroad. The programme against the istibdâd found at last a means of organising itself in the province of Macedonia, since 1906 governed by a Turkish governor under European control. Salonica became the centre of the new patriotic, more conscious, Young Turkish movement, led by the Committee of Unity and Progress [see ITTIHAD WE TERASKI DEM'ETYETI] and supported to a great extent by the army. Its influence obliged the sultan to promulgate again the constitution of Midhat Pasha on 24 June 1908 and to abolish at once the onerous system of censorship and espionage. In November, the first Ottoman parliament came together [see MADJLIS. 4. A. ii], but in the troubled years that followed this parliament never had the opportunity to exert a real influence on the government. On 13 April 1909 followed an attempt to re-establish the sultan's former authority; this time the Young Turkish cause could only be saved by the occupation of the capital by the Macedonian army and the deposition of the sultan (27 April).

Then, for a time, Ottomanism became the political ideal, meaning the equality of all Islamic and non-Islamic elements in the state. But it soon appeared that these elements were already too much estranged from each other, so that the foundation of a strong state on these principles became impossible. The Young Turks, under the influence of the ideas of Pan-Turkism [q.v.], began now a policy with the final object of making the Ottoman empire a state where the Turkish element should be predominant; they turned to the lower Turkish-speaking classes, especially in Anatolia, to form a real Turkish nation. Pan-Islamism, too, was propagated again by several persons as a way of attaining this aim, but this course was gradually abandoned, although used occasionally for outward political manifestations. The very unfavourable international development after the revolution, however, brought the Young Turkish rulers to measures that certainly were not originally on the programme, such as the Armenian massacres during the war and the severe government in Syria. And as a consequence of the final loss of nearly all non-Turkish territory in the war, Turkish nationalism was born at last, the simplest and at the same time the most effective form of Turkish patriotism, not hampered by any ideas of religion or original racial connections.

The statesmen who had carried out the Tanzimat programme had been careful not to offend the religious scruples of the leaders of orthodox Islam. In spite of the monstrances of foreign representatives, no measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the shari'a, though the application in practice might have been changed. The shari'a was only the basis of a political constitution of the Medjelle [q.v.]. Abd-ul-Hamid's constitution, Islam was declared the state religion and the Sheykh al-Islam was given a rank as high as the grand vizier. This wise religious policy could not prevent, however, occasional religious outbursts of which Christians were the victims, as in 1858 at Djidda and in 1860 at Damascus, both places situated outside the purely Turkish provinces. Under Abd-ul-Hamid, religious activity was mainly under the influence of Pan-Islamism, shown in the various attempts to enter into relations with Muslims in all parts of the world. Even the Young Turkish government did not refrain from proclaiming the Holy War on its entering the First World War. In their internal administration, the Young Turks clearly opposed the influence of the religious authorities, as was proved by their attempt in 1917 to bring the medreses under the administration of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Another opposition with the Islamic tradition was the reform of the calendar. In 1789 the Greek Julian calendar had already been introduced officially for the financial administration, but by a curious compromise the era of the Hijira was preserved (sene-yi mälyye); and in 1917 the Gregorian calendar was adopted. The Christian era came gradually into use after the war.

It was also through the Tanzimat measures that
domestic administration was separated from the military by the laws concerning the wildyets. The chief occupation of the Department of the Interior was still for a long time tax-gathering. The centralisation and concentration of the financial system proved to be one of the chief difficulties, as a reliable corps of functionaries had to be created at the same time. After the Crimean War, Turkey was able to conclude a number of foreign loans, but the money was not well administered nor well-used. In 1876, a state bankruptcy had to be declared, with foreign intervention as a consequence and the establishment of the 'service of the public debt'. This was very much resented in all Turkish circles. A serious hindrance for the recovery of the finances was also the antiquated custom rules of the capitations, although the original duties of 3% were several times raised. After the Young Turk Revolution, however, the greatest difficulties seemed to have been overcome.

The new Turkish army created gradually by conscription, after the suppression of the Janissaries, had during this period many occasions to show its valour. It contributed considerably to the strengthening of the patriotiс Turkish spirit and played an important role in the Revolution. After 1856 it was theoretically admitted that Christians and Jews also could be enrolled, but in practice they always liberated themselves by paying an exemption tax, the bedel-i 'askeri [see Badal]. It was only after the Young Turk Revolution that these non-Turkish elements also became Turkish soldiers.

Bibliography: Among the sources of Ottoman political history the historiographical literature of the Ottoman Turks themselves takes the first place. For this literature it is sufficient to refer to F. Babinger, Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke, Leipzig 1927. The study of documentary sources is still in its beginnings; historical documents have been published in various places, as in the TOEM (TTEM) and in the works of the Turkish historian Ahmed Refik. Some of the Kânân-nâmes have been published in TOEM and other Turkish publications. For the treaties of the Ottoman empire, a most valuable collection is to be found in Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian, Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman (Europeisation), 4 vols., Paris 1897-1903. On the epigraphical sources there are important monographs, such as those of Khalîl Edhem and the less ancient publications of Mübâreke Ghalîb. The chief work on Ottoman numismatics is still Îsmâ'îl Ghalîb, Takwîn-i meskûkât-i 'Ogânîyâye, Istanbul 1307, besides other publications (such as Ahmed Refik, 'Othmânîlî imperator buğundan meskûkât, in TTEM, nos. 6, 7, 8, 10; British Museum catal. oriental coins, vili); but see further on this, below, IX. Numismatics.

Of non-Turkish literary sources, the Oriental ones have been partly treated by Babinger in his bibliographical work. Among the Western sources, the Byzantine historians are of extraordinary importance for the first centuries of the Ottoman empire (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, Crito-bulos). Since the 15th century a very important place is also taken by the Rezâlîn of the Venetian bailos, to be consulted in the great publications of Albéri (Florence 1839-63) and Barozzi and Berchet (Venice 1856-77). To them were added in course of time the reports of the representatives of other governments that entered into relations with the Porte. To the same category may be reckoned the numerous descriptions of travels in the Ottoman empire by European travellers, beginning in the 16th century. Not sharply separated from the travel literature are the many descriptions of the Turks and of the Ottoman empire, of which the best known is d'Ossian, Tableaux général de l'Empire Ot-{

oman, 3 vols., Paris 1787-1820. This kind of literature continued all through the 19th century (the important works of Ubicini) and the beginning of the 20th century.

The first great 'general' work on Ottoman Turkish history was Josef von Hammer's Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, 10 vols., Pest 1827-35; a second improved edition appeared in 1854-6 (French translation: Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, 9 vols., Paris 1835-43). This work is of great importance for the study of Ottoman history which had appeared in Europe until 1774. A work of the same scope is J.W. Zinkeisen, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa, 7 vols. (until 1812), Hamburg 1840 and Gotha 1854-63; Zinkeisen used Western sources much more than von Hammer, but did not draw directly from original Turkish sources. The same is the case with N. Jorga, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, 5 vols. (until 1912), Gotha 1908-13. The Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman de la Jonquière, 2 vols., Paris 1914, is important for its historical treatment of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Among the several works that treat only a certain period of Ottoman history may be mentioned G. Rosen, Geschichte der Türk (1826-56), Leipzig 1866.

As a result of the greater interest in Turkish history after the First World War, there began to be published in 1922 the Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte, by F. von Kraelitz and P. Wittek, the first journal published in the West, before the advent of Archivum Ottomanicum, specially devoted to Ottoman studies; it unfortunately ran for only two years, but more recently, various specialised journals and series have appeared in Turkey itself, such as Belleten, Tarih Dergisi, etc. carrying on the tradition of the Ottoman period and after TOEM (see above).


oman, Paris 1989 (authoritative chapters by various specialists).

For the earlier part of this post-1500 period, see I.H. Uzunçarşı, Osmanlı tarihi, ii-iv, Ankara 1949-59; Halil Inalcik, The Ottoman empire, the classical age 1300-1600, London 1973; M.A. Cook (ed.), A history of the Ottoman empire, Cambridge 1976 (= chs. from the Camb. hist. of Islam and the New Camb. modern history).

For the later part of this same period, there is the unsatisfactory work of H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic society and the West, 2 vols., London 1950-7, and the classic by B. Lewis, The emergence of modern Turkey, London 1961, revised ed. London 1968; see also the chs. by H.J. Kissling, H. Scheel
divided into 'askeri' who served the Sultan as soldiers or officials, owing allegiance to him alone (many of them slaves, küls), and the tax-paying subjects or nəşrāy (see RA 'tārıkī'). 'Askeri' were exempt from most taxes, and society's wealth was concentrated in their hands. Ottoman authors of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, particularly the historian Muṣṭafā ʻĀli, emphasised the rigidity of the nəşrāy- ʻaskeri boundary. In their view, 'askeris' were to be recruited from among the sons of 'askerkis', except in the case of officials with religious-juridical training (ʻulama), who might rise to the rank of vizier. In reality, other 'askeris' were also recruited from among the nəşrāy. Soldiers distinguishing themselves on the frontier were awarded a timār and thus joined the ranks of the sipāhs. Christian peasant boys recruited through the dewshirme [q.v.] might rise to the rank of vizier, and the financial bureaucracy, which as a separate career evolved in the 10th/16th century, was entered by men from diverse social backgrounds. However, the status of many officials from non-'askeris' families and who were not recruited through the dewshirme was often precarious, with some of them experiencing denunciation and demotion.

As a kul, an Ottoman official was beholden for his entire career to the sultan, who could promote, demote and even execute him at will. His children did not inherit the right to any specific official post, even though by the 10th/16th century, the sons of sipāhs by virtue of their birth could apply for a timār when they had reached the appropriate age. Other officials introduced their sons to potential patrons who might further their career in the military, scribal or financial services. Special rules of promotion applied to ʻulams, who after completing their studies taught in a sequence of progressively higher-ranking madrasas before they became eligible for the office of ládd [see 'ilmivyev]. Alone among the 'askeris, ʻulams or officials' estates reverted to their heirs, while the estates of küls were in principle confiscat ed. The extreme independence of kul officials upon the ruler defined contemporaries of slavery: an Egyptian ʻaybak of the 10th/16th century challenged Ottoman officials as unworthy of ruling over free Muslims, unless they could present formal proof of manumission.

The ascendancy of the Ottoman ruling group dates to the reign of Mehemmed II the Conqueror (848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81 [q.v.]). He severely curtailed the role of the Anatolian Turkish aristocracy, from which his first Grand Vizier Candarlızāde Khâhil Paşa (killed 857/1453 [see PĄń- dârık]) had come. Khâhil Paşa was executed, and many magnates were forcibly separated from their adherents by resettlement in Kûmël. Numerous large landholdings and pious foundations were confiscated and converted into timārs. This measure increased the number of warriors at the disposal of the central state. But after Mehemmed II's death, his son Bâyâezîd II (886-918/1481-1512 [q.v.]) returned many properties and pious foundations to their previous holders.

The 10th/16th century saw the dewshirme-recruited küls at the height of their power. Their number included Grand Viziers such as Kânnûn Süleyman's one-time favorite Ubrâkîn Paşa (killed 912/1506) and his successors Rûstem Paşa (died 968/1561) and Sinân Paşa (died 1004/1596). While recruitment through the dewshirme remained a privilege of the sultan, high-ranking officials sometimes trained young küls in their own households; these might be taken over into the sultan's service. Prominent administrators often had their relatives and countrymen recruited through the dewshirme; this gave rise to the
formation of patronage networks and regional groupings. A particularly successful example was the Sokollu [q.v.] clan, founded by Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (killed 987/1579), who acted as Grand Vizier and Vizier under Kanuni Süleyman (926-1520/60-20) [q.v.], Selim II (974-1574/75 [q.v.]) and Murad III (982-1595/1584-94 [q.v.]). In the later 10th/16th century, the ‘‘easterners’’ who came from the Caucasus and often seen service in the Persian administration, opposed the ‘‘westerners’’, a group which included Serbs, Croats and Albanians.

In the 11th/17th century, the deughime became less important as a mode of recruitment into the Ottoman ruling group. High-level officials now took promising young men into their households and launched them on to their careers, thereby securing their own positions. Loyalty to one’s patron constituted one of the principal virtues of an Ottoman gentleman. Rivalries between members of different households were commonplace. The household of the Şeyhülislam Fadl Allâh Efendi (killed 1115/1703), well-documented through the Şeyhülislâm’s autobiography, demonstrates the manner in which the system operated; yet Fadl Allâh in part fell from power because of excessive nepotism. Patronage relations continued to be important well through the Tanzimat period, even though the differences in legal status between askeris and reşûys, as well as the sultan’s right to execute his servants as will, were abolished by the guarantees of life, liberty and property promulgated by the Tanzimat fermânı.

The coherence of the political structure was ensured by the sultan, in whose name the askeris ruled and collected taxes. As the victor over heretics and infidels, the sultan legitimised the entire state. Spectacular failure in war was a reason for deposing a ruler, thus Mehmed II (1066-1122/1656-1710) [q.v.] and Mustafa II (1071-1124/1661-1703) [q.v.] lost their thrones due to the outcome of the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1095-1111/1683-99. Down to the late 10th/16th century, the ruler was expected to take the field in person, and the historian Muşafa ‘Ali censured Murad III for failing to do so. Well into the reign of Kanuni Süleyman, the ruler dined regularly in front of his soldiers even in peacetime, thereby documenting his good health and preparedness for war. However, in the later years, Kanuni Süleyman developed a different style of palace life; now the remoteness of the ruler and the fact that he rarely spoke in public were regarded as proof of his dignity. From the later 10th/16th century onwards, the sultan was no longer required to take an active role in government, and administration lay in the hands of Palace dignitaries and the Grand Vizier; the Grand Vizier’s power was particularly great during the Köprülü vizierates (1066-1122/1656-1710 [see KÖPRÜLLÜ]).

Tension between askeris and reşûys focused on the status of men serving as soldiers without possessing the rights of askeris. In the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, provincial governors recruited and paid their own forces; the latter possessed no official status and lost their jobs when the employing paşa lost his, and even in the 11th/17th century, the men often rose in rebellion to safeguard their positions, or else forced the employing paşa to do so. Unemployed mercenaries turned to highway robbery, against which Anatolian villagers at the end of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries defended themselves by organising their own militias. Conflicts between mercenaries in the service of a paşa, unemployed soldiers and village militias constituted the civil wars known as the Délâf rebellions [q.v. in Suppl.]. In Rumeli mercenarles of reşûys background fighting on the frontier were thrown out of employment when the Ottoman empire expanded and Viziers and Kâdis lost their pay. In the peace of Karlofca (1110-1699 [q.v.]) and later peace treaties; this was the background of the haydük rebellions.

**Peasants status and power in the countryside**

Down to the end of the 10th/16th century, the Ottoman élite’s principal means of controlling the reşûys was the timár. Timár holders (sipâhis) at this time constituted the backbone of the army, but also were in charge of local administration. Peasants were not permitted to leave their farmsteads without the permission of the sipâhi. If they did, the timár holder could have them returned by applying to the kâdî’s court within a delay varying between ten and twenty years according to the locality. However, the responsibility of proof was on the sipâhi, and many migrants were able to provide witnesses testifying to their residence for the requisite period. Ottoman regulations accepted the existence of reşûys not included in the official tax registers (sâvir) ([kânûn-ı esef]). The latter migrated, and only if they continued to reside in the same place for a prolonged period of time, were they entered in the tahrîr register.

Farmland and pasture normally belonged to the state, and the peasant owned only his house, gardens and vineyards. Peasant tenures passed from father to son, other relatives inherited against payment of an entry line (rasm-i tapu). Daughters were originally excluded; with the increasing impact of şeriat inheritance rules from the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, they were admitted in the absence of sons. Peasants in the 10th/16th century were forbidden to sell their tenures without the consent of the relevant timár holder, foundation administrator or granter of crown lands. However, such permission was often granted, and by the end of the century in some regions we encounter a lively land market. In the Kayseri area, fields formally owned as private property became widespread in the course of the 12th/17th century. The Ottoman land law of 1274-75/1858 [see Mârz. 3. In Turkey] sanctioned the transition to private property, which in the Ottoman core lands had been going on for several centuries. But in those provinces where land had historically been communally owned this law furthered the formation of large-scale private property, as tribal leaders registered communal lands as their own.

Taxation rates varied from region to region; the determining factor was often historical circumstance, rather than the productivity of a given area. The tithe (şâgir) was higher than one-tenth, as a share for the tax collector (salârâyé) was usually included. In parts of eastern and central Anatolia, where taxes were shared between the state and private landowners, the peasants paid a double tithe (mâilkân-dilwânî). In Syria and Palestine, tithes might amount to a quarter or a third of the crop. Tithes were demanded in kind; in addition, the peasants paid money taxes both to the timár holder and to the central administration. The proportion of total dues payable in money varied according to time and place.

In the early Ottoman period, peasants provided labour services for their sipâhi (eddar kulluk, “seven services”). When the regulations preceding Ottoman tax registers, the so-called kânûn-nâmé, codified peasant-sipâhi relations in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, most labour dues had been commuted to payments in money and in kind. However, even at this time, peasants were obliged to build a tithe barn for their owner, and cart the sipâhi’s grain to the
nearest market. The judges’ protocols (kâdi sâdilleri) of certain provinces record the tensions ensuing from these relationships, such as disputes as to what constituted annual payments were fixed as a moderate dues in kind into money payments caused difficulties in areas remote from the main thoroughfares, where opportunities for commercialisation were few. In the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, reâyâ attempts to shake off sipâhî control can also be traced through the justice rescripts (sâdîlet fermânları). The sâdîlet-name of 1058/1648 explains that it was not sufficient if peasants paid their taxes to the sipâhî or other legal claimant to the village revenue; they also owed him submission and obedience. But the sipâhî’s frequent absence on campaign, the limited material means at his disposal and peasant access to the kâdi’s control made it impossible for the former to exercise full control over the peasants.

Down to the mid-9th/15th century, the Ottoman state probably was a “light” state, demanding but little from the peasantry. The campaigns of Mehmed the Conqueror led to an increase in peasant taxes, and the contemporary chronicle of ʿÂşık-pasha-zâde reflects the dissatisfaction of a member of the Anatolian aristocracy with the newly-emerging, much more costly state. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, taxes were normally collected by the holders of timâr, zrâmet and köşâş, who owed military or administrative service and therefore did not remit much cash to the central administration. From the later 10th/16th century onward, the increasing costs of war induced the central administration to progressively substitute tax farming [see mültezmî]. Tax farmers acquired the right to collect taxes at auction. The contract in principle was awarded for three years, but could be terminated earlier if a higher bid was received. A tax farmer also acted as local administrator, but could be from the reâyâ. A wealthy villager might bid for the taxes of a single settlement, while the major tax farmers were rich men and occasionally women, often close to the court.

In 1106-7/1695, a new kind of tax farm was instituted, the mâlîkâne [q.v.], which combined features of the timâr and the old style tax farm. The mâlîkâne holder paid a large sum of money to the treasury upon entering possession. For the remainder of his or her life, and that of his or her male heirs, the estate remained in the hands of the Ottoman ruling group. The mâlîkâne was instituted to ease the pressure upon the reâyâ, as it was claimed that long-term holders would be concerned about the future of their tax base, while ordinary lizzâtam holders were concerned only with short-term gain. However, frequent subletting for short periods tended to nullify this advantage.

Tax farmers of different types were an important component of the aâyân [q.v.], local power holders who from the late 11th/17th century onward dominated growing sectors of the Ottoman countryside without necessarily being landowners. A major source of aâyân power was the right to apportion taxes, levied en bloc by the central administration, among individual settlements. This allowed aâyân holding land to spare “their” peasants at the expense of their neighbours, and taking advantage of the central government’s fiscal needs. Prominent power holders became tax gatherers for absent provincial governors, and in coastal regions with opportunities for export, marketed the produce gathered as taxes in kind, along with the saleable surpluses belonging to villagers. The Kara ʿOthmân-oghullarî of İzmir and Manisa, for instance, rose to power in this fashion. Even though the sultans of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries often had the heads of aâyân families executed, the treasury needed the family’s services, and thus the following generation was allowed to follow in their fathers’ footsteps.

Only in the reign of Mahmûd II (1233-55/1808-38 [q.v.]) was this policy reversed; this sultan relied on European, particularly British, support to eliminate internal opposition. Many aâyân were executed and their possessions confiscated; those who remained were often still wealthy but no longer a political threat to Ottoman central government. Even though the major aâyân of the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries had considerable military forces at their disposal, only a few of them seem to have aimed at political independence. Culturally speaking, they looked toward Istanbul, and in their residences imitated the mural paintings then current in the Palace and the wealthy dwellings of the capital. Some of them fostered an interesting adaptation of rococo and empire decorative styles.

Landholdings in the hands of wealthy power holders are known as çiflik (see çiflik). Recent research downplays the importance of market-oriented large-scale production before the 13th/19th century. Such production occurred, by the end of the 11th/17th century, in the western Black Sea region with a view toward the Istanbul market. In the 12th/18th century, çiflik spread to Macedonia, and part of their production was now destined for export. Many çiflik used sharecroppers in addition to wage labourers and a small number of slaves. Most of them were not large, and those that were, often appropriated some of the produce which, under the earlier régime, had been left in the hands of the peasants. Saleable surpluses were normally produced by peasants, and the power holders reserved for themselves the profits of commercialisation.

Peasants production In its vast majority, the Ottoman population consisted of settled peasants producing mainly for their subsistence and controlling their family farms. Peasants grew wheat and barley, leaving a one-year fallow period between crops. Rice and millet were of secondary importance. Oil was gained from plants, such as sesame, linseed or poppy; melted butter was also widely consumed. Olives were important in the northern Sûleyman (see Sûleyman) region of western Anatolia. But olive oil was largely used for lighting; its use as a food seems to have been secondary. Grapes were consumed as raisins and grape syrup, most towns being surrounded by a belt of gardens and vineyards. Non-Muslims also produced wine, which Kânûnî Süleymân forbade them to sell in public. But at least in Ottoman Hungary, the prohibition was hard to enforce, as the timâr holders of this area had taken over the monopoly of wine sales during part of the year (manopâya). Honey was also produced.

Certain regional specialities were highly esteemed; thus English merchants of the 11th/17th century were granted the privilege of exporting a small quantity of Aegean raisins for the table of their king. During the same period, Malatya was already renowned for high-quality fruit, while hazel nuts were found on the Black Sea coast. Cotton cultivation, according to 10th/16th century tax registers, was significant in certain parts of Syria [see Küny. 2. In the Ottoman empire], in the Adana region and on the Aegean coast, while flax was grown in northwestern Anatolia. Tobacco appeared in the central Anatolian countryside by the beginning of the 12th/17th century, introduced by soldiers who had become accustomed to its use on the Hungarian frontier. Tobacco cultivation spread in spite of
repeated prohibitions. Many specialty crops have persisted in the same locations for several centuries.

In the 10th/16th century, rice [see ưaZe] was still a luxury. It was cultivated mainly in the areas of Filibe (Ploudiê) and Boyabat in northern Anatolia. Rice was rarely grown by ordinary peasants, but by specialised labourers, working under supervision and without any farms of their own. They were exempt from the taxes payable by other peasants. Possibly they had originally been war captives, although there is room for debate whether rice growers were better or worse off than ordinary peasants. Rice entered western Rumeli on a limited scale during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. Villagers dependent on landlords (so-called  SetUpik villagers) sometimes cultivated wheat for their masters and maize for their own consumption.

Small-scale irrigation [see yclerview], 8. Irrigation in the Ottoman empire was widespread throughout the Empire, even though 10th/16th century plans to make a "second Egypt" out of the lake districts of central Anatolia did not come to fruition. Water power was used for industrial purposes, particularly the milling of flour; 10th/16th century tax registers record the number of mills in each village, and often the number of months during which available water supplies permitted operation. In villages near 10th/16th and 11th/17th century Salonica, water power was used for the fulling of woolen cloth, while in the Bursa-Izmit area, sawing mills were also water-driven. These activities were market-oriented and therefore located in the vicinity of larger towns.

Urban merchants in certain regions intervened in village production. In the second half of the 10th/16th century, Ankara merchants had angora wool spun in steppe villages, while in the more immediate vicinity of the city, cloth was woven. Similar arrangements existed in the Bursa and Aydin cotton manufactures. This putting-out system coexisted with the direct marketing of rural products by peasants.

Most peasant marketing was probably undertaken to earn the cash needed for taxes. In many parts of 10th/16th century Anatolia, markets expanded as population increased. Only occasionally did rural dwellers demand urban goods and services, such as jewelry or repairs to a heavy plough. Itinerant artisans catered for some of this demand, repairing copper kettles or putting up mudbrick walls. These migrant artisans, sometimes enrolled in the Janissary corps, competed with urban craftsmen. Peasant-nomad exchanges were less unequal; these took place at seasonal fairs, often sited on summer pastures used by both villagers and nomads.

Nomads and other herdsmen

Nomads in Rûmeli and Anatolia often grew some wheat, barley or cotton in their winter quarters. As many villagers on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts migrated into the mountains in summer to escape the danger of malarial infection, social differences between peasants and nomads were less pronounced here than in sub-desert areas. Yet this did not preclude disputes about fields and gardens damaged by nomad flocks, or outright robbery on the part of semi-nomadic tribes. Nomads and semi-nomads were important to the urban transport economy, as they raised the horses, camels and mules needed by merchants and officials.

But nomads were more difficult to tax than settled peasants, and due to their possession of horses and firearms, the administration regarded them as potential robbers and rebels. The settlement of Anatolian nomads was therefore officially encouraged. Animal taxes were sometimes levied in such a manner as to endanger the reproduction of flocks. If a degree of settlement had been reached, nomad groups were reclassified as low-level districts (sâhibî [q.v.]) settled by peasants. In the 10th/16th century, Anatolia was a land of peasants, with a nomad minority varying in size according to the region. Migration from eastern to western Anatolia probably resulted in a higher percentage of nomads in the 12th/17th century, which the earliest official attempts at forcible settlement did not change. Settlement projects continued in the 12th/18th centuries after the immigration of Muslim inhabitants from the Crimea and Balkan territories lost by the Empire necessitated the creation of new opportunities for peasant settlement. Particularly in southeastern Anatolia, commercial agriculture became possible after large numbers of nomads had been forcibly settled.

In Rûmeli nomads were an important component of the population, mainly in Thrace. These yârubî [q.v.] were detribalised at an early stage, and given a military organization. The yârubî were organized in units called adıjs [q.v.], some members participating in campaigns while the others financed the campaigners' equipment. From the 10th/16th century onward, nomads were no longer employed as fully-fledged soldiers but mainly as auxiliaries. Yet their services were still needed, and therefore the central administration penalised yârubî who settled by increasing their taxes. Ottoman Rumeli also was inhabited by Christian migrant herdsmen, the Vlachs, who enjoyed tax exemptions. With trade between central Europe and the Balkans increasing in the 12th/18th century, many Balkan herdsmen prospered as transportation entrepreneurs.

Trade

The bulk of Ottoman trade was internal. Istanbul was supplied through interregional trade, involving the shores of the Black Sea, the Aegean and even Egypt. Down into the 13th/19th century, wheat and barley came mainly from the western coasts of the Black Sea. Fruit, both fresh and dried, was supplied mainly by western Anatolia and Thessaly, while meat on the hoof came to Istanbul from the Balkan peninsula and to a lesser extent Anatolia. The capital's needs for raw materials, wood, the latter responding to the high demand for campaigners' equipment. From the 10th/16th century onward, nomads were no longer employed as fully-fledged soldiers but mainly as auxiliaries. Yet their services were still needed, and therefore the central administration penalised yârubî who settled by increasing their taxes. Ottoman Rumeli also was inhabited by Christian migrant herdsmen, the Vlachs, who enjoyed tax exemptions. With trade between central Europe and the Balkans increasing in the 12th/18th century, many Balkan herdsmen prospered as transportation entrepreneurs.

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previously paid out as taxes. According to the price lists (narkh defterleri [see NARKH]) of Istanbul, oil, honey, skins and hides reached Ottoman territory. The merchants conducting this trade were mainly Muslims; the conquest of Genoese Black Sea bases gave the Ottomans an added incentive to control the trade routes passing through Egypt and Syria. Traders based in Cairo dealt with India, importing Indian fabrics and spices by way of the Red Sea. The importation of coffee from Yemen became more important during this 10th/16th century [see KAHWA]. This trade was profitable enough to counterbalance the loss of transit trade in spices to Venice, as the Dutch had monopolised the importation of spices to Europe at the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Aleppo was a major entrepot of the silk trade, where raw silk from Persia was sold to Ottoman, Venetian, English and French merchants [see HARRIR. ii. The Ottoman empire]. Damascene traders supplied the pilgrimage caravans, and also delivered manufactured goods to the Hijaz. This expansion of the area in which Ottoman traders operated stimulated the economy in general.

While the Venetians had specialised in the transit trade in silks and spices, the English merchants, who entered the Mediterranean during the closing years of the 10th/16th century, paid for the silk they purchased with moderately priced English cloth; their competition caused the woolens of Salonica to disappear from the market. French merchants from Marseilles bought and sold a wide range of goods, which in the 12th/18th century included woolen cloth from Languedoc. They also purchased olive oil and grain in Tunisia, and also acted as shippers. The depredations of pirates and corsairs gave European ships a competitive advantage over the Venetians and the Portuguese, as they were able to offer better security, and by the 12th/18th century, even trade between ports of the Ottoman Empire was largely effected in European ships.

During the 11th/17th century, Ottoman non-Muslims gained ground vis-a-vis their Muslim competitors, benefiting from the expansion of European trade. As the capitulatory rights granted European merchants also became more important during this period [see İMTİYAZAT], many members of the minorities were able to gain tax privileges by registering as servitors of foreign consulates. However, this did not preclude lively competition between Ottoman and foreign merchants. In the 12th/18th century Greek traders benefited from French involvement in wars to expand their merchant marine and establish a successful diaspora not only within the Ottoman, but also the Habsburg and Russian empires. Syrian Carlists competed, Serbs, in particular, cloth weavers in Vienna, while the woolen cloth weavers of Filibe (Plodiv) marketed their goods throughout Anatolia. In many areas, the transformation of local economies away from manufactured goods and toward the provision of grain and raw materials to European buyers did not take place until the 13th/19th century. Capital resources accumulated by non-Muslim merchants were often used to bolster the resistance of local economies against foreign control.

Integration into the European-dominated world market during the 13th/19th century did, however, politicise pre-existing communal tensions. In the 1260s-1270s/1840s-1850s Damascus merchants involved in the supply trades encountered serious difficulty due to the increasing export of grain to Europe in which non-Muslims were active. This was the economic background to an attack on the Christian quarters of Damascus in 1276/1860.

The Ottoman government during the Tanzamā period (1255-93/1839-76 [q.v.]) responded to the threat of economic and political disintegration by the construction of railways and telegraph lines, and permitted the modernisation of the major ports. However, these investments were expensive, particularly the kilometric guarantees demanded by foreign investors in the railways, so that the latter's benefit to the Ottoman economy is open to question. Most lines linked a port to the hinterlands, in cases where the government imposed its will, strategic rather than economic considerations determined the course of the railways. Ottoman spending on war and infrastructure having led to bankruptcy in 1296-97/1879, major sources of revenue were pledged to the settlement of debts and committed to administration by a consortium of creditors known as the Detti Ottomane. For the remainder of the empire's existence, Ottoman public spending was limited by the constraints imposed by this consortium.

Monetary developments

While the use of cash continually expanded throughout Ottoman history, even the timār system in its early shape could not operate without a money economy. Down to 882/1477-78, when the first Ottoman gold coin was minted, roughly corresponding in weight and fineness to the Venetian ducat, the Ottoman mints turned out silver coins only. The akçe [q.v.] before the devaluation effected by Mehmed the Conqueror weighed 1.01 gr. and 0.83 gr after this event. Throughout most of the 10th/16th century, the akçe stood at 0.73 gr; a new wave of devaluation occurred at the end of the 10th/16th century, at a time when imports of silver from the New World had also resulted in a price rise. The latter was viewed by contemporaries as a major calamity, affecting not only the conduct of trade but the legitimacy of the state. In spite of several currency reforms, in the course of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries the akçe was devalued to such an extent that it disappeared from the market and only survived as a money of account. Its place was taken by the paşa [q.v.], originally an Egyptian coin valued at twice or three times the rate of the akçe, and by a number of European silver coins collectively known as ğırisık. These were also debased, as the importation of low-quality European coins constituted a major business at the end of the 11th/17th century. Local mints virtually ceased operation. There was a brief experiment with a trimetallic system in the late 11th/17th century. Copper, which hitherto had been used only in small transactions, was now declared legal tender. Uncontrolled inflation led to a return to the bimetallic standard after three years.

Debasement as a means of raising revenue was abandoned in 1260/1844, when a new bimetallic system was established, based on the silver kırık and gold lira (100 kırık = 1 lira). This standard was adhered to till the very end of the Ottoman Empire, as monetary stability was now regarded as essential to the needs of trade. To cope with budget deficits, the
authorities occasionally issued paper money and then allowed it to depreciate, or contracted the loans which finally caused the bankruptcy of 1296-97/1879 (see further, below, IX. Numismatics).

**Urban artisans**

Many urban producers were organised in guilds, which had adopted rituals of the Akhis [q. v.], organisations of young men which Ibn Battütä encountered in many early 8th/14th century Anatolian towns; however, the Akhis were not organised by craft, and the exact link between guilds and Akhis is little understood. Guilds were headed by a şeyk (sheykh), whose role was in common with the French guilde master. Daily business was conducted by the kekhasil and yigitbashi, who were elected by the guildsmen and confirmed by the administration; guild officials purchasing their offices are also on record. Guilds were composed of masters; apprentices and hired labourers (işçis) were not members, and masters tried to discipline their employees through their guilds. In some places, such as 10th/16th century Jerusalem or 12th/18th century Bursa, the guilds could be entered easily. At times, it was probably sufficient to pay the requisite taxes to be considered a guild member. But in other instances, masters refused the entry of newcomers under the pretext of insufficient skills; in Bursa, where such cases are also on record, rejected masters sometimes formed new “business centres” on the outskirts of the city.

Guildsmen often procured raw materials collectively, by agreement with the farmer of a mine or else another guild. Yigitbashi and kekhasil were in charge of distribution among individual artisans, and often the small masters complained that their more successful colleagues obtained more than their due; or else suppliers found it advantageous to sell to merchants at higher prices, particularly if the goods in question were also in demand in the export market. If the artisans whose interests were hurt by this intrusion of the free market made their complaints heard in Istanbul, export prohibitions were promulgated. In other instances, guildsmen preferred to abandon collective purchases altogether.

In the 11th/17th to early 13th/19th centuries, guildsmen developed a form of property known as the gedik [see şinva], which encompassed the locale and tools necessary for the exercise of a given trade. This was a response to increased demands for rent from property owners, particularly uykış, which resulted from the demand for revenue placed upon the latter by the Ottoman administration. Once a given property had been recognised as forming part of a gedik, it could only be turned over to another guildsmen, and guild officials had to approve the transaction. This arrangement protected the interests of craftsmen in contracting trades, but made overall adjustments to changing demand more difficult. The Ottoman administration, torn between the need for increased revenue from uykış and the wish to protect its urban tax base, did not prevent kâdis from recognising the gedik.

From the government’s point of view, the guilds were important as a means of securing control over the urban population. In wartime, the guilds were obliged to provide artisans accompanying the army and undertaking the maintenance and repair work needed by the soldiers. Other guilds were obliged to find rowers for the navy. Assessment was not equal, and gave rise to frequent disputes.

Prices demanded by artisans were decreed by the market inspector (mühisib [see şinva]) or kâdi, after consultation with the heads of the relevant guilds. In Istanbul and other large cities, official prices were recorded in special registers or entered into the kâdi süçilleri; in smaller towns only the prices for basic foodstuffs were officially promulgated. The Palace often demanded goods at less than the official price. Profit margins for artisans ranged between 10 and 20 per cent, while long-distance traders were much less closely controlled. Capital formation by artisans was difficult, although there were instances of craftsmen branching out into trade without severing their links to manufacture.

Craft guilds retained their vitality throughout the 13th/19th century, particularly in Istanbul. With European investment growing, especially in the transportation sector, guilds defended the interests of dockyard workers and others whose livelihoods were threatened by technical and organisational reshaping of enterprises. The Ottoman government, both before and after the revolution of 1326/1908, saw the revaluation of these guilds as a means of augmenting its own bargaining power vis-à-vis foreign interests, and adopted a neutral or even favourable stance. In the long run, however, the restructuring of enterprises within the framework of dependent capitalism weakened the power of the guilds.

Not all urban handicraft workers were guild members. In 10th/16th and 11th/17th century Bursa, slaves were employed by silk weavers and merchants; after manumission, some of them set up independent businesses and then joined the guilds. Women working for artisans also were not usually members. New migrants to the city, unable to enter a guild, often made a living as street sellers; this was resented by the guildsmen, as these unorganised competitors paid no taxes. During the migrations which accompanied the Djelali rebellions (late 10th/16th-early 11th/17th centuries) many such migrants were active in towns along the principal routes to Istanbul. Some of the migrants were destitute; at the end of the 10th/16th century, a prison was built in Üsküdar to facilitate catching these people and sending them back to their places of origin.

**Urban society and spatial structure**

In Ottoman cities, most artisan activities took place in the carşı, a district filled by khanas, the covered market (bedesten) and uykîf-owned shops. Only transients renting accommodation in tugars and küfbars. Down to the middle of the 13th/19th century, construction in residential quarters was not planned by any central authority, which only from time to time decreed that encumbrances in public thoroughfares needed to be removed, or that non-Muslims must not reside in Muslim quarters so that existing mosques would be ensured of a congregation. Most day-to-day affairs were in the hands of the kekhasil of town quarters or communities, disputes being adjudicated by the kâdis. From the Tanzimat period onwards, newly-founded town quarters were sometimes designed according to a master plan; the Ottoman administration was concerned about securing streets wide enough for wheeled traffic and the passage of fire trucks. In Istanbul and Bursa, neighbourhoods in fashionable areas were reorganised according to criteria derived from contemporary French urban planning; by the late 13th/19th century, the results of such planning were seen in Anatolian provincial towns as well. To administer these projects, special administrations were instituted; these involved the creation of representative bodies through which urban elites influenced planning.

Building styles in vernacular architecture varied according to the region but also the time period involv-
ed. The impact of Istanbul models can be discerned in 13th/19th century houses in present-day ... 233-9; Mustafa Akdag, Turk halhnin dirlik ve diizenlik kavgasi, "Celali tsyanlan", Ankara 1975; Mehmet Gene, Osmanh...
maliyesinde malikane sistemi, in Osman Okyar and Unal Nalbantoglu (eds.), Turkhiye iktisat ... 299-328; C.A. Bayly, Imperial meridian, the British Empire and the world 1780-1830, London 1989; Faroqhi, Merchant

The literature to which the name of Ottoman is now generally given arises out of the literature of the Oghuz Turks, who settled in Asia Minor in the Seljuk period and later in the time of the Ottomans in Rum-ili, where they founded a powerful empire. This literature, which had an uninterrupted development from the time of the Seljuks up to the beginning of the 20th century, was based on the literatures of still older dialects and remained in touch with these in all periods of its evolution. Especially since the 16th century, it became the most important and richest branch of all the Turkish literatures and exercised an influence on the literature of the other dialects. Here the general evolution of this literature will be sketched, noting its main genres and principal personalities. We shall deal not only with the classical literature which was confined to the upper classes, but also—in their general features—with the literature of the masses, that of the poet musicians (saz şəvəleri) and the literature of the various mystic groups.

Ottoman literature may be divided into three great periods, corresponding to the general development of the history of Turkey:

a. Muslim literature from the 13th century to the end of the 16th century.

b. After 1600 A.D.

c. European-type and national literature, arising out of the development of the nationalist movement, to the end of the Ottoman dynasty.

These will be examined in chronological order, in order to avoid arbitrary distinctions.

(a) Until 1600 A.D.

1. The beginnings

We find the first written examples of Ottoman Turkish literature already flourishing in the 13th century, and the works of that literature can be divided into three types:

1. Classical mystical (Şūfi) literature;
2. Religious mystical folk literature; and
3. Classical (later called Divan) literature.

Given that the Mongol invasion of Anatolia gave an impetus to the spreading of mystical views there and to the literary activities based on them, we shall have to consider this period as the starting point. During the Mongol invasion, the migration from Persia and Turkestan to Anatolia was intensified: scholars, Şūfs and dervishes of various sects (e.g. Nadjin al-Din Kubbâ [d. 1226 (q.v.)], Kubî al-Dîn Haydar), and rich merchants settled down in Anatolia. Amongst them were major poets as well, such as Fâqir al-Dîn ‘Irâkî (d. 1289 (q.v.)), author of the theosophical poem Lamâ’sî, Awâd al-Dîn Kirmâni and Sheykh Nadjin al-Dîn Dâyâ (d. 1256). These Şūfs settled in the cultural centres of Anatolia, such as Tokat, Konya and Sivas, and enjoyed the patronage and respect of the Rûm Seljuk sultans, and attracted extensive popular followings. In this way, Şūfi concepts and ideas spread effectively amongst the folk masses over wide areas. In addition, when we consider that Ibn ‘Arabi (d. 1240), and his step-son and interpreter шadr al-Dîn Kownawî, both settled in Konya after having found peace and tolerance at the Sâlûqû court, we can assume that already in the 13th century a cultural impulse for the future development of classical Şûfi literature had been prepared. Moreover, Rûmî both elaborated and popularised Ibn ‘Arabi’s mystical ideas within the spiritual and formal framework of classical Islamic literature. Thus he introduced the aesthetic conceptions and formal constructions of classical Islamic literature to Anatolia; he also played a most important role in the furthering of both classical (buzzûn) literature and the classical Şûfi literature, the ‘Arabi order which arose after him [see mawlawiya].

Alongside this Şûfi folk literature there developed a religious folk literature based on the tradition of singing of poetry with musical accompaniment (sâz) [see also nêfes]. This became widespread among the army and the city folk, the Turcoman tribes and the frontier ghâzîs, and the folk minstrels, under the influence of the religious atmosphere, and it included heroic epic cycles and also short pious tales (e.g. the Bastâl-nâme, Dânînhmend-nâme, the Tale of the Gazelle, Tale of the Dove, etc.) This religious folk literature should accordingly be added to the Turkish literature of the 13th century.

The works belonging to the classical Şûfi literature of this period were composed with the metres and forms of classical Islamic literature. This meant that the first principle was to face the difficult task of applying the rules of the ārâd metre to the phonetic system of Turkish. As a result, we witness in these early poems a lot of unnatural and forced expressions. Amongst these works we should mention the following: two religious maddana, the Cârkhah-nâme and the ‘Ewâfî-nesâbûd-i sherefi of Hadîjî Ahmed Fakhî [q.v. in Suppl.] from Konya, the Turkish ghâzîs of Mawlânâ Rûmî (d. 1273 (q.v.)), the Turkish poems found in Sultan ‘Abîd’s (d. 1312 (q.v.)) Rehâh-nâme and ‘Ibtîdâ-nâme, Seyyûd Hamza’s ghâzîs and his maddana called Dânînî-yi ‘Uyûf, and Şîlî Fâkîh’s ‘Uyûf u Zûlekhânî which deals with the same story.

One may also include yet another version of this very popular biblical story, the maddana ‘Uyûf u Zûlekhânî, translated by Khâfî-oghlu ‘Ali from a Kip枝 original composed by a certain Mâhuûd from the Crimea into Anatolian Turkish, using the syllable metre and quatrain form typical of traditional folk poetry.

The first example of classical Turkish literature in this century came from the pen of Köhdjâ Dehâmî, poet at the court of ‘Alâ’ al-Dîn III at Konya; he wrote haşîdes and especially ghâzîs with non-religious themes, and was the first Turkish classical poet to sing
of the beauty of nature, and of carnal love, wine and the other pleasures of life.

2. The 14th and 15th centuries

With the collapse of the Seljuk central government in Konya around 1300, Turkish culture and art came to flourish in the capital cities of the beyliks, such as Kutahya, Aydin, Antalya, Kastamonu, Kayseri, Sivas and Konya. The material wealth of these cities and their lords, who did not know any language other than Turkish, attracted poets and writers who started to produce their literary works in their mother tongue. With the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the authors started to write in standardized Ottoman Turkish, over the Anatolian beyliks, cultural and artistic activities were channelled into the emerging Ottoman centres situated on important trade routes such as Bursa, Edirne, Amasya and Manisa (1410-53), and finally to Istanbul, so that the scholars, poets and writers who used to be active at the courts of the Anatolian beyliks now began to produce their works under the direct patronage of the Ottoman sultans and princes and of Ottoman dignitaries.

Among those poets who formerly served Germiyanoglu Yakub II (1387-1428) and who transferred themselves to the court of the Ottomans, were Ahmed-i Dahi (d. after 1421), and Sheykhi (d. 1429); they were finally active at the courts of Bayezid I, his son Amir Suleyman (d. 1412), Mehmed Celebi (d. 1421) and Murad II (d. 1451). These rulers were frequently poets themselves, e.g. Murad II had the pen-name Muradi, Mehmed II the Conqueror used that of Awani, Prince Korkud (d. 1512) that of Harimi and Bayezid II (d. 1512) that of Adli. From amongst these sultan-poets, Mehmed II, his son Djem (d. 1495) and Bayezid II wrote enough poetry to form independent divans.

The Ottomans took special care to promote culture and the arts in order to preserve their cultural identity and not to be absorbed by the neighbouring Christian culture. To achieve this goal, they also had to prove themselves victorious in the cultural rivalries that had been going on for some time among the Anatolian principalities. The following example will illustrate just how strong this rivalry was. When Molla Fenari was seriously offended by the Ottoman sultan, he transferred to Konya, where the Karamanoglu ruler offered him a salary of 1000 akces per day, as well as 100 akces for each of his students, unheard of until that time. The flourishing economy of the Ottoman state (see section II, above) greatly contributed to the success of these literary and cultural activities, so that the living standards in provincial cities located on the trade routes across Anatolia to southeastern European such as Amasya, Trabzon, Bursa, Manisa, Antalya and Edirne increased significantly. That Mehmed Celebi became governor of Amasya, Prince Korkud in Manisa, Prince Selim (II) in Trabzon, Djem Sultan in Kastamonu and Karaman, was not at all accidental! They brought with them their own scholars and poets, but they also encouraged and protected local literary figures. For instance, Neghati Bey [q. v.] (d. 1509), one of the greatest poets of the 15th century, was first at the court of the prince Celebi, then at the court of Prince Korkud and after the prince died, he also served as the head of the divan of the crown prince Mahmud in Manisa.

The most striking characteristic of the cultural and literary activities of the Ottomans during the 15th century was the admiration which the Ottomans felt towards the art and literature of the Timurids at their courts in Samarkand and Harat, and especially towards Caghhatay literature; it would not be unfair to say that classical Ottoman literature was under the spell of Mir 'Ali Shir Naw'at\textsuperscript{[q. v.]} whose influence reached its apogee at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, including also in the Persian literature of the time. Indeed, Persian literature, music, miniature painting and architecture were greatly refined under the patronage of the Timurid sultans Shahrui\textsuperscript{[d. 1447]}, Ulugh Beg (d. 1449) and Husayn Baykara (d. 1506) [q. v.], and the attraction of this renaissance of Persian culture under Turkish political hegemony strongly influenced the Ottoman court, with echoes of that influence felt up to the 19th century.

The Timurid court was taken as a model first in the political field. As is well known, at the cultural centres of Samarkand and Harat, the Uyghur alphabet was used side-by-side with the Arabic alphabet in literary texts as well as in the chancery. Wishing to compete with this Central Asian Turkish court, the Ottoman sultan Murad II (d. 1451) kept at his court in Edirne secretaries capable of composing firmans in the Uyghur alphabet. The crown princes themselves were taught the Uyghur alphabet. Even at later dates, some Ottoman firm\textemdash\textsuperscript{ans} were composed in Caghhatay and written down in both the Arabic and Uyghur alphabets. Thus Mehmed II announced his victory over the Ak Koyunlu Uzun Hasan in the form of a feh-n\textsuperscript{nime}, in which he addressed the local rulers of Eastern Anatolia in Caghhatay written down in Uyghur letters with an interlinear text in Arabic letters. However, all the Ottoman firm\textemdash\textsuperscript{ans} addressed to the European powers in Ottoman Turkish were in the Arabic script.

The Timurid court was also taken as a model in the literary and artistic fields, since Ottoman poets and intellectuals took a great interest in Caghhatay and Persian literature. Ahmed Paz\textemdash\textsuperscript{a}, who was Mehmed II's vizier and later on Bayezid II's sanger-bey of Bursa, used to await with enthusiasm and excitement 'Ali Shir Naw'at\textsuperscript{[q. v.]}'s latest ghazels carried with the caravans to Bursa. At one point, Naw'at sent 33 ghazels to Bayezid II, and Ahmed Paz\textemdash\textsuperscript{a} wrote naz\textemdash\textsuperscript{as} to them at the order of the sultan. To write naz\textemdash\textsuperscript{as} to Naw'at's poems remained fashionable among Ottoman poets up until the 19th century, and even the greatest and proudest Ottoman poets such as Nedin [q. a.] and Sheikh Ghalib followed that fashion. In the field of science many young men went to Central Asia to get a good education, and scholars and scientists from these lands were esteemed on Ottoman soil. One of these was the famous Uzbek sheyk Suleym\textemdash\textsuperscript{n} Efendi who dedicated his Caghhatay-Ottoman dictionary to 'Abd al-Hamid II. The influence of the courts in Samarkand and Harat found its echoes in the music festivals of the Manisa court of the crown prince Korkud, so that during the 17th century Ewliya Celebi talks about music festivals called Hu\textemdash\textsuperscript{us}ayn Baykara\textemdash\textsuperscript{faj\textemdash\textsuperscript{illari}}.

An important characteristic of the 14th and 15th centuries was the intensive translation movement from Arabic and Persian texts. Even though the Anatolian beyliks and the early Ottomans considered themselves as Islamic political entities, they still had not completely broken away from their ancestral Central Asian traditions, nor had they fully assimilated the new civilisation of which they were now part. So in order to bring Islamic culture to a wider audience, a concerted effort was undertaken to translate works in every field of Islamic learning and practice into a simple and clear Turkish. These translations may be classified as follows:

1. Works of 'ilm\textemdash\textsuperscript{
-\text{h}al}, a kind of catechism of the
basic principles of worship and of behaviour within the family and the community. Alongside these, or perhaps later, there were made interlinear translations of the Kur'ān and translations of ṣafīr, of the stories of prophets (kiya, al-anbūyiba), legends of saints (mendikā, al-awluj), etc.

2. Encyclopaedic manuals on medicine and drugs, on geography, astronomy and the interpretation of dreams, music treatises and dictionaries.

3. Translations in maḥnawī form of love stories of typical Near Eastern content, as well as mystical Sūfī maḥnawīs. The first texts to be translated in this category were Nizāmī's (d. 1140) Khvānawī sea Shams ʻAjṭār's (d. 1193) Manṣūk al-tayr and Farīdawālī's (d. 1020) Shāh-nāma.

It must be emphasised that these so-called translations were not direct word-for-word ones, but rather adaptations made by the Turkish writers, who, besides putting in their own phrases, frequently added chapters and their own corrections or improvements, so that sometimes the translation would be three times as long as the original text.

The strongest supporter of the translation effort was Murād II, who was a passionate lover of poetry and the fine arts and who attracted large numbers of artists and writers to his court.

 Naturally, original creations exist side-by-side with these translations. Amongst them are to be noted the Qhārīb-nāme of ʻĀshīk Pağā (d. 1532) which resembles Rūmī's Maḥnawī, the allegorical maḥnawī Gang-nāme of Ahmed-i Dāšī (d. 1421) which expresses man's longing for immortality, the Khvānawī-nāma by Sheykhi (q.v.) which is one of the best satirical works in the entire Turkish literature, the Maḥwāz-nāma by Tajdīzādē Dīfтар Celebi (d. 1516) which describes Istanbul, the Mawṣūl of Suleyman Celebi (q.v.) which narrates the Prophet's birth, his miṣrāj and death, and finally, the Muḥannadīn of Yazzīlī-oglu Mehmed (d. 1449) (q.v.) which also deals with the Prophet's life and his miracles. Besides all this, we have to mention the greatest mystical folk poet, Yunus Emre (q.v.) who has a place of his own within Turkish literature; soon after he died, many poets imitated his style, without however attaining the universality of his appeal.

All these literary activities raise the issue of the history of the written language: was the Old Anatolian Turkish the language of the migrations from Central Asia? Or did it arise in Anatolia after the migration? Some scholars have argued that the Oğuz tribes had established their own written language already in Central Asia before their migration into Anatolia. However, this assumption does not seem to meet the basic precondition for the creation of a written language, namely that there should be a distinct political entity under whose auspices the written language can develop. Such a political structure existed in Konya after the 11th century, but was absent for the Turkomans in Transoxiana. Thus we have to assume that the Turkomans established their written language for the first time under the political patronage of the Rūm Saldık and the beys of the Anatolian principalities. There is strong material evidence for this, namely, the fact that in the very first Old Anatolian Turkish texts we witness a typically Kūrīc orthography: defective writing of the vowels and excessive usage of tawrus for Turkish endings and any final syllables of words. This would indicate that they did not bring with them an orthography already established in Central Asia, where the Karakhānid system was based on the full (plene) writing of the vowels.

3. Classical Ottoman literature during the 16th century

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottomans were established as a world-empire, and the literature of this century reflects well the new political situation. Starting from the most famous poets like Bākī (d. 1600) and Fudūlī (d. 1556) (q.v.), down to lesser poets, one finds a strong feeling of confidence and self-assurance. Of course, this feeling finds diverse expressions. In Fudūlī it becomes a sense of pride that defies the world, especially in his famous complaint, Shikāyet-nāme, whereas in Bākī and in other poets it is evident in their majestic style and their placing themselves on an equal footing with the famous Persian poets. In Usuli (d. 1538), Hayreti (d. 1534) and Khayālu (d. 1557) (q.v.) it appears as an expression of disdain for the worthless material world, but in most works one can detect a celebration of victory and denial of humility. Considering that this atmosphere, one taken for granted in the historical writings, permeates love tales and even lyric poetry, one has to acknowledge that the psychology of triumph brought about by the successes of the Ottoman expansion deeply affected the literary works of this period. A love tale Dām-Shāh a 'Alm-Shāh of Ramādān Bihīghī, a less than first-rate poet, which was dedicated to Suleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566), clearly expresses this ideal image of world domination in between the lines, for all that the poet presented his poem to his audience as a symbolic work expressing his own mystical ideals.

The literature of this age is mostly preoccupied with the material and living world, despite the great number of religiously-inspired works. The simple religious atmosphere of the previous centuries had vanished, and with it the simple language, which now gives way to a floridly idiom of word-plays and refined rhetorical devices. In prose, however, Turkish entered a mature period of clarity and accuracy of expression, despite the heavy borrowings from the Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The scribes of the secretarial class, increasing in size along with the empire's expansion, especially those attached to the re'sūl-ū-kītāb and the ništāndjī (q.v.), well-versed in poetry and chancery skills, played a significant role in the emerging literary trends. A good number of the poets of this period came from this class of government officers, e.g. Muṣṭafā 'Ali Efendi (d. 1599) (q.v.) the famous historian who wrote the Kānî nūl-āhkārā and first introduced critical method into Ottoman historiography. It is not surprising that these secretary-poets had to extoll the pleasures of the material world, as this was part of their duties to please and entertain their superiors, up to the sultan himself. This would explain why suddenly the kasıfāt or ode became fashionable, and every poet of significance had to compose kasıfāt for the sultan and the high dignitaries. Thus, in this period when the kasıfāt was so widespread, the poet was in essence forced to arrange both his inner and outer worlds according to the palace hierarchy: the sun, moon and stars of the universe and of the poet's personal world. This imagery was already present in its incipient form in the earlier centuries, but now acquired precision, continuing until this literature exhausted itself.

The most important representative of the classical literature flourishing in the palace circles was Bākī,
the court poet of Suleyman the Magnificent who was himself also a poet writing under the pen-name Muhibb. Baki wrote kasides for Suleyman and his successors, Murad II (d. 1593) and Mehemmed III (d. 1603). His superb skill in composing meticulously designed, geometrical and artistic poems remained unsurpassed by contemporary or even later poets, a skill seen in the elegy which he composed while still in his forties for the dead sultan.

Baki's dîwân is quite voluminous, revealing not only refined feelings but a brilliant intelligence and eloquence. Escewing ugliness, he made nature and real-life experience the primary means of expressing his refined feelings but a brilliant intelligence and eloquence, as he hid his intended meaning under perfectly chosen words.

The second most important poet of this period is Fudûlî, who excelled because of the liveliness of his artistic skill and the sincerity of his emotions in his kasîdes dedicated to the prophet Muhammed and the sultan Suleyman. What distinguished him sharply from all other Ottoman poets is that he was not a poet from the capital but from Bağdadî, which is fairly typical of all Fudûlî's poems. The court poets, all written in Aধārî or Azerî Turkish. He was influenced by the Sufî poet Nesîmî (d. 1418 [q.v.]) and especially by 'Alî Şîr Navaâî; the latter's poems provided inspiration for a lot of his compositions. He may be considered the poet of suffering. All his poems express a suffering and love that directly emanate from his nature. For all that his skills are as superb as Baki's, this is not immediately apparent. In the 16th century, the mathnawi was still a very popular genre. In fact, we see an increasing number of poets who wrote love tales as well as mystical and religious subjects in the mathnawi form. Among the poets who wrote mâyînasî in the fashion of the famous Persian poet Nizâmî (q. v.) with his Khamsa, two well-known poets can be mentioned here. One of these was Taşhidîlî Yabây (d. 1582 [q.v.]). His Khamsa consists of the following five mâyînasîs: Gendîn-i râz, Usîl-nâmé, Şah-u gedâ, Yânu's-u Zâleykhâ and Gûlîn-ii evârû.

The second poet, who not only wrote one but two Khamsas, was Lâmi'i Cebeli (d. 1592 [q.v.]), very well versed in Persian culture and literature, as well as Câğıdshâvî and very much influenced by the works of Djâmî (d. 998/1492 [q.v.]). Mir 'Alî Şîr Navaâî and other famous Persian poets. As a result of this, they translated their works into Anatolian, namely, Ottoman Turkish. Because of his great interest in Dâmî and because of his translations of the latter's works, he was given the title of Dâmî-i Rûm ("the Dâmî of Anatolia"). Lâmi'i was an outstanding figure in both Ottoman verse and prose. Being very productive, he introduced works of diverse forms into Turkish literature. Among them, his mâyînasî included: Abûsîl u Salâmnîn, Wâmîk u Âdinghî, Wîs u Râmîn, Fihdâh u Şirîn, Tuhfî-yi Lâmi'i, Şehrengîz-i Bursâ, Gûy u Çeşmîn, Mabîl-i Hûsîn, Şemî u persânî, and Heft peyker (unfinished at his sudden death).

Along with the poets writing in the elaborate classical style we should mention Taşawwâlî Mahâmî (d. 1535) and Edîrmîlî Nağmî (d. 1548 [q.v.]) who represented a group of poets who tried, with reasonable success, to apply the 'ârîd metres to a Turkish relatively purified of foreign borrowings. Whether writing love or mystical poetry, there was a conscious effort to address the larger audience of the folk masses; it may be that these poets took their inspiration from the popular story-tellers and their stories recited at various meeting places.

The absence of a religious and mystical atmosphere from classical poetry is the characteristic peculiarity of this period. (This is the only period during which the above peculiarity is valid for all poetry.) This is not to say that there is no mystical thought in these poems, only that this is pushed into the background.

These poets used Sûfî terminology, but expressed their own personal emotions, so that there emerges, for the first time, a distinction between the mystical (Sûfî) and the mystical-style (muâtasawwâfî) poet. Even in the love mathnawi Leylî ve Mehmân of Fuğûlî, which is permeated with a mystical atmosphere, a story of worldly love by the young hero Beyaz the romance as the love adventures and sufferings of two loving people in love. The same can be said of the mathnawi Şah u gedâ by the period's greatest mathnawi writer, Taşhidîlî Yabây.

This interest in the material world made the poets of this period less and less interested in the classical themes of Persian literature, and they started to turn to stories taken directly from real life rather than from immediate vicinities and to contemporary human types, along with the traditional classical topics; this so-called mahâllîyetî movement continued well into the 17th and 18th centuries, but, with the exception of Nedîm, eventually lost its impetus without ever achieving the creativity and universality which the poets were hoping for.

The main reason for this tendency to be interested in the real and material world is perhaps connected with entertainment literature. Translation activity here had started in the 15th century, but was now intensified. In particular, Dînâlî-zâde Tâhir Cebeli translated the tales of Firûz Şâh and the extensive story collection in Persian Dâmî al-hikâyât wa-lawâmî of Muhammad Awfî (q. v.) for the benefit of the sultans and grand viziers. However, these stories were not read only in palace circles; the people would listen to them in coffee houses and public gatherings.

Story-tellers had been active narrating religious-heroic cycles, love stories and excerpts from the Şah-nâmâ from the 13th century onwards. During the 16th century, their repertory came to include unusual events and characters taken from everyday life. The custom of employing such story-tellers in the palace had been going on since the reign of Bâyezîd I, but acquired new forms from the beginning of the 16th century. At the court story-tellers started being educated persons, to the point that some of them became the sultan's personal courtiers. New themes emerged. For instance, Mûsâfâ Dîşnînî (d. 1585) wrote his collection of stories for Murâd II, who loved the new stories. Most likely the same motivation was behind the collection Ibrât-nâmâ of Lâmi'i, the very knowledgeable translator of the Persian poet Dâmî. (It is in the Ibrât-nâmâ that we find the first serious mention of Nasr al-Dîn Khodî [q. v.] and his extremely popular anecdotes.)

Finally, we have to mention one event of lasting consequence. In the 16th century the Ottomans became in closer touch with the Western world. This was the result both of accident and necessity, and the relations with the West were not deliberate and conscious but accidental. The following example will illustrate how these contacts were reflected in literature: a writer using the pen-name Eşrî ("prisoner") narrates in his Serâtîddîrî the story of his captivity during one of the Ottoman campaigns, his escape and adventures before reaching home again.

Another significant event in this regard was the introduction of the printing press into the empire since the reign of Bâyezîd II by the non-Muslim subjects, including Christians and the Jews who had been
welcomed into the Ottoman domains after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. Books on Judaism, such as the Seydhat-ndme in verse of the merchant Ahmed b. Ibrahim, describing his voyage to India. The Mendzir al-^awdlim of poetry during the 16th century literature and culture was still considerably influenced by the Turco-Persian literature flourishing in the theatrical traditions and the Italian folk-comedy, certainly influenced by the Sephardic Jewish Orta oyunu old Turkish theatrical representations, although the book is based entirely on earlier Arab policy of the Turkish empire. It is based in part on older cartographers like $afa°i Bahriyye of Plrl Re Bahriyye of Murad III. The celebrated Ta^nkh (by Sipahl-zade) and al-Istakhn (by Sherlf Efendi) and of Nafsari-zade (see Mift Tetebs'lar Me^musa'i, no. 3).

Among historical works, those which deal with literary history occupy an important place. The first Ottoman tedhke is the He^shi bedk written in 945/1538 by Sehi [q. v.], in imitation of the Ma^qalat al-^awdlim of Nawâî. He was followed by Lafiî [q. v.], A^shkî Celebi [q. v.], Abdi of Baghdad and Hasan Celebi [q. v.]. Ali also gives important notices of poets in his Kûnî al-^akkîr. The compilation of collections of nasâîr on poems of other poets, like the Lâmî' al-^nâzâr written in 918/1512 by Hâdjî Kemal, containing poems by 266 poets, and others, is a custom which is also found in the 16th century and has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Turkish poets.

It is in this framework that works which deals with political and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simple language. The prose which we possess by Bâkî and Fu'dîli shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.

We shall begin with the historical works, a field in which great progress was made in this century, mainly on account of the interest taken by the educated classes in the military successes of the empire. Beside the rhymed chronicle, in continuation of the Seljuk tradition we find from the time of Bâyezîd II and Selim I historical works in prose. The official Ottoman history written in Persian by Idris Bâdîli was translated into Turkish by his son. Other general histories were those of Ibn Kemal, Djielâzâde Mu^斯塔fa Celebi, entitled Tabakâl al-^amâlîk, of Mu^hiî al-Dîn Djiemâî, of Lufî Pasha [q. v.], of Khâ^da Sa'd al-Dîn and of A^li [q. v.]. There are also a number of special histories, dealing with particular periods or certain events (the Pen-nâmes) and biographical works (like the Dhu^sirî al-manâkîh relating to Sokollu Me^meh Pasha). At the same time, the office of Sheh-nâmeh was maintained at the court. In the time of Süleyman, it was filled by Feth Allah A^rif Celebi, whose successors included Eflâtûn Şirîwânî, Seyyid Lukmân and Ta'lîhî-zâde (d. 1013/1604). These were also Turkish poets, but tradi-

tional demand that the official Sheh-nâmeh should be written in Persian in the mû'tekârîh metre, until Mehemmed III ordered it to be written in Turkish. From the time of Ta'lîhî-zâde, prose began to appear scattered through the text. From the historical point of view, these Sheh-nâmef are naturally of less importance than the non-official chronicles. While works like the Tâcli-l-tawârikh of Sa'd al-Dîn were regarded as models of style, the Ta'rîh of Lufî Pasha, whose style more resembles that of the old chronicles, and especially his A^saf-nâmeh, are very important for our knowledge of the social history of this period. The Ta'rîk of Mosâfah Efendi shows how corrupt the administration was at the end of the century. We must regard A^li as the greatest historian of the time, and his other works reveal him as a man of almost encyclopaedic learning. Not only his Kûnî al-^akkîr, but also his Nasîbat al-salatîn, Kau^ûdî l-madqâlîs and Menâkî-i hâmûrûrû shows that the author was a severe critic, well informed about the conditions of life of his time. The style of his historical works is relatively simple (on his life and works, see the introduction by Ibn âlmîn to the edition of the Menâkî-i hâmûrûrû, Istanbul 1926). To this century also belongs the Shokâ^kî-i Nû'mânîyev written in Arabic by Tâshköprû-zâde [q. v.] and translated into Turkish with additions by Me^dji [q. v.] of Edirne and Khâ^kî of Belgrade; also, an extensive biographical literature among which the biographies of the Turkish Sâfî Sheh-nâmehs are of considerable historical interest. A similar interest is contained in a few light works of badinage (mizâjî) like the Na^f al-amr-nâmeh of Lâmiî and of Nîskârî-zâde (see Millî Tetebs'lar Me^musa'i, no. 3).

Throughout the 16th century, then, Ottoman literature and culture was still considerably influenced by the Turco-Persian literature flourishing in the courts of Khûrûsân and Samarkand, while themes from everyday life inevitably crept into them as well; furthermore, Ottoman society, was beginning to be influenced by the West, without being fully aware of it.

Bibliography: See the articles on the various literary figures mentioned in the article and the general surveys of earlier Turkish literature given in the more detailed Bibli. at the end of this section on Literature.

4. Historical and geographical prose literature and popular poetry during the 16th century.

Prose in this century assumes a heavier and more artificial form, exaggerating Persian models, the simplest ideas are expressed by the most complicated images to the detriment of the subject. This lack of taste is found in the greatest stylists of the period: Lâmiî, Kemal Pasha-zâde [q. v.], Djielâzâde Mu^斯塔fa Celebi [q. v.], Feridîn Beg [q. v.], A^zîmi, the translator of the Humâyûn-nâmeh, A^li Celebi, Kûnî-zâde A^li Celebi [q. v.], Khâ^da Sa'd al-Dîn [see Khûpûga Efendi] and others. This artificial tendency had a much more marked influence on prose than on poetry. Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes. We find, however, that in very long works, it was only the preface that had a much more marked influence on prose than on poetry. Works written in simple language were despised by the educated classes. We find, however, that in very long works, it was only the preface that was written in this turgid and clumsy style. Many literary, historical, religious or moralising works of the period were in fact written in more simple language. The same applies to official correspondence and other state documents. In religious works intended for the people, every endeavour was made to write as simple language. The prose which we possess by Bâkî and Fu'dîli shows an elegant and comparatively simple language.
Mehmed 'Ashîk of Trebizond is very important, based on the old Arab geographies, it gives valuable new information about the Ottoman lands. Finally, we may mention a Tar'âfi: Hind-i şarkî on the discovery of the New World, translated in 990/1582 from a European language by Mehmed Yusuf al-Herewi (on this literature see F. Taeschner, in ZDMG, Ivxxvii [1923]).

Alongside classical Turkish literature, we find the literature of the people increasing, the knowledge of which was spread by the kîjî-khân, the meddâh and the 'ârîdî, and in the battle-songs of the Janissaries. Many classical poets also wrote türkîs [q.v.] intended for the masses. These türkîs are in the 'ârîdî metre and in the form of mîrâbeh'; later they were called şarkî [q.v.]. This form of poem goes back to the earliest forms of verse among the Turks. But the works of unlettered poets, like Enverî, Thîyâbî, Rîyîl, Râfiî and others, written in imitation of the classical poets, were more to the taste of the people. In popular gatherings such things as Asbî Musîlîm, the Hamsa-nâme, Bâjîlî Ghâzî, etc. were enthusiastically received. This encouraged Hâşîmî of Istanbul to write the mehnewi entitled Barkî uve-pâlalî taken from the Hamsa-nâme, and inspired several authors and poets to write similar works. Sûlîn Sûlîmân had the story of Fîrzâ-şâh translated into Turkish in 8 vols. by Sâlih Efendî, translator of the Qâmu's al-hîkâyêt of 'ârîfî. There were kîjî-khân even in the palaces of the sultans. Alongside of old Islamic and Persian subjects, we find also collections of stories of everyday life like the Bursalî Khâ'îdje Abî al-Re'îf Efendî, which the poet Wâhaiî, also called Ana Bâdîhî hîkâyetî. The stories of everyday life by Muştafa Dîqânî of Bursa in an unaffected style give us a valuable insight into different aspects of the life of the people in these days. Another poet of this kind is Mehîî [q.v.], whose real name was Derwîsh Hasân, who was the meddâh of Mûrîdî III (see Rieu, Cat. of Turk. mst., 42).

In the 16th century we are a little better informed regarding the activities of the ozan [q.v.], although they are now generally known as şîhîk or cügûnü, these wandering musicians were to be found wherever the people congregated and used to recite the later works of earlier heroes, heroic tales, merêhîyes and türkîs. At the beginning of this century we have a portion of Bakhshî's epic on the Egyptian campaign of Selim I, and at the end of the century we have the names of Kûl Mêshîd (d. 1014/1605), Oksûz Dede, Khâyâlî and Kûrûghûlî, and, in the garrisons of the Maghrib, Cirpanî, Armodîlî, Kûrûlkishî, Gâdamalû (see also Küprülu-zade M. Pûdlû, Türk sâz êvâret, Istanbul 1930). The influence of the various classes of society on one another even had the result that symmetrical metre was sometimes used among the cultured classes (but especially in the ozan) and the 'ârîdî metre in popular poems, just as had been the case formerly for poems of a religious character. The mystic poets however, following the tradition of Yûnus Emre, wrote their il-âdhî in symmetrical metre. We may note the names of Urnî, Şâhî, Nâmîsî, Merîstânî, Abû'l-Mâtî, Sâbîrî (d. 952/1545), İdrîs Muâhkîfî (d. 1024/1615) and Seyvîdîî Şâyîlî Khalwetî (d. 1010/1601). But the greatest successors of Yûnus and Kâyûhuszuz were found among the Berkâtshîs and Kizlîbâshs, such as Kûl Himmet and his pupil Pîr Sûlûn Abdâl, a native of Sîwâs who was executed in 1008/1600 by order of Khîtarî Pasha (cf. Sa'dî al-Dîn Nûzhez, Pîr Sûlûn Abdâl, Istanbul 1929). Other products of the popular literature of the period were Hasân-oghûl tükâlûrî, Kûra-ciqân türkûsî and Çekî destânî.
describes and criticises the social life of his time. His young contemporary Thabit [q.v.] endeavours to
show his originality by mingling proverbial expressions with his poetry. Among the masters of the ghzal in the
17th century we may also mention Nâşıî Mewlewî, Djevri and Râmi Mehmed Pasha.

'Azmi-zâde Hâleli [q.v.] excelled in all political
genres and is best known for his rubâ'în. The lughz [q.v.] and the muwallâmâ became very popular, as did the târîkh (chronogram). The hidijî and mizâh, composed in different forms, caused poets of the first rank to
write on such themes. Some of the most typical examples of this genre, however, can be appreciated, like the tedkîrî in the form of a melûnâvî in Gûlit in which the author
depicts contemporary poets; the târîkh of Fehim and of
Djevri, written in the form of mulamâs, are curious
because the text is scattered with passages in non-
Turkish languages.

Some melûnâvâs of the first half of the century show
a remarkable perfection. The subjects of the old khâmsas are gradually replaced by more topical subjects.
The greatest representative of the style is Newîrâzâde,
'Atayî, Bûhreddin and Râyîdî. It was mainly in this
century that it became fashionable to write Sâkî-nâmâs in imitation of the Persian poet Zuhûrî, although this
genre is already found earlier, as is shown by the
lâyret-nâmâ of Rewânî (16th century). Among the
Sâkî-nâmâs we may specially note those of 'Atayî, Râyîdî and Hâleli; all are tinged with mysticism. The melûnâvî thus served for all sorts of subjects taken from
daily life, stories, descriptions, speculative works,
tales of actual events, etc.

The number of religious and mystical works, lives of Sûfî saints and didactic works connected with the
different jarîkâs, is very great in this century. Poetical
forms were often used for them. Very well-known is the Mi'tâdîyye of Nâdirî. There then were panegyrics of the Prophet (nâ's), translations in verse of the
Hadîth-i arba'in, of mawlidîs etc. Among the Sûfî poets there were some who used the syllabic metre; we may
not overlook those of the Khalâlî-îêrî of the Chalîwetî order, whose poems were long popular; the Bektâshîs also numbered several poets in their ranks. There are also a large number of historical works in verse, Sâh-nâmâs, Ghasâz-nâmâs, etc., like the Sâh-nâmâ of Nâdirî of the time of
'Ôthmân II and others. The Shâh-nâmâ of Muhammad by Mûhamîr by order of Murâd IV has only the pre-
fact in Turkish; the rest is Persian in keeping with the
old tradition. It is in this century also that the custom
begins of writing brief Ottoman histories in verse; we
have that of Tâlibî, written in 1017/1608, of Nîhzîrî (d. 1075/1664) written for Mehmed IV, and the
Fîrîst-i Sâhîn, dedicated to Mehmed IV by Solâk-
zâde Hemdî, and continued by a series of poets
down to Dîyâr (Zîyâ) Pâsha in the 19th century. This
kind of work has neither much historical nor literary value.

Literary prose follows the same lines as in the
preceding century. The great stylists (mûnâshî), like
Weystî, Nergisî [q.v.], Odkûz-zâde [q.v.] and others,
carried affection of language to a still more advanced
degree. A fine specimen is given by the official
documents addressed to the Persian court and written by mûnâshî like Hûkmî; this same style was sometimes
used even in private correspondence. The works
which were considered to have no literary value in
their day are those which are now most appreciated,
like those of Köûtî Beg, Katîb Cebeli, Ewlyîa Cebeli
and Na'îmî. Histories, in this century also, take first
place among prose works. There are several which
have the character of semi-official chronicles like the
Sâh-nâmâ written in prose by Taqihkâpûrûzâde [q.v.] for
'Ôthmân II. Murâd IV appointed Köbîlî as u'da'a-
nâvitî for the Erivan campaign. In 1074/1664 the
Nihatî [q.v.] Abîl Ra'mân Pasha was appointed by
Mehmed IV to chronicle events, as was Mehmed Khâflîf [q.v.] of Fîndîkîlî by Musta'fâ II. It is only later
that Na'mî has appointed u'da'a-nâvitî. The historical works of this century are translations of the
general histories of Islam, original works on the same
subject, general and special works and monographs
on Ottoman history. From the historical point of
view, the most important are the Dîmânî [q. v.]
dwójal, written in Arabic by Mûnedîçîm Bashî [q.v.], the
Fedikâk of Katîb Cebeli, the Ta'rîkh of Peçewî and the
best of Na'mî. The great encyclopaedist Katîb Cebeli
[q.v.] also reveals himself in his Misâl al-îlak and
Desde'ir al-aman as a historian of penetrating in-
sight. Peçewî [q.v.], who made use of Christian
sources, is also very valuable for his sound judgment
and impartiality. Na'mî [q.v.] who possessed de-
scriptive powers of the first order, gives vivid psycho-
logical analyses of historical characters. Köûtî Beg
[q.v.] examines in his celebrated Rû'ûl the causes of
the decline of the empire. Kara Cebeli-zâde is a mûnâshî
rather than a historian. We must also mention chronicators like Weqîji, Hasan Bey-zâde and Solak-
zâde, as well as the dîyeyî to the Shâkî'î-r umânîyye by
Newîrî-zâde 'Atayî and the continuation by
Ustânî-zâde.

The tedkîrî is much below the level of the 16th cen-
tury; the most notable is that of Riyâdî written in
1018/1609. The Riyûdî al-a'zârî of Kâfî-zâde Fâ'idî,
composed in 1030/1621 also contains specimens of the
work of the poets dealt with in it. There is also the
dîyeyî to this work by Mehmed 'Asîmî (d. 1086/1675),
the concise tedkîrî of Ri'dî and that of Gûfitî already
mentioned. The Mülâtî [q.v. al-nazî-rîr] by Khiçiâîî (d. 1062/1652) is a collection of mata'a.s.

In the field of geography, the most important works
are those of Köûtî Cebeli and Abî Bakr Dimâşgî. They use European as well as Muslim sources. The
Shâh-nâmâ of Ewlyîa Cebeli [q.v.] is important for
the history of all aspects of social life. In spite of its
defects it is a work without an equal in Turkish
literature. In this century also the first sefîret-nâmâs
appear.

The greatest popularity of the shîhna, mëdâbah, karagödîjî, etc. continued in this century in all classes
of society. At Bursa we have Derwîsh Kâmilî, Kur-
bânî 'Âlîsî and others, at Erzûrûm Kaşşâb Kûrd,
Kandîl-îghulî, etc. In Istanbul there were eighty mëdâ-
 bahs, who were organised in a guild (esnâfî); the best
known is Tîfî [q.v. who was nizzîm to Murâd IV.
Towards the end of this century, the mëdâbah Kîrîmî (d. 1120/1708) flourished.

The musician-poets (sâ'î şâhîrîn) became very
numerous in the 17th century. We find them among
the janissaries, the sipîdîs [q.v.], the lezâNdâs [q.v.], the
Djelâlis [see Djalâlî in Suppl.], and in the religious
bodies like the Kızîlbaş and the Bektâshîs. They were
always to be found in military retinues.

The writer of this article succeeded in collecting and
identifying the works and names of about thirty musician-
poets of this century. The most notable are Gewhîrî
and 'Omer 'Ashîkî [q.v.]; the latter has almost become
the patron saint of the şâ'î şâhîrîn (cf. Köprülû-zâde
The influence of this popular literature is felt even among the upper classes, as in the poems of the Khan of the Crimea, Mehmed Giray, who wrote under the makhlas of Kamil, and a metrihy of Affif Sultan, one of the favourites of Mehmed IV. Several "classical" poets also wrote şarkı̆s for the masses. The poem on the hero Genç Othmán by Kayı̆kdeli Mustafa has actually given rise to a folk-tale which still survives in Anatolia (Köprülüler-zade, Kayı̆skul Mustafa ve-geom osman hakret, Istanbul 1930). It is probable that several other folk-tales originated in this century, like those called Şahı̆k Kerem, Şahı̆k Şahrı̆b, and Şahım İmâdĭl. Lastly, we see from the statements of Ewliya Çelebi that it was in this century that the orta oyunu [q.v.] began to be popular with the people.

2. The 18th century

Literature and culture in this century continued to follow the same lines as in the preceding centuries. There was a vast output in prose and poetry, while the intellectual links with Persia and Transoxania continued to exist. Persian poets, especially Şawkat and Sâlĭb, exercised a great influence on Turkish poetry. But in spite of all this, the tendency to a more individual development gained in strength and was shown in the endeavours to simplify the language. It is mainly due to the great poets of the beginning of this century that classical Turkish poetry followed a path entirely independent of contemporary Persian poetry.

The period of Dâmĭd İbrâhîm Paşa [see İbrâhîm Paşa, Dâmĭd] is a very important one. Many works were written and translated by his orders or those of Sultan Ahmed III. Committees were appointed to translate important works rapidly. Among the poets of this century we may mention 3. Oğuzîn-zade Ahmed Tȧrîb [q.v.], who was called the king of poets, Seyyid Wehbi, Şâmĭr, Râghid, Neyli, Şefim, Kâmĭ of Edirne, Durdi, Thâhiba, Arif, Şâlĭm, Çelebi-zâde 3. Aşim, and 4. İzet 3. Afĭ Paşa, Nedim [q.v.] in particular acquired a great reputation in the second half of the century and later. His şazels and his şarkı̆s recall the period of Sȧdȧbâd [see Lâl Dewr] and by his original subjects, rich imagination and harmonious language, he surpasses his predecessors and his contemporaries. In the əshı̆h he reached a level which neither Nâzîm before him nor Fâdil Enderûn after him attained. It was also through the patronage of Dâmĭd İbrâhîm Paşa that İbrâhîm Mütteferrika [q.v.] was able to inaugurate Muslim Turkish printing [see Mâtbaâ. 2]; but for several reasons printing remained confined to a very restricted sphere throughout this century and did not exercise any particular influence on intellectual or artistic life.

Among the great poets of this century we must also make special mention of Kodja Râghib Paşa [q.v.], the greatest representative of the school of Nâbî, and Şeykî̆h Şahrı̆b [q.v.], the last great poet of the classical period. In the kâside it was the influence of Nefî that dominated, while in the şazel there was a rivalry between the disciples of Nedîn and Şâmĭr on the one hand and the adherents of Tȧrîb on the other. But towards the end of the century, a decline in both schools became apparent; poets like Fâdil Enderûn [q.v.], and Şunbûl-zâde Wehbi [q.v.] are only mere imitators. The poets of this century practised all forms of poetry and special attention was devoted to genres characteristic of an epoch of decadence, like the hı̆se, the hı̆z, the mu'ammâ (enigma) and the tarîh (chronogram), while immorality and a general decline in good taste increased. On the other hand, true religious inspiration still continued, as may be seen from the mu'addâ of the na't of Nâzîm [q.v.], the Mi'âdhîyyes of poets like Nayî̆ 3. Othmân Dede, Nâhîfĭ [q.v.] and 3. Arif Sülêymân Bey and the verse translation of the Mevîne of Mevlânâ by Nâhîfĭ. The mevînevis of this period are numerous but of little literary value, the old subjects of the khamas are entirely dropped, with the exception of the Hüs-stûr of Şeykî̆h Şahrı̆b, the last masterpiece of this class. Finally, the rhymed historical works of this period and the Şüfĭ poems by initiates of the various orders are of little importance.

Literary prose tends to become gradually simpler, although we still find imitations of the style of Nergisî and Okîl-zâde. A well-known stylist like 3. Othmân-zâde Tȧrîb openly declared against exaggerated artificiality in prose. Historical works occupy the first place. Among authors serving as vakâ's-nâwi[s] [q.v.] we may mention Râghid, Çelebi-zâde 3. Aşim and Wâsîf, but none of them can be compared to his predecessors like Na'sîm, although hundreds of people were writing biographical and historical works. The political and military decline of the empire caused a large number of lâbiha ("memoirs") to be written investigating the causes. The most remarkable of these memoirs is that of Kodja Sebîn Bashi. From the point of view of geography, we may note a number of important safaret-nâmes of which the Fransa safaret-nâmesi of Yûrîm-Sekiz Çelebi Mevînedîni [see Mevînedîni Viirmisez] is a typical example; these works were occasionally, although rarely, written in verse. The sâr-nâmes written to celebrate the splendid festivals held by the sultans are important sources for sociological research. Those best known are the Sûr-nâmes of Sefiyyeh Wehbi and of Haşgmet. The collections of biographies of poets are even more numerous than in the preceding century. We may mention the safaret-nâmes of Şefiyyeh and Şâlĭm and that of Belîq [q.v.]; the teṣbih of Esrâ Dede [q.v. in Suppl.] is specially devoted to Mewlêwi poets; to this century belong also the Wâkâ'iy al-fudâlîâ of Şeykî̆h, which is the final continuation (şefili) of the Şâskûh. Lastly, the Tuğrî̆-yi khatîafîn of Mustakîm-zâde [q.v.]—whom we may regard as the greatest encyclopaedist of this century—is the most important source for the Muslim and Turkish calligraphers (khatîa). In the field of geography, we find only translations and excerpts from European works.

The medâdî, karaqâdĭ and orta oyundusı̆ continued to enjoy the same popularity among all classes of society. The works of the musician-poets were also known everywhere; we may mention Kömetî, Nûri, Leñwî, Kaba Sakal Mevînedî and Faşĭhi, but the popularity of Gewherî and 3. Ashîk 3. Omer continued; some of these poets were of Armenian origin, like Mevînedîn and Wartax who lived at the beginning of the century. This influence of Turkish musician-poets on the poems of the Armenian 3. oshî perhaps begins as early as the 16th century (see Köprülüler-zâde, in Edebiyat Fakültesi Mevînedîni'vi[1922], i, 1-32). The best example of the way in which the literary taste of the people had penetrated among the upper classes is the fact that the greatest poet of this century also wrote a tarîh in the popular metre. This tendency became more marked as the century advanced.

3. The 19th century

At the beginning of this century, Ottoman literature had sunk to a very low level which continued till the period of the Toncîmûh. Wâsîf Enderûn [q.v.], and 'Îzet Mölla [q.v.] alone show some originality. Wâsîf appeals to the popular taste and shows the influence of Nâzîm as well as that of Fâdîl...
Enderunl, ızzet Molla, while strongly influenced by Nedim and Sheykh Ghalib, is, however, a much greater poet than Wâsit, especially as regards the poeticality of his language. In addition to the style and critical ability; the author uses even simpler language in his translation of the Burhan-i kâfi and of the Kâmüs. The wâqa'-nâviseâ Es'ad Efendi [q.v.], translator of the Mustatraf of Abî-îbâhî and author of the well-known Üsî-i zafer on the extermination of the Janissaries, is far below ızzat Bey, with his insipid Janissaries, is far below who, in spite of several poems written in the popular language, efforts such as we observe in Fâdîl Enderunl and Wasîf, only resulted in vulgarity and artificiality and platitude. As a result of continually repeating the same conceptions by the same limited means of expression, all the vitality of Turkish poetry was destroyed. Even great artists like Nedim and Sheykh Ghalib had not been able to escape the rigid rules of the old models. On the other hand, the attempts to draw upon the language and literature of the people and to appeal more to popular taste and language, efforts such as we observe in Fâdîl Enderunl and Wâsit, only resulted in vulgarity and banality. In spite of the political and economic connection with Europe which had existed for centuries, the social structure of the Ottoman people had never emerged from the frame of traditional Islamic civilisation, which had kept it imprisoned in a mediaeval system of ideas. It is true that the continual military defeats and the gradual economic decline had impressed upon thinking people the material and technical superiority of Europe and that, as early as the 18th century, they had begun to take advantage of European skills to reorganise the army and the fleet. But it was much more difficult to adopt the superiority of Europe in the field of culture. The medreses, which were in a very backward state compared with earlier centuries, still clung tenaciously to the mentalities and tastes of the Middle Ages. Modern science was beginning to be introduced only in institutions founded for the army, like the Engineering School (muhendis-êhâne) and the Medical School (ibbê-êhâne). These innovations owed a great deal to a few individuals, who had studied western languages and modern sciences, like Khodja Ishâkh Efendi, Gelenberi and Şâhîn-zaâde. It was the need felt by Selim III, and especially by Mahûmî II, to reorganise the army and navy and to establish a central administration to prevent the empire being parcelled out between feudal chiefs, that led them to consent, in spite of the opposition of the medreses, to the reform of the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences.

From the end of the 18th century, there were in Turkey men who knew French and recognised the cultural superiority of Europe. In bringing teachers from France and sending students to Europe, the movement of Europeanisation was encouraged in Turkey. It was natural then that, as a result of all these needs, European influence began to show itself little by little in every branch of life, including the fields of thought and art.

(c) "European-type" Turkish literature.

The period of the Tanzimât and the new literature

The great industrial and capitalist development in Europe as well as the political expansion and rivalry of the imperialist Great Powers could not long ignore so vast and rich a field of exploitation as Turkey. At the same time, the mediaeval institutions of the empire had lost their power of resistance, and the revolutionary movements in France had propagated the principle of nationality among the non-Muslim elements. All these circumstances made the urgent need felt of introducing reforms in the social and administrative institutions of the empire. These reforms were to meet with considerable resistance, not only among the lower classes but also among those members of the educated classes who had been educated in the medreses. It was due to Mustafa Reşîhd Paşa [q.v.] and his little group of followers that the reforms were gradually introduced into the country. In Turkish history these reforms are known as Tanzimât [q.v.].

The Tanzimât were not confined to the fields of administration, justice and finance; with the object of...
securing the progress of education among the Muslim Turks, primary and secondary schools were opened and plans made to found a university. An Əndənmən-i dənış was formed to prepare schoolbooks (1269/1853) and students were sent to Europe. The Əndənmən-i dənış was soon replaced by the Əndənmən-i Əfdar (1277/1860), which began to publish its own organ, Medjmu'a-yi funun. In the following year, the Girls' School was opened and in 1279/1862 University courses were begun. In 1282/1865 was adapted from western secondary schools and students were sent to Europe. The University was opened and in 1294/1877 a School of Political Sciences opened in 1286/1869, but the intrigues of the conservative elements forced it to be closed two years later. In 1297/1880 the School of Law (Hükûk mektebi) was opened and in his Əfdar, which was followed by the Medjmu'a-yi funun in 1278/1861 [see q. v.].

Nadjıl, who obtained great fame under the protection of Ahmed Midhat. Nadjıl was well versed in Turkish and literary school, and his disciple Namık Kemal ad-

The program was well defined; he wished to free himself from the trammels of the old unintelligible language, and although he was not able to realise all this programme, his theories exercised a great influence. The presentation of his ideas, wished to revive national culture, and proclaimed the ideas of "new" writers had not been able to produce in reality anything really new.

It was undoubtedly Namık Kemal who assured the definite success of the new school. He was a great artist, a keen fighter, a prolific author and a great patriot. For him, art was a means of provoking a revival in the land and he contributed vigorously to the cultural and political revolution in Turkey by his political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence in the development of the Turkish press, which at the beginning moved on the model of the Latin and the French literature of the 18th and 19th centuries, and in Turkish. Ahmed Wefîk, animated by western Islamic learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fu'âd Paşa, wrote beautiful prose works in Turkish. Ahmed Weffîk, a great patriot. He claimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictionary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the Shadârâ-yi Turk of Abu 'l-Qâzâ. By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière, he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre. Süleyman Paşa, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not Othmânlî; and in his Ta'rîkh-i 'Alem he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from J. de Guignes and other sources.

Lastly, Ahmed Midhat wrote and translated hundreds of volumes of popular nature, beginning with books of the alphabet; he thus trained the people to read and contributed to raising the level of education, which was his only aim, for his books have no scientific or literary value. Süleyman Paşa was a worthy successor of Weffîk Paşa in his Kâmis al-âlâm and Kâmis-i türkî.

At the end of the 19th century appeared Mu'âllim Nâdî [q. v., who obtained great fame under the protection of Ahmed Midhat. Nâdî was well versed in from the popular language and literature. In reality, Ziyâ Paşa had neither the strength nor the courage to put these theories into force.

'Abd al-Hâkk Hâmid [q. v.], a pupil of Nâmik Kemal, brought about a great revolution in the field of poetry, which hitherto had not been able to free itself from ancient forms. This extremely prolific poet introduced into Turkish the lyric and the drama in which his models were Dante, Racine, Corneille and Shakespeare. Even Nâmik Kemal acknowledged that the new Turkish poetry begins with Hâmid. Other important figures were Redja-i-zâde Ekvrem [see q. v.] and Sâmi Paşa-zâde Sezâl [q. v.], but in proportion as the pressure of despotism increased, the second generation of the period of the Tanzimât began to pursue purely artistic ends.

Many other thinkers or writers contributed to the cultural evolution of the country. We may mention the famous historian Ahmed Djevdet Paşa [q. v.], Ahmed Weffîk Paşa [q. v.], Süleyman Paşa, and the great writer and encyclopaedist Ahmed Midhat Efendi [q. v.], as well as the lexicographer Şâms al-Dîn Sâmi Bey [q. v.]. Djevdet Paşa, well versed in Islamic learning and author of a Turkish grammar in collaboration with Fu'âd Paşa, wrote beautiful prose and political articles, his dramas, his novels, his patriotic poetry, his historical works, his critical essays and even by his private letters. He exercised a profound influence in the development of the Turkish press, which at the beginning moved on the model of the Latin and the French literature of the 18th and 19th centuries, and in Turkish. Ahmed Wefîk, a great patriot. He claimed the fact that the Turks of Anatolia were a branch of the great Turkish nation. He compiled the first dictionary of Anatolian Turkish, collected proverbs and translated the Shadârâ-yi Turk of Abu 'l-Qâzâ. By his adaptations of the comedies of Molière, he played a great part in the development of the Turkish theatre. Süleyman Paşa, who reorganised the military schools, was a great patriot. He claimed that the language and literature should be called "Turkish" and not Othmânlî; and in his Ta'rîkh-i 'Alem he devoted a special chapter to the early Turks, taking his material from J. de Guignes and other sources.
Islamic culture and wrote ghazels in the classical style alongside good poems in the new style. The followers of the old school expected from him almost a resurrection of classicism, although Nâzî did not at all a champion of such a reaction, as is shown by his beautiful simple prose (as in *Omerî mekâlakâhîgâh*). His quarrels with Ekrem Bey originated rather in personal reasons. At the same time Nâbit-zâde Nâzîm, who died very young, came to the front; his novel Zehra makes him a figure of first importance in literary history.

The most important event at the end of the 19th century is the literary movement begun by a group of youthful men of letters who had associated themselves, at the instigation of Redjîz-zâde Ekrem, with the periodical *Therwet-i Fûnûn* [q.v.]; this movement marks the second and last stage of the Europeanisation of Turkish literature. It is dominated by the figures of Tewfik Fikret and Khâlid Ziyâ (Ziyyâ) [q.v.] and is very much under the influence of the literary movements in France at the end of the 19th century. Started in a period of absolute despotism and having only a short life of five or six years, this movement produced works of a neurotic and pessimistic sentimentality. Its motto was "art for art's sake". If we except Dejanb Şihâb al-Dîn, who acquired after the revolution the reputation of a great prose writer, Süleyman Nazîf, who may be considered a pupil of Namik Kemal with an originality of his own, Fikret Câli, an imitator of 'Abd al-Hakk Hâmid, and Ismâîl Şafî, an independent figure, who found his subjects in everyday life, all the poets who wrote in the *Therwet-i Fûnûn* were imitators of Tewfik Fikret. Khâlid Ziyâ, who had a very choice style, was the true founder of the literary novel in Turkish. He takes his subjects generally from the upper middle classes, but some of his short stories describe the life of the people. The latter genre was more successfully treated by the novelists Ahmed Hikmet and Huseyîn Djaîbîdî, in more simple language. Mehmed Ra'afî [q.v.] was a novelist who made excellent psychological analyses, but his language was imperfect. In the field of science, philosophy and criticism, the collaborators on the *Therwet-i Fûnûn* did no more than translate. But the severe censorship and the short life of the group did not enable them to show greater vitality. Tewfik Fikret and Khâlid Ziyâ reflected only the life of the upper classes, Hûseyn Rahmî [q.v.] depicted in his novels various aspects of the life of the people; and at the same time the notable publicist Ahmed Râsim [q.v.] was dealing in several of his works with the same subject. Among the poets of this period, we may further mention Ridâ (Rizâ) Tewfik [q.v.] who wrote the finest lyrics in the style of the Süfi poets and Bektaşîû, but in syllabic metre, the poetess Nîqâr Khânîm and lastly Mehmed Emin Bay [q.v.], who suddenly became celebrated during the Turco-Greek war by his *Türkîe shî'îrler*. Mehmed Emin employed a very simple language in the syllabic metre and wished to reach the people directly (*khalîka dögra*), although the existing popular literature with its mentality, tastes and traditional forms were entirely unknown to him. As a man of letters he was entirely of the school of Fikret; he was not, however, an imitator like his contemporary, but the populist spirit (*khalîka dögra*). This was the first occasion on which a Turkish poet had descended to the level of the people. Perhaps it is right to charge him with a lack of lyrical feeling, but this does not prevent us from regarding him as an interesting figure in literary history. At the same time, the movement to simplify the language continued and even gave rise to an exaggerated purism. By the translation of the works of European scholars, the early history and culture of the Turks became known, while the journalistic activities of the young Turks abroad began to envisage Turkish nationalism from the political point of view. These were the main elements in the cultural and literary life of Turkey before the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

This event, having brought about the abolition of the censorship, caused an extended literary activity. The patriotic pieces of Kemal and Hâmid reappeared in the style and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical and artistic nature were translated into Turkish. At the same time, great improvements were made in education and the relations with Europe raised the general cultural level to a height never before reached.

The most important literary movement after the Revolution was that of the *Fejîr-i aîî* [q.v.], although it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; its members began by following the school of Fikret and Khâlid Ziyâ, but the majority of them ended up as members of the national literary movement. Ahmed Hâşîm alone continued to develop in the way he had first chosen. He never abandoned the *süre* metre, nor the conception of "art for art's sake" in its strictest form. Besides, he had ideas of his own on the relation between music and poetry (see H. Duda, *Ahmed Hâşîm*, in *WT, ii* [1928], 300-44). The poet Yabây Kemâl (Bayâthî) [q.v.], who had a great influence after 1912, had literary views entirely different from those of Ahmed Hâşîm, for he sought music rather in the exterior elements of his poems, while he retained the motto "art for art's sake". Another poet, who remained outside the national literature, was Mehmed Akîf (Ersoy), the advocate of Pan-Islamism [q.v.] and univalled master of the *süre* metre; in simple language he described the life of the people in its most realistic aspects. Akîf, whose lyrics sometimes rose to great heights, remained quite uninfluenced by western poetry; he was a democratic poet, born of the people. In the work of these three poets, very different from one another, we see Turkish poetry striving to free itself from the too limited sphere of Tewfik Fikret and his school; but under the stimulus of the great development of the nationalist movement, which manifested itself in the whole field of art, poetry also ended by entering on new paths.

(d) The national literature

After the Revolution of 1908, it was the ideal of Ottomanism (*otmânîlî*) that animated the governing classes. But the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; it was a literary circle which lasted only a short time; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal; the political events which rapidly followed, soon proved that this ideal was a chimera, by the attitude of the Muslim elements no less than by that of the Christians. The Turkish element, which was dominant in the empire, thus needed a new ideal;
Yusuf. The movement was violently opposed by the followers of a badly-understood occidentalism (Özbek-şiihlük) on the one side, and by the partisans of Pan-Islamism (tülkü-İslâm) on the other. At the same time, the periodical Genç vật Kalemier, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziya (Diya) Gök Alp [see gökalp, ziya] a member of the Committee of Union and Progress [see iftihat ve terakki ısmâîrîyetî] began his activities. With the transfer of the central office of the Turkish Yurtç on the one side, and by the partisans of Pan-Islamism (tülkü-İslâm) on the other. At the same time, the periodical Genç Kalemier, published at Salonika, again started, under a pretentious name, a campaign to purify the Turkish language, and Ziya (Diya) Gök Alp jointly published his book Türkçülükü esâltar (Ankara 1339/1923, Istanbul 1940, Engl. tr., Principles of Turkism, 1968). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land.

As in all branches of life, the national movement made its influence felt in literature: the syllabic metre attained the dominant position in poetry; the language was simplified; the motto "art for art's sake" was replaced by "art for life"; writers began to borrow from popular literature and its traditional forms; literature began to reflect the life and characteristics of all branches of society. Philological and historical studies were made on the works of the musician-poets, on the popular literature, the music and poems; all his life, from the time of the Balkan War to the Armistice, when he was exiled to Malta, and later during his sojourn in Dıyâr Bakr and Ankara, he displayed an uninterrupted activity: the résumé of his teaching is contained in his book Türkçülükü esâltar (Ankara 1339/1923, Istanbul 1940, Engl. tr., Principles of Turkism, 1968). His death, soon after, was a cause of general mourning throughout the land.

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devotion, a current which in Anatolia went back to the time of the Seljuks of Rûm, the Dânîhâmîns [q.v.] and the succeeding beyliks. Before they reached Anatolia, the Turks‘ Central Asian background had been strongly influenced by the Sûfîm of such holy men of Türkistan as Ahamad Yasâwî [q.v.], and this was subsequently reinforced in Anatolia by the establishment in Konya [q.v.] during the time of the Mongol invaders of the father of Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, Mawlânâ himself and his son Sültân Walad [q.v.], making this capital of the Seljuks and then city of the Kâramâns [q.v.] a centre of spirituality whose luminaries included also a figure like Sadr al-Dîn Kânî [q.v.], the stepson of Ibn ʿArabî; the influence of Ibn ʿArabî [q.v.] was to be important in later Turkish mystical thought and poetry. As well as these religious elements of pre- and early Ottoman religious life stemming from Kârûsân, there seems also to have been considerable interaction at the popular level with the Christian and even pre-Christian substrata in Anatolia.

This is probably the case with a Sûfî order like that of the Bektâshîyya [q.v.], in which a distinct Sûfî tinge is also discernible. The Bektâshî became especially strong amongst the Turkish communities of the Balkans, and remained so up to the 20th century, latterly in a somewhat clandestine manner after the official suppression of the order‘s patrons, the Janissaries, in 1826. The Mewlewî [see MAWLAWIYYA] especially strong amongst the Turkish communities of the tinge is also discernible. The Bektâshî became in which a distinct Shi‘i [q.v.], of the Bektashiyya latterly in a somewhat clandestine manner after the Balkans, and remained so up to the 20th century, included an especial emphasis on some ways a more aristocratic one, the order being linked with the dynasty and the higher reaches of the administration—included an especial emphasis on their own particular forms of dhikr and sama‘ [q.v.]. But numerous other orders such as the Khadwatiyya, Şâhidîyya and Naşhindîyya [q.v.] were to play important roles until the official suppression of the orders and their tekkûs by Artûrûk in 1926, and the Sûfî element in Turkish popular religious life is by no means unimportant today [see e.g. NURÇULUK].

A product of this very perceptible Sûfî imprint is further seen in Sûfism‘s contribution to Ottoman literature, in both its Turkish and Persian emblems, in the tradition of the simple mystical poems and hymns of Yûnûs Emre (d. 721/1321 [q.v.]), exemplified in the Bektâshî hymns of the 9th/15th century poet Kayghusuz Abdal [q.v.]. Also, prose hagiographical works in both Persian and Turkish developed from the simple cubes of such small mosques as that of Hâjjî Ozbek at Iznik (734/1333). Tillodge. From this court, steps led to the dome lit by an oculus. From this court, steps led to the fine monumental complex to Mehemmed §ehzade in Istanbul, built by ʿAtîlî Sinân, failed to accommodate this influence, but the mosque of Bâyezîd II (911/1505) achieved a rigid version. Both mosques had grand courtyards and re-used Byzantine columns. At the Bâyezidiyye, the bulky minarets [see MANÂRÂ] set abnormally far apart were the last before the evolution of the slender, stone style which were emblems of Ottoman supremacy.

In 1537, Sinân ʿAbd ul-Mennân [q.v.] was appointed chief architect. As a soldier, he was trained in organising large work forces and supplies. His strictly-disciplined subordinates could carry out his plans independently from the immaculate mosque of Selîm II, at Karapınar (971/1564) to the elaborate foundation of Murâd III, at Karaman (987/1586). At Sinân’s memorial complex to Mehemmed Şehzade in Istanbul (955/1548), four semi-domes brought the centralised plan to a logical conclusion, but the subordinate buildings of the complex lacked significant unity. This was achieved with the much larger educational and charitable complex (see KULÎLIYYE) built for Sûleymbânî in Istanbul (964/1557). The mosque is set on a vast esplanade raised on massive vaults. The fine quality of the decoration, including İznik [q.v.] tiles, contrasts with the puritanical structure where no stone is purely ornamental. The subordinate courtyards are remarkable, and in that of the hostel, where the corner columns are the same size as the rest, a sense of flowing movement is achieved in the Italian Renaissance manner.

Sinân was skilled in the use of awkward sites. At the mosque-medrese of Şokollu Mehmend Pâsha [q.v.] in Kadirgâra (780/1572), broad staircases lead up to the mosque-like courtyard to the central hall of the college. The tiled mabâb wall is unvarnished. At Edirne [q.v.], Sinân built his masterpiece for Selim II. The use of eight piers inside create a sense of circular movement, and the decoration is sparingly but splendidly used. The four minarets abutting the dome are the tallest in Islam (70.89 m) and the dome is as broad as that of Hagia Sophia (31.28 m). Only the work of...
Sinan's most gifted student, Dawud Agha, absorbed the influence of the Selimiye at the mosque of Nihârandî Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul (997/1588). The mosque of Mehmed Agha in Istanbul (1026/1617) and the betailed Yeni Valide Camii at Eminönü (1074/1663) ended the Sinan era.

The palaces of Topkapı and at Edirne expanded pavilion-by-pavilion, and the Baghâd Köşk (1048/1638), built for Murâd IV at the former of these, is the noblest Ottoman room. Grander domestic architecture centred on a first floor chamber with rooms at each corner. The 18th and 19th centuries built standard wooden-frame mansions capable of infinite variation, often to create rectangular spaces where a site was mishapen.

Newshirli İbrahim Pasha and Ahmed III [q.v.] imported a modified French rocco which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABIL]. The flowering of imported a modified French rococo which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABIL]. The flowering of imported a modified French rococo which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABIL]. The flowering of imported a modified French rococo which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABIL]. The flowering of imported a modified French rococo which blossomed into elegant water kiosks [see SABIL].

The carpets termed by scholars "Ottoman" are in fact an atypical sub-group of Turkish carpets, utilising a technique technically related to that of the Mamlûk carpets of Egypt, and patterns stemming from 16th-century designs created in the Mamlûk-Marâqeh [q.v.] on the Bosphorus were massively built, but their architecture owed much to that of their enemies. Köşks (kiosks, belvederes) were, in a sense, permanent tents.

The 19th century was dominated by the buildings of the Balkan family, whose palaces included those at Dolmabâche (1270/1853) and Beylerbey (1282/1865) on the shores of the Bosphorus. They built extensively in the Beaux Arts style. Foreign architects dominated commercial building, but Kemâl-ü-Din led a revivalist movement. His fourth Wâkî Khan in Istanbul (1335/1916) achieved monumentality, but generally, pastiche replaced that discipline which was at the heart of Ottoman architecture.

ple, is extensively documented in Russian archives, and the Orthodox sacerdotal garments made from Ottoman silk frequently bear embroidered Russian dates and inscriptions.

The artistic as well as the commercial history of silk in the Ottoman empire is enormously complex [see Harik]. While it has long been known that the Bursa silk market was a major source of cocoons for the Italian silk-weaving industry, it now appears that there was close collaboration between Turkey and Italy in weaving finished silks as well; many fine silk fabrics which technically appear to be within the Italian orbit exhibit impeccably Ottoman designs.

Both artistic traditions emerged in the 15th century, owing much to the Mamlûk silks woven in Syria or Egypt, including the popular ogival or diaphanous design format. Typically Turkish floral motifs, such as the ubiquitous tulip blossom, actually appear in Italian 15th-century silks depicted by quattrocento painters such as Uccello, while the earliest surviving Turkish examples with the motif probably date from the early sixteenth century. Fifteenth-century Turkish sources abound with references to Ottoman silks, such as the famous zatma velvets of Bursa, but few examples seem to have survived.

By the mid-16th century Ottoman silks are more easily documentable, in part through their appearance in dateable European paintings, in part from their use in dateable European sacerdotal garments, but primarily through their depiction in Turkish historical manuscript illustrations and through the growing use of designs originating in the nakkâb-khâne in the arts of textile-weaving, ceramics, carpets, bookbinding, and architectural decoration, each of which may help serve as collateral dating for the others. Large numbers of 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman silks are preserved in museums and collections worldwide.

In the 16th century and later, Bursa continued to be a major source of velvets (zatma, kadiye), whose designs tended to be more traditional; the brocaded silks (seraser, kemkâha, serenk and zerbâft), on the other hand, appear to have been woven in or near Istanbul, and their designs show an astounding variety based on the full repertoire of motifs and styles in use in the nakkâb-khâne. In addition, an important subgroup of 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman silks with figural designs and Christian—specifically Orthodox—iconography were woven for use in Orthodox churches both within the Empire and in Russia.

Some of these textiles appear to have been woven directly under court control or on court commission by members of the ehl-i hâfez; new research indicates that there is a wide variety of technical quality exhibited in pieces of similar design, possibly an indication of differences between finer pieces woven for the court on commission, and somewhat coarser silks woven for export or for sale in the bazaar. Ottoman documents from the early 16th century onward indicate that maintaining standards of quality in textiles was a concern both for the mahkeme and for the law courts.

In addition to the artistically important carpets and silks, Ottoman weaving centres from Damascus to Kâhta, Iznik, Nizza, and Kavalla served as sources for commercial sale; many such manufactories also produced goods destined for the army. It is quite difficult to identify specific surviving examples of this kind of weaving, as they are without dateable design or ornamentation. Because of their low value very few examples have been preserved, except occasionally as military booty and trophies in European collections.

Later Ottoman woven textiles in general show a marked decline in artistic and technical quality from those of the 15th until the 17th centuries; the exception is the tradition of Ottoman domestic embroidery, which continued to produce works of high artistic quality through the 19th century.


(W. B. DENNY)

VII. CERAMICS, METALWORK AND MINOR ARTS

(a) Ceramics
The Saldıbek tradition of glazed pottery and tiles of a hard, white composite ware found at Konya and at Koubadabad [q.v.] in the 12th-13th centuries AD was superseded in Anatolia by a crude red earthenware, covered with a white slip and decorated in blue, green, purple or black under a lead glaze. This simple, utilitarian ware, misnamed "Miletus" ware after large quantities were excavated in that town [see miâtas], was in fact produced at Iznik. At Bursa in the early 15th century, the Yeşil Cami and Yeşil Türbe were elaborated and decorated with cuerda seca tiles, in Timurid style; the names of the tilemakers, "the masters of Tâbrîz" and "Muhammad al-Madjnûn", are recorded on the tilework, as well as the fact that the decoration in the Yeşil Cami was completed in 1424 AD by ʿAli b. Ilyâs ʿAli (Nakkâsh ʿAli). The Yeşil Türbe contains the elaborated tiled cenotaph of Mehmed I (1413-21) and a fine mihrâb in similar style. In the second Ottoman capital, hexagonal tiles of off-white ware decorated in underglaze blue with a wide variety of designs are found in the mosque of Murând II, built in 1435. The mihrâb is a mixture of cuerda seca and underglaze elements, these, like the hexagonal tiles, betray a strong influence of imported Yuan and early Ming Chinese porcelain, arguing that such imported blue-and-white was already a current feature of Ottoman life before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

With the establishment of the capital in Istanbul, a new industry flourished there, to supply both vessels and tiles. Both were made of a hard, white composite ware similar in composition to the fritware produced in Kahân described in Abu ʿl-Kâsim's treatise on ceramic manufacture of 1301 AD, suggesting an influx of new technology rather than the development of the existing Edirne-Iznik tradition. Initially decorated in cobalt blue, a supplementary turquoise was added by the first quarter of the 16th century, and later a full range of softer colours by the mid-16th century, culminating in the brilliant colours of the mature Iznik style from c. 1565 onwards, with cobalt and turquoise blue, viridian, and a relief red apaly compared to sealing-wax in appearance. While the early monochrome blue designs were in a tart, manuscript style with strong Chinese influence, by the middle of the 16th century Iznik ware develops a distinctive iconography of elaborate floral and arabesque forms on a white ground and this is continued in a great quantity for the new mosques, palaces and other buildings in the city; acknowledged as the finest is the mosque of Rûstem Paşa [q.v.] (1561). Iznik ware was also appreciated outside Ottoman Turkey, and has been found as far afield as the Crimea, in Hungary, England, Germany and Nubia.

The history of the Iznik industry is further complicated by the existence of a parallel industry at
Kütahya [q. v.] in western Anatolia; two inscribed and dated pieces of 1510 and 1529 AD have Armenian texts and refer to Kütahya as the place of manufacture; they are in the general Iznik style. Further, texts refer to the continuing production of Kütahya ware in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the precise identification of these wares is the subject of current research.

By the mid-17th century, the Iznik industry had more or less collapsed, with the withdrawal of Ottoman court patronage, and a minor factory was established at Tekfur Saray in Istanbul, as well as provincial manufactories in Diyarbakir and in Syria, working in a provincial style. A major work was the restoration of the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem, undertaken by Sultan Süleyman from 952/1564-5 onwards. The Jerusalem tiles were made in situ by Persian craftsmen who had previously been employed for the decoration of a number of royal structures in Istanbul in the cuarda seca technique. In Jerusalem, the decoration is in tile mosaic and cuarda seca, and underglaze tiles developed independently of the Iznik tradition. An inscription above the north porch is signed "Abd Allah of Tabriz" and dated 959/1551-2.

In the 18th century, the Kütahya industry came into its own, with Armenian potters producing both tiles and pottery in a new style. A major enterprise was the manufacture of a series of tiles with Biblical subjects, and pottery in a new style. A major work was the decoration, of Balkan origin; a number of these are parallel to Turkish design in other crafts, notably in ceramics and textile design.

century there was a considerable production of silver vessels, particularly of bowls with repoussé and engraved decoration, of Balkan origin; a number of these are stamped with the jügfer of Bayezid II (1481-1512), and it has been noted that their patterns of interlacing arabesques had a direct influence on the design of early Iznik monochrome blue ceramic ware of the same period. Like the other arts, decorative metalwork reached its peak during the mid-16th century, and many examples remain in the Ottoman treasury of Top Kapı Saray, amongst the most distinguished of which is undoubtedly the sword made for Süleyman the Magnificent with its "chinoiserie" panels of dragons and phoenixes in relief, its ivory hilt inlaid with gold arabesques and cloud-scrolls, and its elegant gold relief Arabic ishlih inscription on both sides of the steel blade dedicating it to Süleyman and dated 933/1526-7; see Rogers and Ward (1988), no. 83. The spine bears Persian nasîhî verses and the name of the craftsman, Ahmed Tekkelu.

 Mention should also be made of the use of gold inlay and gem settings on vessels of other materials, such as jade, zinc and even imported Chinese porcelain (Krahô, 1986).

(c) Bookbinding

The art of bookbinding in the Ottoman empire continued the general tradition of Islamic bookbinding, the salient features of which were the use of a triangular envelope flap to protect the fore-edge of the textblock, the linkstitch sewing of the gatherings or fascicules, the use of traditional Islamic chevron endbands, often of contrasting coloured threads, and the joining of the textblock to the covers with hinged doublures. See Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge (1981) for a detailed description of these characteristic features, based on an analysis of mediaeval bindings, early bookbinders' manuals (cf. Bosch, 1961) and modern practice in the Islamic world.

The design of Turkish bindings follows the Timurid tradition of the 14th-15th centuries as exemplified at Harât and Tabriz (cf. Aslanapa, 1979), often with a pointed central medallion either stamped or built up from individual petit fer motifs, with quarter-medallions at the corners. Titles were often incorporated on the spine (Islamic books being designed to be stored horizontally, rather than vertically as in the European tradition). A particularly Turkish feature was the use of marbled papers (qirâ) for the lining of the covers. For more lavish courtly bindings, instead of pastebord, covers were made of expensive materials such as jade, tortoise-shell, and gold and silver cloth, further embellished with precious stones, jewels and pearls set in gold mounts.

The binders themselves would have been an integral part of the nakkâh-khâne [q. v.] or court scrip-
torium, generally credited with being the inspiration and source of designs for all the Ottoman crafts, though the importance of the role of the nakkâh-khâne in standardising Ottoman taste may be somewhat ex-
aggerated. While the tradition of arabesque ornament continues, along with foreign elements such as the Chinese cloud-scroll, specifically Ottoman elements include spiral designs of tiny rosettes, bold asymmetrical compositions in the feathery cloud style, and even the use of naturalistic floral motifs—all of which parallel Turkish design in other crafts, notably in ceramics and textile design.

(d) Glass-making

Although the Ottoman empire came to include a region of great importance for the history and evolution of glass-making, sc. the Syro-Egyptian littoral, the indigenous tradition in Syria was ended by
Timur's deportation in 1400 of the Syrian craftsmen to Samarqand. In a curious reversal of roles, the Ottomans, Marcan-tonio Barbaro, ordering from Venice for Istanbul 900 mosque lamps of two different types, for which he supplied two drawings.

But at least as early as the late 16th century, there was glass-making in Istanbul itself, for in 1582 a Turkish guilds procession included glass-blowers on their imperial tour. Throughout the 17th century, imported European glass was very popular, often featuring in diplomatic exchanges of presents, and by the early 18th century Bohemian glass became a significant export of the Habsburg empire. There were Bohemian glassware in Istanbul, Izmir, Beirut and Cairo. Even English and Spanish glass was imported into Turkey at this time.

From the late 18th century onwards, the local glass-making tradition was well established in Turkey, with a factory founded at Beykoz on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus, and workshops sprang up in nearby villages throughout the 19th century. The earliest Beykoz ware appears to have been of clear glass, often with sprigged gold decoration; the more typical opaque glass with enamel decoration dates from the mid-19th century. The most popular form was the rose-water sprinkler, with a threaded, pierced glass stopper and floral decoration in gold and enamel colours. Other shapes included ewers, cups and tulip-shaped vases, dishes and covered bowls, and also fantastic pieces in the shapes of doves and pistols. The highly-successful modern glass industry at Paşabâche is located close to Beykoz on the Asiatic shore.


With the expansion of the empire's eastern and
western frontiers during the reigns of Selim I (1512-20) and Süleyman I (1520-66), an increasing number of artists joined the nakkash-name from Persia, Syria and Egypt in the east and the Balkan provinces in the west, bringing an eclectic style into Ottoman painting. The literary taste of the time called for Persian classics and for works in Çaghatay Turkish by 'Ali Şir Newâi. Illustrated copies of Newâi's works (Khamsa dated 937/1530-1 in TSM, H. 802, and Dituâns ca. 1530 in TSM, R. 804, 806) combine features from the Harât, Şirâz and Tabriz schools of painting representing the style of Bâyezid II's period. It was with the illustrated historical manuscripts produced in Süleyman I's reign that a distinctive school of painting was established, to reach its classical age in the reign of Murâd III (1574-95).

The outstanding feature of Ottoman painting is the genre of illustrated histories unmatched by any other Islamic painting school. Predominating in the 16th century, these histories written by the official paid annalists, the şahâ-nâme, and illustrated at the court studios, visually recreated the achievements of the sultans, their appearance and activities with documentary realism. When illustrating scenes of accession ceremonies, military campaigns, receptions or royal hunts, the Ottoman artist had to introduce a new iconography for which no prototypes existed in other schools of Islamic painting. The monumental illustrated history of the Ottoman Empire written in five volumes by Arifi, annalist at Süleyman I's court, documented historical events and served as a prototype for future artists in iconography and compositional schemes (e.g. Süleyman-name, TSM, H. 1517 dated 965/1558). A series of histories were written in the second half of the 16th century by Lokmân, Arifi's successor, and illustrated by a group of artists headed by Othmân, in which a classical Ottoman style was achieved by eliminating foreign elements and formalising rigidly observed compositions, strong colours and powerful figures. The Tarih-i Sultân Süleyman on the life of Süleyman I (Chester Beatty Library, T. 413, dated 987/1579), Şahâ-nâme-i Selim Khan on Selim II (TSM, A. 3595, dated 989/1581), the two-volume Hân-nâme covering the history of the Ottomans (TSM, H. 1525 and 1524, dated 1584 and 1588) and the Sur-nâme narrating the royal circumcision festival of 1582 (TSM, H. 1344, dated ca. 1582) replete with illustrations, all realistically documenting the events, personages and their settings, mirror the political and social history of the empire in the 16th century.

This realistic approach was maintained in religious manuscripts as well. The Ottomans' interest in their ancestry resulted in the production of world histories where the sultans are linked genealogically with the prophets. The illustrations in Lokmân's Zübett al-tevarîh (Türk Islam Eserleri Müzesi, 1973, TSM, H. 1321 (Bl., T. 414, dated 1583-86) and the six-volume work on the life of Prophet Muhammad, the Sîyer-i Nebî dated 1595 (TSM, H. 1221, 22, 23, CBL, T. 419 and New York Public Library), follow the compositional schemes in the historical manuscripts.

One other distinctive genre in Ottoman painting is royal portraiture. Set by Mehmed II, the tradition of portraiture continued into the 16th century with works by Nigârî, who painted Süleyman I, Selim II and Khâyri al-Din Barbarossa [q.v.] (TSM, H. 2134). Later in the century, portrait albums were produced. A Şahâ-nâme-i-name describing the appearance of the first twelve sultans, written by Lokmân in 1579 and illustrated by Othmân, set a model for all later images of the sultans (TSM, H. 1563, İstanbul Universitesi Kütüphâni T. 6088).

Interest in imperial histories resulted in one other feature of Ottoman painting, namely topographical illustration, which was foreshadowed early in the 16th century in the works of Pirî Re'is [q.v.], captain and cartographer known for his sea charts and map of the Atlantic Ocean. The works of Nâsîh al-Matrâşı al-Sîlähi [q.v.], an officer and historian who wrote and illustrated Süleyman I's campaigns, are the basic examples of this genre (e.g. Beşân-i menâzî-i sefer-i İtrâk, dated 1584-7, and Zâcînâme, TSM, H. 1608, dated ca. 1543). Topographical illustrations continued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries in historical manuscripts.

With the empire entering a period of stagnation in the 17th century, there was a decline in the production of illustrated histories. The artist, no longer having to record imperial achievements, turned to single-figure studies and scenes from daily life. Along with the westernising efforts of the sultans in the 18th century, painting took a new course. During Ahmed III's reign (1703-30) the last manuscript of a historical nature was produced by the poet Wehbi and painter Lewni. The illustrations of the Sur-nâme (TSM, A. 3593) relating the circumcision festival of 1721 are full of innovative elements such as shading and perspective. Lewni and his contemporary Bukhârî also painted single figures dressed in glorious costumes. Costume studies were produced throughout the century, the best examples being displayed in the Khubân-name and the Zanân-name of 1206/1793 (İUK, T. 5502), where figures seem to have acquired European postures and more volume. The same is true for the sultans' portraits painted in the 18th and 19th centuries. Manuscript illustration ended in the 19th century, and other forms of painting, such as painting on walls and small furniture, emerged with easel painting in the western sense taking over at the end of the century.


(Günsel Renda)
IX. NUMISMATICS
When Īmân b. Ertoghrul (ca. 699-724/1300-24) established his base in Sogiid in Bithynia there was a probable change in the coinage of any kind in circulation. The principal Islamic coin he would have encountered was the Rûm Sâlîdî coin, dirham. The Byzantinebasilikon, the Venetian grosso and smaller dmier-sized silver from various European mints may also have been found in trade or as booty of war. The Rûm Sâlîdî coinage continued to be based on the classic Islamic dirham, weighing 2.8-2.9 gr., until the coinage reform of the Ilkhan Mâhîdî Qâhzaan (694/1295-1304) in 696/1297. However, with the continued devaluation of the new coinage under Qâhzaan’s successors, Oldjeytû (703-16/1304-16) and Abû Sa’îd (716-36/1316-35 [q. e. v.]), the eastern Islamic world gave up the long-established currency system of dinårs and dirhams, whose metrology was enshrined in the Shāri’â, for one where the weight standard was regularly manipulated (and usually devalued) by the governing powers.

Oldjeytû’s early 8th/14th century coinage in Western Anatolia consisted of light silver dirhams weighing about one gramme, but the earliest known Ottoman coin, struck in the name of Īmân b. Ertoghrul, weighs 0.62 gr. Following his capture of the city of Bursa, ca. 726, Oldjhan b. Îmân (724-61/1324-60) issued his first coin, an akçe, weighing about 1.10 gr based on a conventional Ilkhanîd prototype, with the kalîma and the names of the four Orthodox Caliphs on the obverse, and that of the ruler and mint (Brusa) on the reverse with the date 726 written out in Arabic in the margin. Oldjhan issued several subsequent series of akçes, all without mint names or dates, the last of which, introduced after the Ottomans obtained their first foothold on the European shore of the Dardanelles at Gallipoli ca. 752, was notable because it omitted his father’s name. A special five-akçe weight, 3.80 gr., issue of this type also was struck, probably as a donative for Oldjhan’s victorious troops.

Oldjhan’s son and successor, Mûrât I (761-91/1360-89) issued three types of akçes, one, ca. 762, with a line dividing the reverse field, a second, ca. 772, with two lines dividing the obverse and reverse fields, and a third, ca. 782, which was the first to omit the kalîma, the four names and the three lines dividing the reverse field. Mûrât also struck copper manghirs in his own name, one with the unusual date of Ramazân 790.

Bâyezîd I (791-804/1389-1402) continued his father’s practice of numbering his issues. The first has a numeral 4 and the date 792 on the reverse, and the second, ca. 802, has a pellet on the dividing lines. These early issues simply give the names of the ruler without any titles. When Tûmîr invaded Western Anatolia and overthrew Bâyezîd at the Battle of Ankara in 804/1402, Bâyezîd’s four sons competed for the former Ottoman territories. Amîr Sûleymanî held Rumelia and struck coins in Edirne dated 806 and 813. Mîhemmed Çelebi held Bursa and Amasya, where he issued coins first acknowledging Tûmîr as overlord, then, after Tûmîr’s death, in his own right. Mîsâ Çelebi struck coinage in Edirne in 813 and Mûrât II in Edirne and Serez in 822 and 824.

After his consolidation of power Mîhemmed (816-24/1413-21) struck coins dated 816 on which he called himself al-Sûlîn, but he removed this title, probably at the urging of the Tûmîrids, on his 822 issue. Mûrât II (824-48 and 850-5/1421-44 and 1446-51) struck a one-year issue dated 824 and a second in 825 from various mints in Rumelia and Anatolia. On these he inscribed his name in a tugalî, a practice introduced by Amîr Sûleymanî in 806. On Mûrât’s third issue of 834 the obverse and reverse are divided by two interlaced lines without a tugalî. After his first abdication his son Mehemmed II (first reign 848-50/1444-46) issued akçes bearing the date 848, and when Mûrât II resumed power he copied his son’s coinage, unobtrusively changing the order from Mehemmed b. Mûrât to Mûrât b. Mehemmed by moving the position of the word ibn from the left to the right of the names.

Until the 848 issue the weight of the akçe had remained roughly constant at 1.1 gr, but during Mehemmed II’s second reign (855-86/1451-81) it was regularly reduced each time a new issue was introduced, first in 855, and then in 865, which was the first coinage to experiment by striking a ten-akçe coin, the akçe-i hazire. His fifth issue was dated 880, and two years later he brought out the first Ottoman gold coin, the sultânî, which adopted the weight standard of the Venetian ducat, ca. 3.52 gr. A second gold issue was dated 883 and a third 885. In the last year of Mehemmed’s life his sixth and last series of akçes was struck with the date 886. After the death of the Timûrid Shâh Rûkh (807-50/1404-46), Mehemmed cast aside his inhibitions over the use of titles, and introduced two royal styles that were to remain in use for centuries. The first was Sulânî al-barayn wa-ghânîn al-bahrayn al-Sâlîn ibn al-Sâlîn and the second Dârîb al-nâdîr wa-sâbîh al-izz wa l-nâs fi l-bahr wa l-bahr. Like his forebears he also struck manghirs in his own name in several mints.

On the accession of Bâyezîd II (886-91/1481-1512) it was decided to date the coinage by the sultan’s accession year rather than by issue as had been the previous practice. This was probably to avoid public anger caused by the repeated debasements of the akçe under Mehemmed II. The short-lived rebellion of Djin b. Mehemmed was marked by an issue of akçes from Bursa following the design of his father’s last coinage dated 886. Bâyezîd II also struck coins in Gelibolu (Gallipoli) and Trabzon (Trebizond). The dies for the latter may actually have been cut by his son and successor Selîm Shâh whose private crafsmanship in die-cutting rivals that of his father’s. The official Ottoman coinage from both Rumelia and Anatolia was uniform in style, and was, in effect, the ‘national’ coinage of the Ottomans.

With the conquests of Selîm I (918-26/1512-20) and his son Süleymanî (926-74/1520-66) the character of the Ottoman coinage developed from a national to an imperial one. After Selîm conquered Syria and Egypt he continued the coinage of the Burdji Mamlûks who struck gold qabariys substantially lighter than the contemporary Ottoman sultanîs, and silver medins based on the half-dirhâm, which by then was considerably heavier than the Ottoman akçe. Selîm also introduced the custom of striking conquest coins to signal the submission of the important towns he had captured, including Amîd (Diyarbakîr), Bitlîs, Dimâlûq (Damascus), Halab (Aleppo), al-Djazira, Hisn Kayf and al-Rumî (Constantinople) [q. v.].

Sûleymanî I retained a uniform akçe coinage for Rumelia and Anatolia. After the Ottomans conquered the Maghrib the broad flan heavy weight gold coinage of the Zîyânids of Tîlîmân (Tlemcen) remained in use, as did the square silver nasrî of formerly Hafsid Tunisia. After the conquest of ‘Irâk and Adhar-îbâdîân from the Safawîs, a heavier miqâli-weight silver coinage was introduced for use in these lands,
but shortly thereafter its weight was reduced by a quarter. Under Suleyman's son Selim II (974-82/1566-74) minting activity declined, but Murad III (982-1003/1574-95) and Mehmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) expanded the number of mints to no fewer than fifty, the greatest in Ottoman history.

During Murad III's reign the Empire was engulfed by a tidal wave of silver from the New World. European traders imported silver in coin and bullion in order to purchase gold which they then exported and sold in Western Europe at considerable profit. As a result the akce suffered a rapid devaluation, producing both inflation and great hardship for the peoples of the empire. This decline in prosperity was reflected by a decrease in the number of active mints and a great scarcity of gold coinage struck in the names of Ahmed I (1012-26/1603-17), Mustafa I (1026-7 and 1031-2/1617-8 and 1622-3), 'Othman II (1027-31/1618-22), and Murad IV (1032-49/1623-40). The quick succession of sultans demanded frequent distributions of dulk adedagh, accession donations, which required the modification of existing types of coinage, the most needed to defend the state against its enemies.

'Otthmâni Il was the first to issue ten-akce coins in large numbers, because by then the one akce's weight had fallen to 0.30 gr and a larger coin was needed for everyday use. The ten-akce was rapidly debased under Mustafa I and in the economic crises of Murad IV's reign. Midway through the latter Kemâneşh Kara Mustafa Paşa attempted to revive and protect the coinage by closing down most of the provincial mints in Rumelia and Anatolia, and introduced the para, valued at five akces, to the Constantinople currency. This reform was continued in Ibrâhim's reign (1049-58/1640-8), when the Constantinople coinage consisted of the 10, 5, 2 and 1-akce, and Egypt's of the gold sulânî, the medin valued at 5 akces and the 1-akce. Since the reign of Bayezid II, the striking of copper manghâls had been the prerogative of local tax farmers who forced the public to buy new issues in return for payment in silver or gold. By now, however, the purchasing power of coinage had fallen so low that it had virtually disappeared from circulation.

The spiral of economic decline continued under Mehemmed IV (1058-99/1648-87), when the striking of silver and gold virtually ceased in Constantinople, and the currency was decimated marked against the Venetian ducat, or sequin. It continued to appear sporadically in Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli, and there are also unique examples of gold coins from Belgrade and Bagdad. During the 11th/17th century European coinage virtually supplanted that of the Ottomans in their own territories, because the population had lost trust in the products of their local mints. In the last year of Mehemmed's reign a European renegade called Frenk Mustafa was called upon to reform the Constantinople mint. His first act was to prepare dies of very high artistic quality to return a sense of pride to the imperial mint, and a few specimens of this work have survived.

The accession of Suleyman II (1099-1102/1687-91) saw three major reforms. The first was to strike broad flan gold coins for conversion into jewellery, the second introduced a large-sized silver coinage on the European pattern made up of the zolota, 18.5-19.7 gr, and half-zolota, 8.65-9.85 gr, and, most important, a new copper coinage to compensate for the great shortage of silver akces. The new manghâl bore the sultan's tugra on the obverse and was originally valued at one akce. Its great popularity led to the opening of a second mint for copper in Saray Bosna (Sarajevo) in 1609, and for a time its value rose to two akces. By the time Ahmed II (1102-6/1691-5) acceded, however, its value had plunged to virtually nothing, and it was withdrawn soon after. Ahmed II's coinage followed the pattern established by Suleyman II.

Fresh attempts at reform were made under Mustafa II (1106-15/1695-1703). He added mints in Edirne, Izmir and Erzurum to that of Constantinople so that European and Safawid coins could be restruck as they reached the frontiers of the state. A new gold coinage called the aghraji, bearing the sultan's tugra, was introduced to replace the discredited sulânî, as was a kurîsh valued at 120 akces compared to the 90-akce zolota, but both were too scarce to prevent the economic chaos caused by the wars with Austria.

During the reign of Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30) the coinage was repeatedly taken in hand, and a degree of stability was established. In the early years the aghraji and zolota with the mint name Kustantiniyya were the dominant coins. These were succeeded by a gold funduk, or zargiri alam, bearing only the sultan's tugra on the obverse and dariba of 'Isâm b. Murad on the reverse, accorded the value of the former 40 paras or 120 akces, whose theoretical weight was approximately 24 gr, with its fractions half, quarter and eighth. In the last years of Ahmed's reign, a three-quarters weight gold coin, 2.64 gr, was introduced, called the zar-i mahbub. Both this and the funduk had fractional and multiple denominations in the broad- span zinet, ornamented jewellery coins. This coinage pattern continued under Mahmid I (1143-68/1730-54) and 'Otthmâni Il (1168-71/1754-7). The Barbary regencies continued to strike gold coins whose weight was comparable to the Venetian sequin and the Constantinople funduk, while the silver coinage maintained various standards based on local usage, but was struck in the name of the sultan as nominal overlord. These coins were dated by the actual year of their striking rather than by accession year only, as they were in Constantinople and Cairo.

Under Mustafa III (1171-87/1757-74), the coinage of Constantinople became even more complex, consisting of the gold funduk and half-funduk, the zar-i mahbub and its half, the zinet, 5, 3 and 1 1/2 funduk, the silver kurîsh series, full, 40 para, half, 20 para, quarter, 10 para and eighth, 5 para, and the double zolota, 60 para, the zolota, 30 para and the half-zolota, 15 para. There was also the double para, and the akce itself. At this time the Constantinople mint modified the traditional dating system by placing the actual year of striking on the coin, abbreviated to (1171) 1-9 and (11) 80-87 as well as the accession year. With the accession of Abd-ul-Hamid I (1187-1203/1774-89) came the final change when coins were dated both by accession year and dulk adedagh (regnal) year. (The actual date of striking is found by subtracting one from the number of regnal years and adding the remainder to the accession year.) In 1203, the last year of Abd-al-Hamid's reign, the double kurîsh, 80 para, was introduced to meet the cost of the war with Russia. Selim III (1203-22/1789-1807), added the silver 100 para (1/2 kurîsh) to the series. Towards the end of his rule an imbalance in the gold and silver ratio caused an increase in the amount of gold and a decrease in that of silver placed in circulation.

The coinage of Egypt was the Ottomans' primary source of gold, whose tribute was of the greatest importance to the imperial finances, became more prominent during this period. Its minor coinage was still based on the medin, now a debased and ugly little coin which people stored in their cheeks to keep it from being lost in the seams of their robes or blown away by the Khâmin winds. Following 'Ali Pasha's
revolt in 1183 Egypt struck its first large-size silver coins, the kurush, half and quarter. When the French seized Egypt during Selim III's reign the Cairo mint issued its broadside goals and quarters bearing the regnal year 13, and then, when Ottoman authority was restored, another issue with the "sun" of Shemsi Paşa to the left of the tughra was struck in the year 16.

Selim's overthrow in 1222/1807 led to the enthronement of the feeble Muştafa IV (1222-3/1807-8). By this time the coinage of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli (Tarabulus al-Gharb) had undergone a major revival thanks to the proceeds of piracy in the Mediterranean. This was due mainly to the introduction of the gold quarter, the quarter kurush, in gold, but allied their silver coinage to the Spanish eight reales, striking double, single, half and quarter real dirhams with the approximate weight and fineness of the Spanish silver coinage. The Beys of Tunis were too poor to sustain a gold coinage, and issued a billion riyâl/kurush, half and quarter. In Tarabulus al-Gharb, now held by the Karamânlî dynasty [q.v.], the sulûname remained in use, but was of varying quarter face to find circulation largely as a means of raising taxes from their unhappy subjects.

The coinage of Mahmûd II (1225-55/1808-39) is the most complex in Ottoman history, and the word "chaos" might most aptly describe it. Many points concerning it are still obscure. At the beginning of the reign it was still traditional in form, but the tremendous political and economic upheavals of the time transformed it into something new and different. A bewildering variety of gold and silver coins were in circulation whose exchange rates fluctuated constantly, whose weights and alloys were inconsistent with one another, and whose designs and legends departed from past conventions. Added to this was the usual host of foreign coins circulating in the Empire, as well as counterfeit coins which created further confusion in the public mind.

The financial situation was never easy, and often desperate, with the state living from hand to mouth, and the manipulation of coinage was seen as an unavoidable expedient to help close the wide gap between income and expenditure. By this time the government fully appreciated that debasing the coinage was self-defeating, and that a stable medium of exchange had to be created if the state was to help fund the state pensions scheme.

The most important part of the currency reform reduced seigniorage to the point where it merely covered the costs of running the mint. In the absence of any other means of raising revenue the government was forced to close the shortfall between tax receipts and expenditure through the expedient of taking government loans. This brought about the bankruptcy of the Empire and the fall of 'Abd ül-Âziz (1277-93/1861-76). He was succeeded by Murâd V, who ruled for three months in 1293/1876, 'Abd ül-Hamîd II (1293-1327/1876-1909), Mehmed V Resgâd (1327-36/1909-18) and finally Mehmed VI Wâhid al-Dîn (1336-41/1918-22). The new coinage carried the reigning sultan's tughra on the obverse, with the regnal year beneath, and on the reverse the legend "âzâ nasruhâ durbâ fi Kustantiniyâsî with the accession year. A gold zinät coinage was introduced during 'Abd ül-Hamîd's reign, the proceeds from which were used to help fund the state pensions scheme.

The most popular denominations in the currency series were the lira and the five-kurush (quarter-mabûdye). The small gold coins were used as presents on the occasion of circumcision celebrations or gifts for brides, while the large ones were converted into jewellery to be kept as family savings. The Imperial mint also struck special series of coins to commemorate the sultans' visits to Edirne in 1247/1831, Edirne in 1262/1846, Bursa in 1277/1861, Bursa in 1327/1909, Edirne in 1328/1910 and Selânik (Salonica), Monastir (Bitola) and Koşowa (Fridgehina) in 1329/1911. The last Muslim state to strike a full range of denominations: gold 500, 100, 50, 25, 10, 5, 1 kurush, and the copper 40, 20 and 10 para, and copper coinage of the medjidiyye (20 kurush) was suspended in 1295 after the fall of Selânik in the price of silver following the development of the Comstock Lode in the United States. It was reintroduced in the last year of the First World War to pay the Turkish troops fighting in Syria and Palestine.

Egypt's coinage was hampered because the minting machinery could not keep up with the needs of the province, and foreign coins circulated more freely than did local pieces. However, the Cairo mint did strike a full range of denominations: gold 500, 100, 50, 25, 10 and 5 kurush; silver 20, 10, 5, 2½, 1 kurush, 20 and 10 para, and copper 40, 20, 10, 5, 4 and 1 para. After the British Protectorate was established the coinage was taken in hand and struck in European mints from 1302/1884 onwards. This coinage continued to bear the name, and accession and regnal year of the Ottoman Sultan until the Ottomans joined the German side in the First World War, when the British deposed the Khedive 'Abbas Hilmi II [q.v.] and made his brother Husayn Kâmil [q.v.] sultan of Egypt. In Tunis the Husaynî Beys started to place their own names on the coinage during the reign of 'Abd ül-Medjid. They introduced European coinage machinery in 1263, and based their unit of value on the riyâl [q.v.] weighing 3.20 gr.
The coinage consisted of the 100, 50, 25, 10 and 5 riyal, silver of the 5, 4, 2, 1 and ½ riyal (qadr). These coins were struck in the names of both the Ottoman Sultan and the Bey of Tunis until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1298/1881.

**Bibliography:** There is an extensive literature on Ottoman numismatics, much of it in short articles, but only the principal works are mentioned in this bibliography.


(R. E. Darley-Doran)

**OTRANTO** [see ITALY].

**ÖTÊKÊN**, a forested, mountain area of Inner Asia which had a special religious and moral significance for the early Turkish peoples.

It seems to have been located in the eastern part of the Khangai Mts. along the headwaters of the Orkhon and Tamir rivers (the latter river corresponding, according to R. Giraud, *L'Empire des T'uyuq*, pp. 80-104). It was the heartland of the Kaghans of the Eastern Türk or the Khaqan who constituted their empire in the latter 7th century A.D. (see W. Thomsen, *Alltürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in ZDMG, lviii [1924], 123-6; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1951, 131-2, 154, Eng. tr. 106, 561 n. 2). It was a region of cosmic significance for these Turks, the navel of the world, a holy site, idur Ötükên yihş "sacred, forested Ötükên", mentioned many times in the Kül Tigin and Tonyukuk inscriptions of the Eastern Türk empire and also in the Tariyat and Sine Usu ones from the 750s of the Uyghurs who succeeded in Mongolia to the Eastern Türk Kaghans, although it was probably not the only sacred site for the Turks. In the annals of T'ang China, it appears as Yu-tou-kin (see P. Pelliot, *Le mont Yu-tou-kin (Ütökên) des anciens T'ues*, in *T'oung-Pao*, xxvi [1929], 212-19). The religious significance of Ötükên later passed to the Mongols who came to this region of Inner Asia, appearing in the 13th century as the Mongol earth and fertility goddess Atügin or Itügan (John of Plano Carpini's Itoqa, see W. Heissig, *Die religions der Mongolen, Sibirier und die Mongol. Geschichte* and Tonyukuk, 1841-4; the Mongols' sacred mountain region of Burkhan Galdun played for them the rôle which Ötükên had earlier played for the Turks).

Only the name, without consciousness of Ötükên's part in the life of the early Turks, persisted into the Islamic period: Mahmûd Kâshgârî (late 5th/11th century [q. v.] defines Ütükên as "the name of a place in the Tarâr deserts near the Uyghur" (Dârân 1bâghî al-turk, Tkal, tr. Atalay, i, 138, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 159), but on the map accompanying the manuscript of his dictionary he apparently places it somewhere near the source of the Irîsh river [q. v. in Suppl.] and the steppe of the Yımâk [see KIMAK] (schematic reproduction of the map in Dankoff and Kelly, *op. cit.*, i, at p. 82, and see also V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamân Tâhir Maraşı on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, comm. 73-4); obviously, Kâshgârî had only the haziest idea of Ötükên's real location.


(C. E. Bosworth)

**ÖUDH** [see AWADJ].

**ÖUDJA** [see WADJA].

**ÖUXS** [see GAYHUN].

**QYO**, a West African Yoruba empire in what is now Nigeria [q. v.] and rivalling Ile, where kingship existed from at least the 12th century. Qyo grew in importance from the 16th century with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade. The empire linked northern trade routes along the Niger with the Atlantic. Muslims from Bornu, Hausa, Nupur, the former Mali and Songhay were resident in its capital and along the route to the sea, but the Alafin, the local chief, and the vast majority of the people followed their traditional religion.

Struggle between central and provincial government produced a series of serious internal crises. At the death of the Alafin Awole in 1796, the governor of Ilorin, Afonja, broke from Qyo. To secure his independence against a resuscitating Qyo, he allied himself in 1817 with Fulani Muslims [see FULBE] connected with Sokoto [q. v.]. Their leader, Sâlib, conducted a successful djihâd against Qyo with the help of pastoral Fulani and Muslim town residents and slaves. His son 'Abd-al-Salam turned on Afonja and was recognised by Sokoto as 'Amir of Yoruba'. After a sustained campaign, by 1836 the capital, Qyo Ile, was destroyed and the heartland of the empire incorporated into the Ilorin amirate.

Ilorin's djihâd to the sea met resistance from new Qyo, Ibadan, and later the British in Lagos, but was ultimately blunted by the disappearance of its economic target, the Atlantic slave market.

Mosques of Shehzade and Süleyman, Istanbul.

Arz Odasi, Topkapi Sarayi, Istanbul.
Mehemmed II Mosque, Istanbul.
Rümelî Hisâr, İstanbul.
Mosque of Selim II, Edirne.

Central fountain, Mosque of Selim II, Edirne.
The city of Genoa, Silahname, written and illustrated by Nasih al-Marrakhi al-Silahi, TSM (Topkapi Sarayi Museları), H. 1608, fol. 32v-33r, ca. 1537.
Portrait of Mehmed II attributed to Sinan Bey, TSM, H. 2153, 10r, ca. 1475.
Süleyman hunting with his prince, Selim, Süleyman-nâme, written by ʿĀrif, TSM, H. 1517, fol. 462v, dated 1558.
Christ ascended to Heaven while a man named Feltivanus is caught mistakenly to be crucified, Zühdat al-Tevārīkh, written by Seyyid Lokmān, TSM, H. 1321, fol. 46r, dated 1585-86.

OZAN (tr.), in Turkish society “troubadour poet/singer/story-teller”. The term comes from the verb oz- “to outstrip, go ahead in the race” (see Clauson, Etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 279), already attested in Kahshgari’s [q.v.] Diction triyakt al-turk (6th/11th century), as also in the Diwdn lughid al-turk Etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Clauson, oz- “to outstrip, go ahead in the race” (see the verb ozan living tongues of Kirgiz, Sagay and Koybol of Central 9th/15th century called himself Ozan. In Turkmen, in Seljuk times. An Anatolian Turkish poet of the 9th/15th century was used for the singers who accompanied the army in Anatolia, it has survived with the meaning “popular improvisation, story, song”. At the present day, in modern Turkish, it has replaced the Arabic term ibdær (jazz).


ÖZBEG (ÖZBAC, ÜZÜK) (tr.), a term with a variety of uses in pre-modern times. 1. Historical aspects (a) As a generic term, it was applied to the Turk-Mongol nomadic tribal groups in Central Asia, especially Trans- and Cis-Oxiana and Khârazm, which from the mid-15th century onwards comprised the military support for Djuftd-Cingizíd lineages such as the Şibânids [q.v.] (Arabbáhâhids) of Khârazm (16th and 17th centuries), the Şibânids (Abu ‘l-Khayrids) of Trans- and Cis-Oxiana (16th century) and the Tukûy Timûrs (Djâïdjs [q.v.]) in Trans- and Cis-Oxiana (17th century). By the 16th century, there were two well-established traditions listing 32 or 92 distinct “ÖZBEG” tribes (il, kastem, silas, tâffy) (T.I. Sultanov, Kolyevel plemena pri-ral’ya v XV—XVII vv., Moscow 1982, 7-51). Of these, the ones which figure most prominently in the history of Khârazm [Khwa [q.v.]] and Trans- and Cis-Oxiana from the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 19th century also are the Manglûr, Kungrât, Arghûn, Kârgûz, Kîngî, Kârlûk, Kalmuk [q.v.], Alcîn, Kiyâit, Üyyrât (Oyra), Nûymân, Kâtaghan, Kângî (Kântul), Uûtûrî, Dûr- man, Arûlî, Keriyyî, Mûg, Djalâ’îr, Sarûyî, Onggu, Tânggu, Merkit (Makrit), Kâri, Oghlân, Üghûn, Kenikas, Tattar, Kîri, Kûshî, Üyyhûr and Bahîrî. Many of these tribal entities, or at least their names, disappeared over the centuries from written records; others, like the Manglûr, Kenikas, Kataghan, Kungrât, Mûg and Üyy survived the eventual breakdown of Cingizíd authority in the region and formed successor amirates (or begates) which survived to modern times.

The meaning of the term Özbeg is closely linked to the emergence of two new Djuftd lineages at the beginning of the 16th century in Central Asia, the Abu ‘l-Khayrid and the ‘Arabbâhâh ïydâgîr. Both traced their origins to Şhîbân b. Djuftî b. Cingiz Khan. Their supporters, apparently because of their earlier affiliations with the Djuftd Golden Horde and Uzbek Khan, are known (in Persian) as the Ôzbegân and Üzûkân (Uzbek, and Sunan), and all the Cingizids, however, these same Turco-Mongol tribal groups are called Mughuls (see e.g. Zahir al-Dîn Muhammad Bâtûr, Bâtûr-nâmâ, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, 2; also Section IV of the introduction, E.D. Ross (ed.) and N. Elias (tr.), A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-i-Rashidî of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlî, London 1898). To contemporary observers like Bâtûr and later Iskander Beg Munâbi [q.v.], the term meant both the Turko-Mongol supporters of the Central Asian Cingizids and, by extension, and in the Persian case, derogatorily, the Cingizids themselves.

The Djuftd agnates held exclusive right to the titles khan (sovereign) and sultan (prince), while their Özbeg military backers were generally distinguished by the title of amîr. Although a court ceremonial with apparently ancient precedents established a traditional hierarchy of the Özbeg tribal groups, it had little to do with their actual political power. The early 17th century writer Mahmûd b. Amîr Walli wrote a detailed description of court protocol at Balkh which, when compared with the biographies he also compiled of contemporary amîrs, shows little correspondence between court status and political prominence (see e.g. R.D. MacCulloch, Amîr of seventeenth century Muslim Central Asia, in JESHO, xxxvii, 41-2).

The leading amîrs were granted rights in revenue known variously as iktâb, suyurghid, tiyâl [q.v.] (see e.g. M.A. Abduraimov, Olerki agrarnôtnogo otnosheni v Bukharskom khanstve, Tashkent 1966-70, ii, 100-24), which gave them and their kinsmen and allies an interest in the regions from which they derived their income. Through the 16th and early 17th centuries the Cingizid lineages followed a policy of periodically transferring their amîrd backers, perhaps to limit the degree of attachment they might feel to any particular locale. By the middle of the 17th century, this policy was becoming more and more difficult to enforce. Attempts by Nadîr Muhammad [q.v.] (r. at Balkh 1015-51/1606-62 and 1055-61/1645-51), for example, to move amîrs like Yalangtdî Bl Alcîn from what was a long-time iktâb in the region south of Balkh contributed to his downfall after a brief reign at Bukhârâ (1642-5). His Cingizid successors did not make the same mistake.

Through the 18th century, the Özbeg groups consolidated their local ties and by the beginning of the 19th century some of them had established independent dynasties—at Bukhârâ and Samarkand (Manglûr), Mayma (Mûg), Khokand (Mûg), Kungrât (Kungrât), Arghûn (Kîngî), and Uzbek Khanate (Kenikas). The new petty dynasts tended to prefer the title amîr or mir, perhaps in deference to the power which the idea of Cingizid legitimacy still retained long after the last of the Cingizids had disappeared from the scene.

(b) More specifically, the term was also used as part of a proper name, perhaps designating urbanised Turkish-speakers who did not identify themselves with any of the above tribal organisations. In the archives of the Djuybarî shaykhs of Bukhârâ (see
The Ozbegs are one of the predominant ethnic groups of Turkistan [q.v.] or Central Asia, with their territory extending from the Caspian Sea to Sinkiang. They are found in the former Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Ozbegistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, Kazakhistan, across northern Afghanistan and in Kâbul, the capital of Afghanistan, and in the People's Republic of China. In the former Soviet Union, there are approximately 20 million Ozbegs, indicating a rapidly increasing population. The number of Ozbegs in Afghanistan [q.e.v. (ii)] has probably been underestimated as one million since the 1960s. In Sinkiang there are about 14,000 Ozbegs, about whom little is known in outside world.

In Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and now Europe and the United States have provided a home for Ozbegs who have left their traditional territory because of political, economic, social and environmental related either to Soviet or Chinese expansionism or the on-going Afghanistan conflict. During Russian and later Soviet control in Central Asia, the Ozbegs periodically rebelled and through spontaneous uprisings expressed nationalistic feelings [see BASMACHIS]. In Afghanistan, competition and hostility has been directed most toward the Pashtuns [see AFGHANS], a group economically and politically dominant there. Ozbegs from northern Afghanistan are currently (1992) involved in the Afghan resistance movement against the Marxist government.

The groups of Ozbegs divided by national boundaries have been somewhat isolated from each other during much of the 20th century. For example, Ozbegs were traditionally written in Arabic script, but since 1940 Cyrillic script has been used in the Soviet Union, hampering communication with those in other countries who retain Arabic script as in Afghanistan or those who utilise Latin script such as Turkistam exiles in Turkey. However, recent contacts between Ozbegs have been facilitated by construction of the Karakorom highway through Pakistan and the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The Ozbeg khânates of the late 19th century [see BUKHARÀ, KHIWA and KHOKAND] had a complex socio-political organisation with dynastic rulers, standing armies, governmental and religious bureaucracy, social stratification and specialisation. Villages were traditionally led by an aksabad, a respected older headman who mediated disputes. The ethnographic literature of late 19th and early 20th centuries have been somewhat isolated from each other. Ozbegs had become sedentary by the 20th century. Vestiges of a semi-nomadic past remain for some who still construct yurts, portable felt-covered round tents with wood frames, in the household courtyards for use during the summer. Agricultural Ozbegs live in permanent villages which are either compact with surrounding agricultural lands or dispersed with homesteads in linear arrangements following irrigation canals. Some rural and urban household compounds are still built of adobe brick, mostly with flat roofs, but some structures exhibit a “beehive” style. Agriculturalist Ozbegs grow rice, cotton, wheat, barley, sorghum, alfalfa, various vegetables and fruits, especially melons, and raise sheep, goats, cows and horses. Mulberry, which has leaves used in the raising of silkworms, is cultivated. Traditional commercial activities include black-, tin-, lock- and coppersmithing; silk, textile, saddle, sheepskin coat, leather, felt and pottery manufacture, soap making, barbering, oil pressing, butchering, baking, rice hulling and milling. Carved plaster made of gypsum and decorative wood work are important decorative crafts. Ozbeg women are known for their flat-weave rugs and embroidery. A brightly dyed silk cloth made into cloaks and dresses is another specialty.

(c) Contemporary indigenous sources often applied the term Ozbeg to uncultured and unlettered individuals, usually nomads or rural peasants (see e.g. for the mid-17th century, Mahmûd b. Amîr Wali, Bahar al-asrâr fi mânâdib al-asghâr, i, ed. and Russian tr. as More than a passing event, 1st edition, Budapest 1978, col. 147b, where a yâsh is an encounter with a drunken “Ozbeg” in a Bukharan street).

Finally, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the term Ozbeg was used by the politically-dominant Durrânî Afghans for long-term residents in northern Afghanistan, whether Turkish-speaking or not (see R.D. McChesney, Waqf in Central Asia, Princeton 1991, 303-4; N. Tapper, Bartered brides: politics, gender and marriage in Afghan tribal society, Cambridge 1991).


Men’s and women’s activities are spatially regulated. Women traditionally perform their duties around the age of puberty. In the former Soviet republics, Ozbeg women work outside the home in factories, offices and agriculture. However, they remain the primary homemakers. In the former Soviet republics, Ozbeg women work outside the home in factories, offices and agriculture. However, they remain the primary homemakers.

Historically, tax-farming was the primary land tenure system, especially north of the Amu Darya. In the khanate of Bukhara, provinces were divided into tax districts administered by appointees of the amir of Bukhara. Each beg retained the amount of revenue which he considered necessary to maintain his court and forwarded the rest to the amir. The situation of the common people was not substantially altered after the Russian annexation of Central Asia except in Farghānā, where the Russians instituted cotton mono-cropping and eliminated the traditional bureaucracy.

In the late 1920s to 1930s, agriculture was collectivised in Turkistan. Despite Sovietisation, many Ozbegs continued to market some of their own crops. Increasing cotton production in the late 19th to 20th centuries has led to integration into the world market. Depending on location, one-third to one-half of urban Ozbegs in the former Soviet republics currently own their own households. In northern Afghanistan, the most important land tenure system is currently freehold or private ownership which entails full rights and disposal through sale and inheritance. Most of the holdings are small, typically 5-10 acres.

The basic kin group is known as the kaum (other terms are also used), which in its basic sense consists of related households comprising a community. The kaum contains several groups of patrilineally-related families who regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor. However, kaum is a structural category which is adjusted by the people to suit their own social situation. The word is used to include not only agnates, but also persons who assist each other, share goods and live nearby, including affinal kin who are not related by blood but who marry in and become viewed as part of the group. Ideally, the nearest households in the village or urban neighbourhood who have close co-operative relationships and who may have their own mosque or other common interests form a kaum. A village may be composed of one or more kaums. An urban kaum is often associated with a craft or occupation. An important feature of kinship terminologies is the emphasis on special terms for older brother, aša, and older sister, āpā.

In the traditional marriage system, marriage preference is for one to whom a kin connection can be traced. There are norms against marriage with members of other ethnic groups. Although polygamy has become rare, parental arrangement and consent to marriage have been retained. A cash payment from the groom’s side to the bride’s is part of marriage negotiations. Among the poorest, there is a practice of the household items for the bride. Divorce is governed by Islamic law or by the laws of the country, although community pressure limits its use.

The ideal is the patrilocal extended family with the senior married couple, their sons, the sons’ wives and children and the unmarried daughters of the senior couple all residing in the same household compound. Nuclear families are also common, since extended families may break up as the sons mature and the senior pair age. Ozbegs generally favour large families. In northern Afghanistan, the baby is strapped into a special wooden cradle on rockers beginning forty days after birth. Outside of the cradle, the baby is swaddled. Circumcision of boys, practiced by all Ozbegs, is generally done at some time between the second and fourth year. A Kur'dānic education was traditional, but now public high school and university education are increasingly common, especially for boys.

The ruling dynasties in the Central Asian khanates from the end of the 18th to the 20th centuries were the tribal groups of Mangit [q.v.] in Bukhārā [q.v.] and Kungrāt [q.v.] in Kh'ārazm [q.v.], which came to be called Khīwa [q.v.]. The leaders of the Khokand khanate were from the Ming tribe. Some Ozbegs still remember a tribal designation and may use this as part of their personal identity. Important tribes are Kungrāt, Mangit, Kipčak, Kanghi, N̄iw'mān, Khität, Dürmen, Chaghatay, Ming, Kenikas and Lākā. Other ‘non-tribal’ Ozbegs use either a district or town as an identity marker. Gender, age, dialect and Islamic observance are important components of personal identity and status.

The Ozbegs are Sunni Muslims who follow the Haniffsya [q.v.] legal tradition. Nakhsbändiyya [q.v.] Sūfism has been a social and political force. For some, folk beliefs like the evil eye and harmful possessing spirits, djinn [q.v.], or part [q.v.], are part of daily life and necessitate the use of amulets or written verses of the Kur'ān. Diseases may be classified as ‘hot’ or ‘cold,’ with oppositely-classified foods used in their curing. The 'ulama’, religious scholars and teachers, traditionally were very influential, since Bukhārā was for long a centre of Islamic learning. Shāmanistic healing, especially the removal of spirits, was done by a practitioner called a bāghkhi, pārdīsān or du'ād̄ān, often a mullah learned in the Kur'ān. In the folk tradition, there is also belief in albasti, a witch-like djinni.

In addition to the celebration of Islamic festivals and holy periods such as Ramādān, a non-Islamic holiday, the New Year, held at the beginning of spring, is celebrated by the distribution of a pudding-like food made of sprouted wheat, sumulak, to family and friends known for their cuisine, which includes many noodle dishes such as mantu, a steamed dumpling. The musical tradition includes indigenous instruments such as the two-stringed dūnā and the dā'āra, a tambourine, for use in public and private entertainment. To celebrate weddings and circumcisions, men play ǔlak, a sport in which men on horseback battle to carry the carcass of a cow to a goal.

**Bibliography:**


*Ernest G. Engel*
family [see Ildenizados] who ruled in Adharbaydjan during the later Saldjuk and Khwarazmshahi periods. He married Malika Khatun, widow of the last Great Saldjuk sultan Toghril III (killed in 590/1194 [q.v.]).

He married Malika Khatun, widow of the last Great Saldjuk sultan Toghril III (killed in 590/1194 [q.v.]). During the early part of his career, he ruled in Hamadhān as a subordinate of his brother Nūsrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr, during the time when much of Adharbaydjar and ‘Irāq ‘Adīmi was falling into anarchy in the post-Saldjuk period. His freedom of action was often circumscribed by powerful Turkish amirs, nominally his agents and protectors, such as Ay-Aba, Qudshsī and Ay-Toghmānī, until in 607/1210 he succeeded Abū Bakr as Amāri in Tabriz and head of the family.

Under military pressure from the resurgent Georgians [see AL-KURDJ], he had to come to an arrangement with the Kh“arzm-Shāh ‘Alāʾ al-Dīn Muhammad whereby he was confirmed in Adharbaydjan and Arrān but as the Shāh’s vassal, acknowledging him in the shahba and sikka (614/1217).

In 617/1220 the Mongols first came to Tabriz, and on 22 June 1225, however, the Shāh Djalal al-Dīn [q.v.] occupied the Ildesizid capital, whilst Ozbeg withdrew to Gansū, where he landed while returning from Yemen, and the Shah forced Ozbeg to divorce his wife Malika Kḥāṭūn, whom he married himself, till intervention by the Ayyūbīd al-Malik al-Aḥfāţīr rescued her and brought her to Khīlāt. Ozbeg now lost Gandja also, and died in humiliation at the fort of ‘Iḥrāq in 620/1225, probably on 22 April. Attracted by the prosperity of the eastern Red Sea port of Sawākīn, where he landed while returning from Yemen, and filled with enthusiasm to conquer the Abyssinian littoral to further Islam and check Portuguese ambitions, Ozbeg subsequently persuaded Sultan Suleymān in person to appoint him commander (beylārī) of an Egyptian force of 4,000 to achieve that goal. When an initial attempt to reach his objective via the Nile River failed, Ozbeg established his base at Sawākīn, the centre of the new Ottoman province of Hābesh, which was officially created on 15 Shawābād 962/5 July 1555 with Ozbeg Pasha as beylerbeysi. From Sawākīn, the Ottoman forces first seized and secured the Abyssinian coastlands, including the key port of Masawwā [q.v.], before in 965/1558 commencing successful forays into the province of Tigre. An inland Ottoman base was secured in 966/1559 at Debrāwā, where a fortress and mosques were constructed.

It was at Debrāwā that Ozbeg Pasha died during 967/1560, after which the vastly outnumbered Ot- toman troops began retreating towards the coast. His body was interred at Debrāwā, but later it was transferred to a mausoleum in a mountain fortress called Masawwā by his son ‘Oṭmān Pasha [q.v.], who succeeded him as beylerbeysi of Hābesh and who eventually became Grand Vizier (sār-t‘azam). Ozbeg is usually portrayed as an indefatigable warrior with frugal personal habits and an incorruptible loyalty to the Ottoman sultan.
ÖZI, Özi, the Turkish name of three related features: the river Dnepr, the coastal fortress of Oțakov (both in the Ukraine), and the Ottoman eyalet and sancak Bey of Silistre (roughly a coastal area bracketed by the lower Özi/Dnestr on the east and the lower Dnube with the nearby river port city of Silistre on the south-west; its bayler beyi resided at Akkırım or Silistre but not at Özi/Otakov, more often the seat of a sandjak beyi).

Both the river and the fortress played an important but complex role in the history of the two Turkish Muslim powers in the Black Sea area, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. The river’s lower course first represented a dividing line between the Lithuanians and Poles on the west and the Tatars on the east, and later, in a similar manner, between the eyalet of Silistre (Özi) and the khanate, although within the framework of the Ottoman empire of which the khanate became a vassal. The Dnepr approaches the Black Sea from the east through a long and wide estuary which also receives the river Bug from the north; this estuary, known by its Russian term (but possibly a loanword from Ottoman Turkish) as liman, at the same time separates the mainland from the Crimean peninsula which ends up in a spur named Kinburnskaya kosa (“Kinburn spur”; lit. “scythe”), a distortion of the Ottoman name Kilburnur “Hair-thin cape”) two km/1.3 miles south of Oțakov. It was on the western bank of the Bug’s estuary that King Vytautas of Lithuania built a fort named Dashiv (and another such form given by Ewliya Celebi, as well as that of Ocakov, more frequently the seat of a sandjak beyi). Notwithstanding these circumstances, the town came under the influence of the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray acquired it in 1400, which was renamed Djankirman after the same name in the Crimea, and the Danubian provinces. Although Özi failed to deter the Cossacks (who founded their famous base of Sîf further upstream on the Dnepr) from raiding it and sailed past it on their forays all over the Black Sea, it did help the Ottomans maintain their own presence on this frontier and delay the success of the eventual Russian onslaught. Nevertheless, by the 18th century the latter showed its force in two Russo-Turkish wars: that of 1736-9 and that of 1787-92. Özi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but 92. Ozi was taken on both occasions (July 1736, but it clearly consists of two elements, qan (possibly the Persian term “soul, something dear”) and kirmân (Persian “fortress”); the latter word appears in a number of place names in the Ukraine (for example Akkırım, the Slavic Belgorod), but not elsewhere (except for the Persian cities of Kirmân and Kirmân-şâh); a Scythian (thus Iranian) origin is probable, a remarkable case of the permanence and resilience of toponyms. Although the place became known in Ottoman Turkish by the name of the river as Özi kalesi (but was on occasion also called Uzun kale), the citadel part was called Akkırım (or Oska), which was then extended in Russian and Ukrainian (as Oțakov and Oțakiv) to the whole fortress.


ÖZKEND, Özkend, sometimes written in the sources Yûzând or Üzând, a town of mediaeval Islamic Farghâna [g.e.] in Central Asia, lying at the eastern end of the Farghâna valley and regarded as being near the frontier with the pagan Turks. Already in the mid-3rd/9th century, Özkend had a local ruler called by the Turkish name Khurtigin (?Curtigin) (Ibn Khurradadhbih, 30). The geographers of the next century (i.e. that of the Sârnâids) describe it as having the tripartite pattern typical of eastern Islamic towns, with a citadel in the madina or inner city and a suburb; from it led the way towards the Turkish lands (Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, 131-14, i, Wiet, 491-2; al-Muqaddasi, 275; Haddâd al-şâm, tr. 116, comment. 255; Yûkî, ed. Beirut, i, 280, Le Strange, Lands, 476). Under the Karâkhânids [see ILEK-KHANS], it became the capital at the opening of the 5th/11th century of the ilg Nasb of ‘All, and then the capital of the eastern wing of the confederation, with Yûsuf Kâdir Khan b. Hûrin Bugha Kâhan minting coins there from 416/1025. Mahmûd Kâshghâri mentions Üzkend and defines it as the chief town of Farghâna and as meaning in Turkish balad anfusina “city of our souls” = “our own, special city” (Dîwân lughat alturk, tr. Atalay, i, 343 = R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, Compendium of the Turks dialects, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-4, i, 270). It remained a centre of the Karâkhânids until the invasions of Cîngiz Kâhan, and Karâkhânid coinage continued under the able but inadequately-supported kaptanpaşa Qâzî Hasan Pasha and the Russian one, marked by the rivalry between its two commanders, John Paul Jones (a hero of the American Revolution) and the German prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen.

A matter of some interest is Özi’s earlier name, Dânkirmân (and another such form given by Ewliya Celebi, Dehâkirmân), as well as that of Oțakov. The specific origin of the name Dânkirmân is obscure, but...
PA³ or bā'-i farsi or bā'-i yadjami, i.e. the bā’ with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the Arabic bā’ and to represent the unvoiced, as opposed to the voiced, bilabial plosive (for the voiced b, see b²). It is sometimes interchangeable with bā’ (e.g. asp and ash, dāhīr and dāfīr) and, more frequently, with fā’ (e.g. sāfīd and safīd, Pārs and Fārs). The regular use of the letter in manuscripts is comparatively modern, but it is found in good ones of the 7th/13th century while at the same time it is often omitted in manuscripts of much later date (GIPh, I/iv, 74; G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose perse, Paris 1963, 142).

The usage of the letter pā’ passed into Ottoman Turkish, for both original Turkish words (early Turkish had distinguished both voiced and unvoiced versions of the sound, and the first writing system for Turkish, that of the Yenisei and Orkhon inscriptions (7th-8th centuries A.D.), had had separate signs for p and b, see Tañ' Tekin, A grammar of Orkhon Turkic, Bloomington, Ind. 1966, 24, 27 n. 10, 75) and for Persian loanwords (see J. Deny, Grammaire de la langue turque (dislette Osmanli), Paris 1921, 51-2, 77-8). Pā is likewise used in Urdu both for Persian and Turkish loanwords and for words stemming from the Indoeuropean basis of the language.

In loanwords into Arabic, pā’ may be rendered as bā’, e.g. in bāḥā for Turkish pāša; bāstā/bastā for Italian posta; bārūh for Fr./Eng. pétrole/petroil. But it was often rendered, especially in Classical Arabic at a time when Persian cultural influences were strong, as fā’ also, e.g. furāṭīn < MP pārūnak, NP pārūnā “messenger, courier with despatches”; fānish < Skr. pāṃti, NP pāntī “sugar-cane syrup”; frind < NP pārand “damascening on a sword” (see A. Sididiqi, Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch, Götingen 1919, 71).

(R. Levy [C.E. Bosworth])

PĀDUHSĀN [see RŪYĀN].

PĀDIŠĀH (v.), the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. The Persian term pād-i šāh, i.e. (according to M. Bittner, in E. Oberhumer, Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich, Leipzig 1917, 105) “lord who is a royalty” in which the root pād is connected with Sanskrit pātis, lord, husband, fem. patni, Greek πάτως and हेषत्र, Lat. potens (G. Curtius, Griech. Etymol., 377), was originally a title reserved exclusively for the sovereign, which in course of time and as a result of the long intercourse of the Ottomans with the states of the West also came to be approved for certain Western rulers. In the correspondence of the Porte with the Western powers, the grand vizier Kuyudju Murād Pāghā (d. 7 Diqāmād II 1021/5 Aug. 1612) probably for the first time applied the title pād-i šāh to the Austrian emperor Rudoíd II. At the conference of Nemirow (1737), Rusta demanded the title for its Tsars (cf. J. von Hammer, GIPh, vii, 488) and claimed it again at the negotiations at Bucarest (1773; cf. ibid., viii, 412). When pād-i šāh came to be applied to the sultan, the pād-i šāh-i dā’-i Oltmān, does not seem to be exactly known. In any case it is found in conjunction with all kinds of rhyming words as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century in Ottoman documents. Pād-i šāh therefore may have come to be used towards the end of the 9th/15th century, presumably instead of khanāk (from khanāw-endkār, cf. JA, ser. ii, vol. xv, 276/572), an obsolete word, as well as sultan (cf. Is., xi [1921], 70) all ready found in dervish Sūfism, and was regularly used till the end of the sultanate (cf. the cry of pād-i šāh-i 3k or bi 37 37 37 y 37 with which the sultan was greeted by his troops and subjects).

In Persian usage, followed by that of the Indo-Muslim rulers such as the Mughal emperors, pād-i šāh became a normal designation for the ruler, though regarded as lower than that of shāhāngāh [see gāh], and in more recent times it was used by Persian monarchs in diplomatic documents addressed to European kings. Already the Hūdūd al-šā’ām (end of the 4th/10th century) uses pād-i šāh(“ruler” and pād-i šāh-i pād-i šāh even for petty princes of the upper Oxus region and northern Afghanistan (tr. Minorsky, 108, 109, § 23.65, 75; idem, Addenda to the Hūdūd al-šā’ām, in BSOAS, xvii [1955], glossary, 257). When ‘Ali, son of the head of the Safawi order Haydar b. 3nayd, adopted the title of pād-i šāh in his struggle with the Ak Koyunlu [q.e.] towards the end of the 9th/15th century, it was a clear indication of the ambitions of the Safawi family (see R.M. Savory, Iran under the Safawīids, Cambridge 1980, 20). In the later half of the 19th century, A. de Biberstein Kazimiri noted that some of the officials of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh [q.e.] had taken to describing their master, not only as shāhāngāh, but also as pād-i šāh-i 3k-i mamālīk-i 3rān, apparently in imitation of the Tsar’s designation “Emperor of all the Russians” (Menoutcheht, poste persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère (du 5ème de l’hégire), F. Barininger [C.E. Bosworth])

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): St. Kekulé, Ueber Tittel, Aemter, Rangstufen and Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache, Halle a. d. S. 1892, 3, and P. Horn, Grundriß der neu persischen Etymologie, Strassburg 1893, 91, no. 206 (where, however, another derivation is given, from Old Persian pad, protector, and shāh; cf. thereon Horn, in GIPh, i/v, 274, 309, and i/2, 41, 88, 97, 159, where the Old Persian, Pahlavi, etc., forms are given); M.Z. Pakaln, Osmanlı tarihî deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 749-51; I.A. art. Padışah (Halil Inalcık); B. Lewis, The political language of Islam, Chicago and London 1988, 98.

(P. Barininger [C.E. Bosworth]).

PĀDRI, the name of a major Islamic revivalist movement in Minangkabau [q.e.], Sumatra, 1803-38. The application Padri is derived from orang Pādīr “men of Pedir (Pīdī)”, in reference to those who made the pilgrimage to Mecca by way of the At-jēhνec port of Pīdī. The Padri built on earlier Minangkabau reform movements initiated by the two major Sūfī 3rakats which had been the instrument for converting the central highlands of Sumatra, the Naksyabandiyah (Nakshabandiyah [q.e.]) and the Syattariyah (Shaṭṭāriyah [q.e.]). Operating by the late 18th century in a society which was only partially Islamised, these taretak flourished around surau or centres for religious studies which attracted hundreds of students from throughout Minangkabau.

In the 1780s the hilly regions surrounding some of the major surau in the valley districts of Agam, Tanah
Datar and Limapuluh Kota in the Minangkabau highlands were experiencing a major economic revival caused by European and American demand for coffee and spices. Overcome by booming demand, the society exhibited an inability to organise a secure trading network to the coastal ports or a suitable method of settling disputes in the marketplace. It was the suara which was able to offer an alternative to the existing mode of regulation, especially in commercial affairs. Both the Syattariyah and Naksabandiyah tarekat had instigated "back to the syariat (gurih q. e.)" movements in other parts of the Islamic world, and now for the first time in Sumatra conditions became ripe for a similar movement: for Minangkabau Muslim suara, such as those of the Syattariyah syekh (shaykh) Tuanku Nan Tua in Agam, to challenge further accommodation with society, and to coach this challenge in terms of elevating Islamic law, including the commercial provisions of the syariat, to a position of pre-eminence.

It was against this background that in 1803 there returned to Minangkabau three pilgrims who had observed the Wahhabi conquest of Mecca [see WAAHABIYYA]. They were well aware of the difference between "back to the syariat" and a return to the fundamental tenets of the Prophet and his Companions. The most distinguished of these three Padri was Haji Miskin, who had worked with Tuanku Nan Tua prior to his departure for Mecca. He now settled in the coffee village of Pandai Sikat in Agam and worked to improve the state of the marketplace and to rationalise commerce. He gained the support of certain lineage heads and in fact during the Padri movement a number of religious teachers and adat [see ADA] leaders worked together to introduce a new commercially favourable regime where cockfighting would disappear from the market and bandit villages would be eliminated. It is certainly misleading to see the Padri movement as an uncompromising attack on the adat leadership.

Ultimately driven out of Pandai Sikat, Haji Miskin joined the religious teacher Tuanku Nan Rinceh in the coffee- and casta-rich hill area in the north of Agam. Also a pupil of Tuanku Nan Tua, Tuanku Nan Rinceh had been trying to put his master's ideas into practice, but piecemeal action no longer seemed adequate. Haji Miskin was able to indicate another way. Tuanku Nan Rinceh now concluded that each village must be turned into an Islamic community as rapidly as possible, using the simplicity of the Wahhabi system as a model along the lines of which such new communities were to be organised. He proclaimed a dikhdt and announced to his own village the PADRI — PAHLAWAN

 ultimately victorious. Prominent among the Padri war leaders was Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Having established his village at Bonjol, north of Agam, in 1807, like other Padri leaders he tried to build up a trading network to the west coast, away from outside control. The Dutch after their return in 1819 were a threat to this, and Bonjol launched its first attack on Dutch forces in the interior in 1822. From this period until 1837, Dutch and Bonjol forces were periodically engaged despite Bonjol's attempt to expand away to the north into the Batak country. Bonjol finally fell to the Dutch in 1837, Tuanku Imam Bonjol was exiled and Dutch victory over the last Padri remnants took place at Daludalu in 1838.

During this period, the Padri movement itself altered in character. Mecca had been lost since 1813, and by the 1820s Minangkabau began to pay attention to the reports of returning pilgrims and the rigours of the original Padri system began to soften. The returning hajis were aided by the fact that no Padri leader had ever been able to acquire unchallenged dominance over a wide area and there was no more village war leaders was Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Perintis Djalan ke Tengah, 1784-1847, Jakarta 1992. (CHRISTINE DOBBIN)

PAHANG [see MALAY PENINSULA].

PAHLAWAN (p.), from Pahau, properly "Par-

Violence was particularly marked among the Padri of Tanah Datar, the home of Tuanku Lintau, who became notorious for his slaughter, in 1815, of many members of the Minangkabau royal family at a meeting arranged for negotiations. He went on to pursue a career of raiding and burning of opposition villages. In fact, throughout the Padri period all villages were heavily fortified and their male population kept almost constantly on a war-footing.

Just as a Padri victory over the whole of Minangkabau seemed certain, the Dutch returned to the chief Minangkabau coastal port of Padang in 1819. Invited into the highlands by anti-Padri adat leaders and remnants of the royal family, in February 1821 they signed a treaty in which these supplicants surrendered Minangkabau to Dutch sovereignty. So began the Padri War of 1821-38, in which, despite strong Padri resistance, the colonial forces were ultimately victorious. Prominent among the Padri war leaders was Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Having established his village at Bonjol, north of Agam, in 1807, like other Padri leaders he tried to build up a trading network to the west coast, away from outside control. The Dutch after their return in 1819 were a threat to this, and Bonjol launched its first attack on Dutch forces in the interior in 1822. From this period until 1837, Dutch and Bonjol forces were periodically engaged despite Bonjol's attempt to expand away to the north into the Batak country. Bonjol finally fell to the Dutch in 1837, Tuanku Imam Bonjol was exiled and Dutch victory over the last Padri remnants took place at Daludalu in 1838.

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PAHANG [see MALAY PENINSULA].

PAHLAWAN (p.), from Pahau, properly "Par-
thian"), acquired in pre-modern Persian and thence in Turkish, the sense of "wrestler, one who engages in hand-to-hand physical combat", becoming subsequently a general term for "hero, warrior, champion in battle". From this later, broader sense it is used as a personal name in the Persian world, e.g. for the Eldiginiz Atabeg [see ILDENIZIDS] Nusrat al-Din Djahan-Pahlawan (reigned in Adharbaydjan, d. 581 or 582/1186 [see PAHLAVAN, MUHAMMAD B. ILEDENIZ; and see Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 237, for other bearers of this name]. The word's origin in Arabic is clearly an orthographic metathesised form), on the evidence of Ewliya Celebi. Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

PAHLAVAN, MUHAMMAD B. ILEDENIZ, NUSRAT AL-DIN, Atabeg of Adharbaydjan in the later 6th/12th century. His father Iledeniz [q.v.] had in course of time risen to be the real ruler in the Saldjuk empire; the widow of Sultan Toghfl [q.v.] was Pahlawan's mother and Arslan b. Toghfl [q.v.] his step-brother. In the fighting between Iledeniz and the lord of Maragha, Ibn Aksunkur al-Abhmadfl, Pahlawan played a prominent part [see MAUSA]. From his father he inherited in 568/1172-3 Arran, Adharbaydjan, al-Dbijfl, Hamadhan, Isfahân and al-Rayy with their dependent territories and a few years later he also took Tabriz, which he gave to his brother Kizî Arslan. Like Iledeniz, Pahlawan also became the real ruler. Sultan Arslan b. Toghfl was completely under his control, as was also his young son Toghfl [q.v.], whom Pahlawan put on the Saldjuk throne, after Arslan had been disposed of by poison. Pahlawan died in Dhu 'l-Hijja 581/February-March 1186 or the beginning of 582/1186 and his brother Kizî Arslan succeeded him. Ibn al-Aghir (xi, 346) pays a high tribute to Pahlawan's statesmanlike qualities, and during his tenure of office peace and prosperity prevailed in his government. After his death, however, bloodshed and unrest broke out. In Isfahân the Shahîfs and Hanafs fought one another, and at al-Rayy the Sunnis and Shi'fs, until order was gradually restored.


(K. V. Zetterstêen)

PAHLAVÎ, PAHLAVI, the name of the short-lived dynasty which ruled in Persia from 1925 to 1979. Its two members were Rıdâ Şâh (r. 1925-41) and his son Muhammad Rıdâ Şâh (r. 1941-79) [q. v.]

(PA'TI (Hindi "quarter"), English form "pie", the smallest copper coin of British India = 1/12 of an anna. Originally, in the East India Company's early experiments for a copper coinage, its name implied, was the quarter of an anna or pice [see PAYAS]; after the Acts of 1835, 1844 and 1870, however, the pie was 1/12 of a pice.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, 705. (J. ALLAN)
PAI YEN-HU (Muhammad Ayyub), a noted leader of northwestern Chinese Muslim rebellions against the Ch'ing-Manchu rule during the 1860s and 1870s. A native of Ching-Yang in Shensi province, he was born in 1841 into a traditional ahung family. In 1862 he joined the Muslim rebels in Shensi province, his military skills and family background making him one of eighteen rebel leaders. After most of these had defected to or been killed by the Imperial troops, Pai assumed overall leadership of the anti-Manchu campaign. When most of his followers defected in 1869, he was driven out of Shensi and joined forces with Ma Hua-Lung [q. v.] at Chin-ch’i-pao, Kansu, but deserted him again when he realised that Ma also intended to surrender. Pai and his troops next took the area around Hsi-Ning, but with the accompanying problems of inadequate housing and transport facilities. Pakistan has a developing mixed economy, with a complex of buildings: a Friday mosque, tomb of the Shaykh, and descendants’ shrines. The descendants of the Shaykh and his descendants Shaykh Shihab al-Din and Shaykh ‘Ala’ al-Din, a sama’-khana (hall for musical sessions), residential quarters and various graves.

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PAKISTAN, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan or Islâm-i-Djumhuriyya-yi Pakistan is bounded by Iran, Afgânistân, the former Soviet Union, China, India and the Arabian Sea. It covers an area of 706,495 km² and has a population of 114,071,000 (1990 estimate which includes the population of the disputed state of Djamnî and Kashmir as well as Afgân refugees). The country is divided into four distinct physical regions. In the north, the Himalayan and Karakoram ranges reach an average of more than 6,100 m/20,000 ft. and include some of the world’s highest peaks. The Balûcûstân plateau to the west and south-west is a broken highland region crossed by many ridges. The western portion of the Indo-Gangetic plains—the Indus valley—extends southwards from the Potwar plateau to the Arabian Sea. It is watered by five major rivers—the Indus, Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi and Satlaj—and their tributaries, and is Pakistan’s most prosperous agricultural region. The Thal, Cholistan and Thar desert areas are found in the south-east of the country, bordering on India. The climate is characterised by extremes of temperature and aridity. A weak form of tropical monsoon climate occurs over much of the country with arid conditions in the north and west where the wet season is from December to March. Elsewhere, rain is mainly between July and December. Summer temperatures are high, in places exceeding 45°C., but the mountains in the north experience cold winters.

Pakistan is made up of the four provinces of the Pandžāb, Sind, Balûcûstân [q. v.] and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), together with the Tribal Areas, Gilgit Agency [q. v. in Suppl.], Islâmābâd Capital Territory and Azâd Kashmir, whose possession is disputed with India. The bulk of the population is concentrated in the Indus Valley plain and remains rural in occupation. Rural to urban migration, however, has resulted in rapidly growing cities such as Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multān, Fâysâlabâd and Haydarâbâd, together with the accompanying problems of inadequate housing and transport facilities. Pakistan has a developing mixed economy, there, it was a deserted town, having forests full of ferocious beasts and reptiles. Gradually, it became a great centre of spiritual culture and people from far and near came to venerate the shrine of the Shaykh Farid. Ajodhan stood at a strategic place on the Multān-Dihlī road. Caravans and armies passed through it and carried the Shaykh’s fame to different regions (Fawā’id al-fu’ad, Lucknow 1885, 99; Ibn Bâjtûta, Rihla, Cairo 1928, i, 13). The name Pāk Pātān was given by the Mughal emperor Akbar in homage to the memory of the saint. Situated on a high mound, it has a complex of buildings: a Friday mosque, tomb of the Shaykh, and descendants’ shrines. The descendants of the Shaykh and his descendants Shaykh Shihab al-Din and Shaykh ‘Ala’ al-Din, a sama’-khana (hall for musical sessions), residential quarters and various graves.

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largely based on agriculture, light industries and services. Agriculture, which is almost dependent on an extensive irrigation system, employs more than 50% of the labour force and in 1986 provided 26% of GNP and 45% of foreign exchange earnings. The main crops are wheat, cotton, maize, sugar cane and rice. The country is agriculturally self-sufficient although there are often shortages of staple products. Industry employs only about 10% of the labour force and produces nearly 20% of GDP. Textiles, especially cotton, are the main manufacture and leading export commodity. Under-employment is widespread and there has been significant emigration by professional and skilled workers, in particular to the Middle East and Gulf States. Social welfare and health facilities are limited. Zakat [q.v.] has been used by governments to provide funds for welfare provision. Although primary education is free, less than half the number of school-aged children attend and literacy remains limited to only about one-quarter of the population and only one-sixth of women.

The national language is Urdu, but English is used in central government and business. The main regional languages are Pandjâbî, Sindhi, Balûchî, Pashto, Brahui and Siraiki. No single language is common to the population as a whole. According to the 1981 census, 96.68% of the population are Muslims, with Hindus constituting 1.59% and Christians only 0.03%. Most Muslims are Sunnis and belong to the Hanafi school. There is a significant Shi'i minority which is divided into sub-sects, primarily the Iltûnî Aghâris and Ismâ'îllis, both Agha-Khâns and Bohrûs. Members of the small but influential sect of the Khâdiyya [q.v.] are also found.

Pakistan, which achieved independence on 14 August 1947, was the first modern state to be set up on the grounds of religion. Its name, meaning “land of the pure”, is said to have been constructed in 1933 by Chaudhri Rahmat 'Ali, an Indian Muslim student at Cambridge, from letters taken from the names of its component provinces (Pandjâb, North-West Frontier or Afghanîyâ, Kashmîr, Sind and Balûchîstân). Its creation was seen as the logical outcome of the so-called two-nation theory advanced by Sir Muhammad Ali Jinnâh in 1930. The two-nation theory held that India, which was 80% Muslim, and Pakistan, which was 80% Hindu, should be divided so that Muslims could form a separate state. The idea of two-nation theory was not new; it had been proposed by the Muslim League in 1906 with the formation of the All-India Muslim League. Suspicion of Congress was especially common in parts of northern India where Muslims, although a small minority, still enjoyed the legacy of their former status as rulers of the region during the period of Mughal rule. They feared that Congress agitation, Hindu revivalism and constitutional reform would undermine their position, and hence supported policies of protecting Muslim “rights” and culture. Aligarh College, founded by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khân [q.v.] in 1877, played an important part in generating the kind of Muslims who were attracted to this political path. The diversity in British Muslims, however, prevented them from coming together in a single political organisation until the 1940s. Indeed, the intervening years saw periods of collaboration with Congress, such as 1919-22 when Muslims from all over India joined with Hindus in the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement [q.v.] to agitate against British rule. In Muslim majority provinces such as the Pandjâb and Bengal, there was also significant support for provincial parties which represented class rather than communal interests. League activity remained slack for much of the 1930s, as highlighted by its poor showing in the provincial elections of 1937. But constitutional reforms which retained communal electorates meant that Muslims were increasingly encouraged to think of themselves as a separate political category, while the growth in communal feeling on the part of both Hindus and Muslims reinforced this trend.

The turning point for the League came with the outbreak of the Second World War. Efforts made at the centre by its leader, Muhammad 'Ali Jinnâh [q.v.] (Jinnah) meant that the British recognised the League as the representative of Muslim aspirations and, in the face of Congress opposition to the way in which India had been taken in the conflict, an alternative organisation through which to legitimise the war effort. Under these circumstances, in which more people were listening to what it had to say, the League in March 1940 issued its Lahore demand for a separate Muslim state or states, the precise meaning deliberately vague in order to keep the League’s options open. The party’s main task was to persuade its co-religionists in the Muslim majority provinces that provincial autonomy would not protect their position if Congress held power at the centre. Gradually, it won over local landowning and religious élites and with them their considerable political influence. This success was reflected in the striking gains made in the 1946 elections in which the League won an overwhelming majority of Muslim seats. Deadlock in negotiations with Congress, together with growing communal tension in parts of northern India, including the Pandjâb and Bengal which the League had expected to receive in full, Jinnah, therefore, was not happy with the “truncated” and “moth-eaten” state which it was offered and, with the alternative of conceding power completely to the Congress, the League finally accepted this option in the summer of 1947.

Pakistan faced independence with both strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, it could be argued that, composed of an overwhelming majority of Muslims, it had the basis of a strong national identity with which to contemplate the future. On the other hand, it still had to contend with the fact that, although predominantly Muslim, its people were divided ethnically, linguistically, theologically and by caste and class. In addition, it had the added problem that its two wings—East and West Pakistan—were separated by over 1,600 km of Indian territory. In the event, these obstacles to a united Pakistan proved too great and the country, in the form that it was created, survived only 24 years before East Pakistan broke away to form Bangladesh. Pakistan’s new leaders by and large had supported Jinnah’s campaign, not so much because they desired an Islamic state, but because Congress rule had become synonymous with Hindu domination. Islam represented different things to them, ranging from an ethic on which to base per-
sonal behavior within a modern democratic state to a total way of life requiring a theocracy. With the removal of the direct threat of a Hindu majority, these, together with other non-religious differences, became more apparent. As a result, Pakistan's history has been characterised by the failure of the new state to build workable political institutions which could reflect the diversity present within the country. Provincial rivalry, the intervention of the military in politics and recourse to Islam as a potential source of unity have been important features of Pakistan's political development since 1947. In particular, the country's "Islamic" identity has generated tensions within the political system, caused to a great extent by the need to reconcile Pakistan's creation as a homeland for Indian Muslims with pressure to translate it into some kind of more self-consciously Islamic state.

Pakistan's position in the years immediately following independence was fraught with difficulties. There was the immense task of resettling about eight million refugees known as muhajirs [q.v.] who had begun to stream across the border at partition, as well as the need to establish its economy in the aftermath of a war fought with India over the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. The task of framing a constitution was entrusted to a Constituent Assembly which also functioned as an interim legislature. The structure of the state was a federal one, with the Governor-General and the Constituent Assembly as the centre of power and governors and provincial assemblies in the provinces.

Jinnah's death in September 1948 meant that power passed into the hands of Liaqat Ali Khan [q.v.]. Liaqat Ali Khan, someone who shared his commitment to a democratic and essentially secular state but whose removal of the direct threat of a Hindu majority, Pakistan had been created as a state for Indian Muslims, but there was a significant distinction between this and an Islamic state. Indeed, Jinnah himself had stressed that religion was to be an essentially private affair from the point of view of the state. Liaqat's position, however, meant that he needed to gain support where he could, and so in 1949 he wooed the country's religious spokesmen by issuing a resolution on the aims and objectives of the constitution which emphasised Islamic values. The debate on the relationship between religious development since 1947. In particular, Assembly where religious groups played an active role. It was affected by the appointment of Khwaja Nizamuddin, an individual of great personal piety, as Governor-General following Liaqat's assassination in October 1951, as well as by religio-political campaigns such as that led by the Ahrars demanding both the purification of political life in general and, in 1953, the outlawing of the Ahmadiyya sect in particular. This action led to rioting in some of the country's larger cities, and martial law was imposed to restore order in Lahore. When Pakistan finally achieved its first constitution in 1956, it tried to resolve the debate by accommodating as many different opinions as possible. The constitution embodied the Islamic provisions of the 1949 Objectives Resolution and declared Pakistan to be an Islamic republic. Its preamble accepted Allah's sovereignty over man; recognition of an Institute of Islamic Research "to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis"; and Clause 205 reiterated that "all new laws should be repugnant to Islam and established various councils to advise on these matters. All the same, the government was not popular with religious leaders who objected to the treatment of Islam in the 1962 constitution. It confirmed their alienation, much enhanced by the Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 which had included notable reforms such as the restricting of polygamy. Religio-political parties, such as the Jamaat-e-Islami led by Mawlana Sayyid Abul l'Ala Mawdudi [q.v.], increased their support. Modernisation under Ayub, however, took place above all in the economic field, which experienced increased growth during the 1960s. But this growth was unevenly distributed, and the imbalance between East and West Pakistan increased, leading to greater disquiet among Bengalis. Despite victory over Miss Fatima Jinnah in the presidential election of January 1965, Ayub's problems mounted in the aftermath of an unsuccessful war against India also in 1965. In March 1969 the strength of opposition to his government finally forced him to hand over responsibility to General Yahya Khan, who once again placed the country under martial law.

Yahya immediately set about dismantling Ayub's political system. In March 1970 he published the Legal Framework Order which defined Pakistan as a federal democratic republic with a Muslim head of state; representation would be on the basis of population rather than parity between east and west; and West Pakistan was redivided into its former provinces. Elections were held in December 1970 but produced the unexpected result of a decisive victory for the East Pakistani Awami League with 167 out of 300 seats. Faced with the loss of power at the centre and the Awami League's call for virtual autonomy for
East Pakistan, West Pakistani politicians, notably Zulfikar Ali (Dhu 'l-Fikar 'Ali) Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), decided to boycott the National Assembly. The country’s military leadership, keen to ensure the shift in power which was taking place, cooperated by suspending the Assembly. This in turn led the Awami League’s leader, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, to call for a complete secession. The Pakistani authorities launched Operation Searchlight and arrested Mujib, but a stalemate ensued which was only broken with the entry of India into the war in December 1971 on the side of the Bengalis. With its help, the East Pakistani Muktı Bahini (Bengali freedom fighters) took Dhaka (Dacca) and established the independent state of Bangladesh in January 1972.

The main victor in what remained of Pakistan was Bhutto, who established a patriotic image for himself at negotiations at the United Nations in New York and was sworn in as President following Yahya’s resignation at the end of December 1971. Pakistan’s third constitution adopted in April 1973 sought to reach consensus on the sharing of power between the federal government and the provinces, the divisions of responsibility between President and Prime Minister, and the role of Islam in politics. Bhutto’s advocacy of Islamic socialism led to little tangible change but did provide, in the short term, a way of keeping Islamic fundamentalism at arm’s length. The populist of his economic and social programme was also successful at first, but its failure to live up to popular expectations led to growing disillusionment with his government. This was reinforced by increasingly acrimonious tendencies on the part of Bhutto and other PPP members.

The drift to the opposition, in particular to religious political alternatives, gathered pace and demonstrated its threat during elections in March 1977. Although the PPP won a large victory, the opposition coalition, known as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), claimed that massive vote rigging had taken place. Mounting protest brought chaos to Pakistan’s cities and Bhutto was himself forced to proclaim martial law. Eventually, the military under the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Muhammad Diya al-Haqq (Zia-ul Haq), took over power in July 1977.

The new military regime, in line with its Operation Fairplay, aimed at allowing the possibility to restore democracy and that fresh elections would be held within 90 days. Following Bhutto’s arrest in early September on charges of attempted murder, however, these elections were postponed, supposedly to allow for Bhutto’s trial to take place. In reality, it was clear that Bhutto remained the only politician with mass national appeal. Bhutto was eventually hanged in April 1979 following a Supreme Court review of the case, but elections promised for November 1979 were again postponed, political parties banned and strict censorship imposed on the press. Meanwhile, Zia had proclaimed himself President. In February 1979, he embarked on his programme of Islamisation by introducing Islamic criminal punishments. Zia’s own strongly held religious views, however, did not change in the political mood which swept as the roots of his policies on Islam. Zia firmly believed that Pakistan’s political system had to be Islamised in order ostensibly to forge national unity, and he used Islamisation as a populist weapon to disarm the moral opposition to his régime. His determination was helped by changes in the international climate caused by the Soviet Union’s intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979. Substantial support provided by the United States and Muslim countries such as Saudi military while the influx of millions of Afghan refugees produced enormous amounts of foreign economic aid. In March 1981, despite the failure of a specially-appointed committee of scholars, jurists and ‘ulama’ to reach a consensus on recommendations for the structure of an Islamic system of government, Zia promulgated a Provisional Constitutional Order which allowed martial law to continue indefinitely and gave the President powers to amend the constitution. Its main provisions included the setting up of a Majlis-i Shura or Federal Consultative Council on the grounds that parliamentary democracy was not compatible with Islam. Partisan political activity, however, was allowed to resume gradually albeit subject to official censure. An amendment to the Political Parties Act of 1962 meant that parties could be denied registration if their manifestos did not include Islamic provisions. A referendum held in December 1984 Arabia allowed him to strengthen the position of the confirmed Zia’s Islamisation policy, which included economic reforms to the banking system as well as the controversial Zina Ordinance, which limited the role and rights of women. Opposition groups strongly contested the result. The official majority of 98% was also taken as a mandate for Zia to remain in office for a further five years.

National and provincial elections, boycotted by the opposition, were held on a non-party basis the following February and Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed Prime Minister. By then, however, Zia had moved to concentrate political power even more firmly in presidential hands by promulgating an order which introduced sweeping changes in the 1973 constitution. Martial law was eventually lifted in December 1985 and the constitution, in its amended form, restored in full. Zia remained President as well as Chief of Staff for the Army which effectively redefined the relationship between civilians and the army. In January 1986 Junejo revived the Pakistan Muslim League and later in the year Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, returned from exile to lead the PPP. Anti-government agitation increased, as did levels of ethnic violence in the province of Sind and in Karachi in particular. Zia stepped in to dissolve the national and provincial assemblies in May 1988, accusing them of corruption, and once again announced elections within 90 days. As before they were postponed until November 1988, but in August Zia himself was killed in an unexplained air crash along with other senior military officers and the United States ambassador to Pakistan. The Chairman of the Senate, Gulham Ishaq Khan, became acting President and proclaimed a state of emergency promising that the elections would take place as scheduled later in the year.

Benazir Bhutto’s PPP failed to win an overall majority but, with the help of coalition partners, came to power as the largest party in the new National Assembly, and Bhutto herself became the first woman in modern history to be elected premier of a Muslim state. Gulham Ishaq Khan was subsequently chosen by an electoral college to serve a five-year term as President. In the context of severe economic difficulties and mounting ethnic violence in Sind, the latter’s hold on power became increasingly tenuous. The government’s failure to introduce a populist socioeconomic programme increased widespread dissatisfaction, and party members were also dismayed at their leaders’ attempts to win over the opposition by apparently compromising the party’s position.

In August 1990, the President dismissed Bhutto
and an interim premier, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, was appointed. Elections were held in October in which the opposition Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (III) and its allies won convincing victories on both the national and provincial level. All four provinces returned anti-PPP majorities. While the voting was generally considered to be free of rigging, the low turn-out of no more than 50% reflected continuing popular disillusionment with the political process. The IJI leader, Nawaz Sharif, a PandjabI industrialist and former protege of Zia, was sworn in as Prime Minister. Pakistan was badly affected by the Gulf crisis 1990-91. Remittances from workers employed in the Middle East, already declining, dropped further, and the government was caught in a dilemma between honouring long-standing alliances with the West and strong pro-Trāk sentiment at home. In the event, Pākistānī troops were sent to Saudi Arabia with the provision that they did not come under United States control. Pakistan was badly affected by the Gulf crisis 1990-91. Remittances from workers employed in the Middle East, already declining, dropped further, and the government was caught in a dilemma between honouring long-standing alliances with the West and strong pro-Trāk sentiment at home. In the event, Pākistānī troops were sent to Saudi Arabia with the provision that they did not come under United States control.

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Gujarat, when the distribution of population according to religion was as follows: Hindus, 222,714; Muslims, 28,690 and Jains, 12,542. Since Partition, many of the Muslims have emigrated to Pakistan.

Palembang, the capital city of the province of Sumatera Selatan (South Sumatra) in Indonesia, situated on the shores of the Musi river. It lies in long. 104° 45' E. and lat. 2°59' S., and has a population of ca. 790,000 (1990), of whom some 85% are Muslims.

The area of Palembang, united with neighbouring Malauy (Jambi), was the centre of the (Mahajan) Buddhist empire of Sri Vidjaya (4th-14th centuries A.D.), renowned especially in the 8th-10th centuries for its famous study centres for Buddhism and Sanskrit. After the 11th century, tantric Kala-Cakra-Buddhism with a strong magical component became dominant. In 1377 Palembang was conquered and partly destroyed by the ruler of Majapahit, the great Hindu-Javanes empire (14th-15th centuries). A royal prince, after his escape, founded Malacca [q. v.] in 1403 and became its first sultan after adopting Islam in 1413. The Javanese-Chinese adpati of Palembang, Arya Damarr (after his conversion to Islam: Arya Dilal = ‘Abd Allâh, 859-91/1455-66), became the ancestor of the later sultans of “Palembang Darussalâm”. Sultan Susuhunan Arya Kusuma [q. v., :Abd al-Rahman Khan, 1045-1099/1635-1706] was the first ruler to adopt this title. After a pleader struggle between Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin and Sultan Ahmad Najamuddin in 1811-21, a struggle used by the British and Dutch for their conflicting interests, the Dutch finally exiled the last sultan, Najamuddin’s son, in 1825, following a last abortive attempt to regain his independence. Thus the history of the sultanate came to an end.

In the second half of the 18th century especially, some Muslim scholars from Palembang achieved international fame, such as Shughrîn, Ikhâshmî, Wakhlî, Yâdzhâhâlî, Sangîlî, Mundî, etc. [see Iran, iii. Languages, no. 105].

Being so topographically and climatically unattractive to all but a few agriculturists in the valleys and nomads on the plateaus, the only part of the region of historical significance has been the upper Ouxus valley, along which an important commercial route led to passes across the Hindû Kush [q. v.] mountains to the Panjdir [q. v.] valley of Afghanistan and southwards into Citrâl [q. v.] and Gilgit [q. v. in Suppl.]. It was doubtless for this reason that the region was known to the Chinese, with Shughrîn [q. v.] appearing in Chinese sources, such as the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Husen-Tsang, as Shek-ni (“the kingdom of the five Shek-ni (gorges)”), apparently referring to the Ouxus’s name here of Pandî. In Islamic times, al-Ya’kûbi, Budîn, 292, tr. Wiet, 199, mentions the principality in the upper Tughrâristân [q. v.] of (?) Khumûr Beg or Khumûr Tîgîn, ruler of Shikinân (Shughrân) and Badakhshân [q. v.]; the people there were still pagan, though apparently tributary to adjoining Muslim princes (see Ibn Hâwkal, ed. Kramer, 467, tr. Kramer and Wiet, 449-50; Barthold, Turkestan, 65). The Hubdî al-’âlam (4th/10th century) situates in the Patmir region the “Gate to Tibet”, dar-i Tukbîr, and the seat of the malak of Wakánh at Ishkâmîgh, its chief-lieu (tr. Minorsky, 120-1, § 26.12-18, comm. 365-9; cf. Marquart, Erânsahr, 224-6).

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo passed through the Patmir region, from Badakhshân to the Wakánh valley and thence northwards to Kâshghar [q. v.;]: he describes the sparse inhabitants there as warlike Muslims, with a chief called (?) None (Yule-Cordier, The book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1903, i, 170, and Itinerary map no. 112).

Subsequently, in the upper Ouxus region of the Patmir was mainly under the political authority of Nizârî Ismâ’îlî hereditary mîrî based on Shughrân, who managed to survive pressure and attacks from the local Timûrid governors; this isolated Ismâ’îlî community has been significant for its rôle in preserving many theological and legal texts of the sect (see F. Daftary, The Ismâ’îlis: their history and doctrines, Cambridge 1990, 436, 441, 486-7, 544). Toward the end of the 19th century, the upper Ouxus/Pandî river was established, after disputes between the Amir of Afghanistan ‘Abd al-Râhîn Kân [q. v.], the Amir of Bukhârâ and the Russians, as the political boundary between the Russian Central Asia and Afghanistan (the Russo-Afghan Agreement of 1895) (see L. Dupree, Afghanistan, Princeton 1973, 424).

Pamir, the name (of unknown etymology) of a mountain massif of Inner Asia. Its core is in the modern Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous oblast of the former USSR, but it spills over into Kirghizia and Tadjikistan to the north and west, and into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China to the east, and Afghanistan (including the Wakân corridor) and Pákistânî Kâshmîr (Azád Kâshmîr) to the south. Comprised mainly of east-west-running ranges, its many river valleys being right-bank affluents of the upper Ouxus (here called the Pandîr “Five [rivers]”), its mountains reach a height of 7,495 m/24,584 ft, on Communism Peak. It is extremely thinly populated: the population of the western Pamirs is in the main ethnically Tadjik and Ismâ’îlî Shî‘î in faith, whilst that of the eastern Pamirs is mainly Turkish Kirghiz and Sunni Muslim (some of these last, from the Wakân corridor, fled via Gilgit and eventually settled in Turkey after the 1978 Communist takeover in Afghanistan; see Muhajîrî. 2. In Turkey and the Ottoman lands, at vol. VII, 353b). As a typical refuge area, it is in the Patmir region that there survive certain archaic eastern Iranian languages, such as Shughrîn, Ishkâmîgh, Wakhlî, Yâdzhâhâlî, Sangîlî, Mundî, etc. [see Iran, iii. Languages, no. 105].

Pan-Arabism, an ideology advocating an overall union of Arabs (waḥdat al-‘Arab, al-waḥda al-‘Arabîyya). Ideologues of Pan-Arabism have consistently recommended such a union on the basis of several elements of commonality: (a) Language and culture, considered the ultimate expression of the entire Arab nation and one of its major links with the
past (including the Islamic past; many Arabs have expressed their nationalism in Islamic terms). (b) History, preoccupation with which accorded immersion in a common past glory differing from the 20th-century situation. (c) Ethnic-origins, increasingly called "race" in the first half of the 20th century. (d) Territorial contiguity from the coasts of Morocco to those of 'Irak and Saʿūdī Arabia, which maintained a common culture and history and could naturally promote political and economic relations. The methods advocated were primarily aimed at focusing on the establishment of federations and confederations as a step towards a general union, to be achieved either by persuasion or force.

The history of Pan-Arabism is largely a record of these attempts. In the early 20th century, several writers and journalists, such as Negib Ajoury, discussed the Arab nation in terms of long-extend primordial sentiments. Their works were mostly read by relatively small elitist circles, however, and rarely served as guidelines for achieving an all-Arab union. Only after the end of the First World War, with the consequent breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of mandated Arab entities (see mandates), were political moves made by several Arab leaders towards federating Arab-inhabited territories. The Hashemite rulers of 'Irak and Transjordan were prominent in this sphere.

The long-range aim of Faysal I [q.v.] of 'Irak was to establish a confederation, embracing 'Irak, Syria, Transjordan, Palestine and the Hijaz. He sought to bolster his own position and that of his country in a highly competitive environment, while gaining access to Mediterranean shores. French-mandated Syria was the key to Faysal's success or failure; he strove to persuade the Syrians, French and British of his plans' feasibility. Certain nationalist groups supported Faysal and his Pan-Arab plans during the 1920s and 1930s, not only in 'Irak, but in Syria as well. In the Pan-Islamic Congress that convened in Jerusalem in 1931 (see pan-Islamism), a group of activists from Damascus and Jerusalem met and drew up a Pan-Arab charter, whose first paragraph declared the indivisibility of the Arab nation and Arab lands. Pan-Arabists from 'Irak, Lebanon and Egypt proclaimed their solidarity with this charter. Plans to convene an all-Arab congress in 1932 floundered, however, because of the strife between 'Irak and Saʿūdī Arabia, as well as British opposition.

Following Faysal I's death in 1933, his brother 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], then Amir of Transjordan, intensified his own efforts at achieving a partial Arab union. Having been involved in Syria's affairs in the 1920s, in the succeeding decade 'Abd Allāh renewed his plans to create a confederation of Transjordan with Syria (and 'Irak and Palestine, eventually), with himself as its ruler. Once the British had ousted the Vichy French forces from Syria, he again tried to promote his Greater Syria project, persisting in these efforts after the Second World War as well. His failure was due not only to Saʿūdī opposition and Egyptian reservations, but also to the activities of the 'Irak Prime Minister Nun al-Saʿūd, who was working along the same lines on behalf of his own state, attempting to persuade the British to help in shaping up a union among 'Irak, Syria and Palestine (including Transjordan). 'Abd Allāh, however, opposed this scheme, which would have diminished his own chances of heading such a union. Another complicating factor was a proposal in 1936-7 by 'Abd al-'Azīz Al Saʿūd [q.v.], King of Saʿūdī Arabia, to set up an Arab federation headed by himself.

The more factors involved in such moves, the less practicable they became. Even Egypt joined these efforts. Since the early 20th century, a significant part of the political spectrum had identified supra-national objectives and defined itself in Pan-Arab or Pan-Islamic terms, based on the commonality of the Arabic culture and language for an all-Arab nation. Egyptian Pan-Islamists, too, considered Pan-Arabism as a vital step in the struggle for their own ideals. In the 1930s, political groups advocated Pan-Arabism, emphasizing Egypt's solidarity with Arabs elsewhere. At the same time, elitist groups in 'Irak and Syria expressed themselves in similar political language. Cultural cooperation among Arab governments and other organisations also increased in the 1930s and early 1940s, much of it expressed in political action; cultural and professional associations were formed and politico-literary conventions held. Pan-Arab terminology was increasingly employed by these groups and others.

Towards the end of the Second World War, chiefly after 1945, Arab wishes and British interests combined to bring about consultations for the establishment of the Arab League (Džāmi'at al-duwal al-ʿArabiyya, literally, the League of Arab States [see al-Džāmi'at al-ʿArabiyya in Suppl.]). A preparatory committee met in 1944 and the League itself was set up in Cairo in the following year by Egypt, Saʿūdī Arabia, 'Irak, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Yemen (along with a representative of Palestine's Arabs). It has meanwhile grown to comprise twenty-two states, including Mauritania, Somalia and Djibuti. The League, the most important organisational instrument of Pan-Arabism, could not have been founded without the increase in the number of factors propounding Arab unity; its rather limited political success, on the other hand, reflects strong elements of divisiveness. The League's main objective has been to promote all-Arab unity through cooperation and policy coordination amongst its member states in economics, culture, health, law, communications and social affairs. Its committees have achieved results in all these areas, but much less so in politics and military matters, due to clashes of interests amongst its members and power struggles between rival groups of member states. Paragraph 7 of the League's charter, which allows for vetoing any decision, reflected this situation. Consequently, cardinal decisions in inter-state relations have been reached by direct negotiations between the states, not via the Arab League, where members agree to disagree. The League's most important service to Pan-Arabism remains its very existence as a regional organisation of sovereign Arab states, a framework for debate and consultation amongst its members and an instrument for crisis management, as in its mediation in the civil war in Lebanon during the 1980s (it failed, however, in its attempt to mediate between 'Irak and Kuwayt in 1990).

Twelve summit meetings of Arab heads-of-state or their delegates took place between 1964 and 1982 in various capitals. These were useful occasions to coordinate policies regarding the Palestine problem and to attempt to resolve conflicts of interest among Arab states. They accomplished but little, however, insofar as rapprochement was concerned. More meaningful were various moves for unification, starting with Egypt and Syria (in February 1958), soon joined by Yemen, and the 'Irāqī-Jordanian unification shortly thereafter. These, however, proved ephemeral, as did several similar moves, e.g. in North Africa. While widely proclaimed as steps towards an all-Arab union,
they were regarded by many as merely intended to serve regional self-interests. Djamal Abd al-Nasir was seen by many as a natural leader of a future Arab union. Similarly, various groups and political parties, chiefly in Syria and Lebanon, strove to promote Pan-Arabism. Of these, the most important was the Ba'th movement. Its particular importance lies in its widespread impact (it has numerous political parties, chiefly in Syria and Lebanon, strove to become a near-dominant force in Lebanon since 1990 (Arab critics, however, accuse it of "Pan-Syrianism" rather than Pan-Arabism); and its ideology: Syria did so by becoming a near-______________________________________________________________________________
ly oriented, developed nationalist aspirations from the third quarter of the 19th century onwards. While mostly centred on the specific problems of the Tatars, Azeris and some other groups, their nationalist sentiments borrowed heavily from both Pan-Islam and Pan-Turkism [q.v.]. The reason was self-evident; isolated from one another by huge empty spaces or by masses of other populations (non-Turkic and non-Islamic), the Tatars, Azeris and others sought the support of their brethren-in-faith, and particularly that of the largest independent Islamic state of the time, the Ottoman Empire. These Pan-Turk, Pan-Islamic and Russian Muslims, in 1905-6, served to sharpen nationalist and Pan-Turk sentiments and even create several organisational elements. In 1917, these Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic organisations intensified their political activities, but were soon broken down by the new Soviet régime and its Red Army. During Soviet rule, at least until recently, a persistent atheist propaganda was carried out, intensified by anti-Pan-Islamic activities. Many Soviet publications of the time reveal a basic fear of the competition of Pan-Islam with the régime's own universalist ideology, Communism.

In another part of the globe, India was one of the largest concentrations of Muslims masses. While signs of an Islamic revival were noticeable even before the First World War, it was mainly subsequent to that war that political Pan-Islam came into being there, soon becoming a significant force. Hemmed in by what they perceived as a threat by the huge Hindu majority, political leaders of India's Muslims naturally sought allies among Muslim populations abroad, with increasing emphasis being placed on the Pan-Islamic element of commonality. Moreover, India's Muslims, like the Hindus there, already had a tradition of organising politically on European lines, a feature rarely observable elsewhere. The spark which ignited Pan-Islamic political activity in India was the threat to Turkey and, most particularly, to the caliphate, immediately after the end of the First World War. The defeated Ottoman Empire was being dismembered, Constantinople had been occupied by the Allied Powers and the office of the sultan—who claimed to be the caliph—was being threatened. Two brothers, Muhammad Ali [q.v.] and Shawkat Ali, and other Muslim political leaders gathered in a Khilafat movement [see KHILAFA] to save the caliph and the caliphate. This comprised hundreds of thousands of adherents, collected large sums, which were sent to Turkey, organised mass demonstrations, published manifestoes and newspapers, and despatched missions abroad to intercede with the Allied Powers. The movement grew during the early 1920s, but petered out after 1924, when the Republic of Turkey abolished the caliphate and exiled the last sultan-caliph. This act deprived the Pan-Islamic movement of its titular head and dealt it a blow from which it has not yet recovered, remaining without a common leader to look up to.

Thus in the inter-war period, particularly since the mid-1920s, political Pan-Islam receded in such importance as a Muslim centre as Russia, India and Turkey. Pan-Islamic congresses in that period, mentioned above, only served to emphasise this retreat. Most of its activities and publications focused in the Arab-populated countries of the Middle East and North Africa. However, in these, too, Pan-Islam had to compete with rival ideologies, such as modernisation, secularisation, nationalism, and Pan-Arabism [q.v.]. But the first expressions of the revival of Islam comprised an obvious element of Pan-Islam as well, for example in Egypt, where the organisation of the Muslim Brethren, set up in 1928, adopted some of the slogans of Pan-Islam, as in the speeches and writings of its founder, Hasan al-Banna [q.v.]. This could be noticed even better, at the time and subsequently, in Saudi Arabia which, after all, had been established on the foundations of classical Islam which served as the most prominent element cementing the inter-tribal union on which rested the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The situation changed radically after the Second World War. The number of independent states with Muslim populations grew visibly. Although only some of these emphasised their Islamic character, it soon became clear that Islam was again a factor to be reckoned with in local, regional and international politics. True, Islam and Pan-Islam had to compete increasingly not only with the impact of Europe, as before (to which that of the United States was added later), as well as with that of nationalism, particularism and secular modernism, but also with the influence of rival universal ideologies in Muslim lands, like Pan-Arabism, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Iranism. An answer was found by the Pan-Islamists in due course, on both the ideological and pragmatic-organisational levels.

On the ideological level, the more extreme Pan-Islamists, rooted in faith, still advocated a religious-political union of all Muslims; their model was the early history of Islam, as warmly preached by Muslim fundamentalists everywhere; for these, a religious and political Pan-Islam was a sine qua non. For numerous others, more moderate, some accommodation with reality was deemed necessary. Well aware of the immense power of nationalism in many of the new Muslim states, they argued for solidarity among all these, as a transitional stage to the universal state canvassed by fundamentalists and their partisans. They maintained, moreover, that complete solidarity—political, military, economic and cultural—would create a huge force, capable of achieving its own ends in any conflict or clash of interests with European and other Powers. On the pragmatic level, no less significantly, it appeared for the first time that achieving Pan-Islam, at least on the level of solidarity, was feasible. Not only were there independent Muslim states with which the political and social organisations could promote the fulfillment of Pan-Islam, such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, and later Egypt, Persia and Libya; but at least some of these also had the economic capacity to do so. Indeed, some—chiefly Saudi Arabia, Persia and Libya—had become gigantic oil producers since the 1973 boycott. Several, notably Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, had set up efficient structures for furthering the political and economic aims of Pan-Islam, largely in the context of promoting solidarity and cooperation. Three of the most important organisations should be mentioned specifically.

(a) The Muslim World Congress was set up in Karachi in 1949, very probably with official Pakistani encouragement; it now comprises some thirty-six member states, although branches exist in sixty countries. Among its tenets are propagating Islam, cooperating with all Muslim lands in order to promote Islamic unity, persuading Muslim governments and peoples to renounce their differences, instilling Arabic as a lingua franca of all Muslims, co-operating in trade policies, framing constitutions and laws based on the shari'a (or Islamic jurisprudence). (b) The Muslim World League was founded in Mecca in 1962 as an unofficial agency of the Saudis. It serves, however, as an umbrella organisation of many other Islamic
associations and groups. Richly funded by the Saudis, the League’s activities in all fields continue to be varied. As a non-governmental body, it is concerned not only with Islamisation and propaganda for religious education, but also with promoting Islamic solidarity (and paying for it): it promotes many publications and international seminars, preaches unified Islamisation and Islamic law and assists Muslim minorities with the aim of drawing them into a common Islamic activity, both political and economic. (c) The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, also Saudi-inspired, was established in 1969 as an association of Muslim states complementary to the Muslim World League. The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, made up of some forty-five states, combines the principles of Islam with the mechanisms of a contemporary international body. Both its charter and its activities emphasise the consolidation of Islamic solidarity, co-ordination and co-operation, with a view to strengthening the integration of all Muslim states in the future. For this purpose, the Organisation has set up the instruments for active policies—political, economic and cultural. Meetings of the Organisation’s Heads-of-State and Foreign Ministers have initiated and furthered some common institutions, as an Islamic Development Bank (modelled on the World Bank), an Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (patterned on UNESCO), and an Islamic Academy for Jurisprudence (to achieve the unity of the Islamic world in the legal sphere). See further, Mu'tamak.


PAN-TURKISM, one of the Pan-ideologies originating in the late 19th century. It expresses strong nationalist interest in the welfare of all Turks and members of Turkic groups, recognisable by kinship and culture. It addresses itself chiefly to those in Turkey, Cyprus, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, Syria, Iran, Persia, Afghanistan and East Turkistan (or Sinkiang). Pan-Turkism should be distinguished from Turkism (sometimes called Pan-Turanism), a broader concept, whose ideologies hail as fellow-Turks all those originating from Türān, a mythical plateau in Central Asia; this would include all the above groups as well as the Finns, Estonians, Hungarians, Yakuts, Mongols, Manchurians (even the Chinese and Japanese). Generally termed Türkçülük in modern Turkish, Pan-Turkism is confined at times with Türklik, or Turkism, which more usually refers to the commonality of Turkish civilisation. It is not always easy to distinguish, historically, between the more moderate cultural Pan-Turkism, aiming at solidarity, and the relatively extreme political trend, seeking an irredentist union for all Turkic groups and the lands they inhabit. As in some other Pan-ideologies (such as Pan-Slavism), the cultural trend frequently precedes the political movement, with the latter generally predominating afterwards.

While Arminius Vambéry, the Hungarian-Jewish Turcologist, seems to have been the first to use the term Pan-Turkism, in the late 1860s, and to consider its political potential, it was left to intellectuals from the Tatars, Azeris, and other Turkic groups in Tsarist Russia to work out an ideology and attempt to set up organisational structures. Practically all of them were Muslims, resentful of policies of Russification and Christiansation being carried out by the ruling classes of Tsarist Russia. In defence, Muslim sentiment grew stronger and nationalist feeling began to spread. The latter, which proudly asserted the characteristics of each Turkic group, instinctively sought allies amongst its ethnic and linguistic kinsfolk, all of which led to the concept of Pan-Turkism. These nationalist intellectuals tended to be secular-minded, without being anti-religious. Their rallying slogans were Turkism and Pan-Turkism, of which Islam and Pan-Islam [q.v.] were occasionally added. Indeed, their call for the latter seems to have been in direct ratio to their isolation and their need for allies.

Not surprisingly, among Pan-Turkism’s most prominent initiators in Tsarist Russia were the Tatars, who had endured Russian rule longest and were the chief sufferers from the effects of Pan-Slavic-minded Russification. Further, although they were surrounded by non-Turks, they were located relatively close to the Ottoman Empire with its preponderant Turkish-minded élites. A Tatar bourgeois class had been developing, and in the late 19th century it had found itself capable of raising the twin banners of nationalism and Pan-Turkism. The Tatars were well aware that linguistic commonality was the key factor in a rapprochement and ensuing joint activity among the Turkic groups. Realising that literacy levels were low and that linguistic and dialectal variations prevented effective co-operation, they strove for improved education and language reform, and the publication of journalistic propaganda. The life’s work of Ismā‘īl Gasparrī [q.v.] exemplifies this trend.

A schoolmaster and mayor, he revised the curriculum in his town to include Turkish, along with Arabic; then he devised a lingua franca for schools and newspapers (he himself published a newspaper, called Terjumān “Interpreter”, from 1883), emphasising the common vocabulary of the Turkic languages and attempting to minimise phonological differences. Preaching “unity in language, thought and action,” Gasparrī’s brand of Pan-Turkism was chiefly cultural.

Other Tatars, like Yusuf Akkūra, ʾAbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbī Jahlīl ibn ʿAbī Jahlīl, and Azeri like Ahmed Aghaoglu, preached political Pan-Turkism. Akkūra, in particular, in his lengthy article in Al-Türk ("Three systems of government"), anonymously published in Cairo in 1903, rejected Ottomanism and Pan-Islam, arguing that Pan-Turkism was the only feasible ideology for unity, which ought to be a union of all Turks, with Turkey at its centre. These and others were encouraged in their action by the revolutionary trends current in Russia of that period. In addition to publishing newspapers, they organised three
congresses of all Russia's Muslims (1905-6), presided over, again, by Tatars, in which a Pan-Turk union was discussed; Azeris and Turkestanis joined in. Such congresses were repeatedly held in 1917 and revolved around Adharbaydjan, Turkistan, Buhkara, Khiwa and Khokand. Most of these uprisings were suppressed by the Red Army in the following years. The Soviet authorities banned Pan-Turkism, along with other universal ideologies competing with Communism. A harsh campaign of propaganda for Communism, strict censorship, and personal and economic pressures drove Pan-Turkism underground until the breakdown of the Soviet Union, when it is showing signs of a revival.

In most other areas where Turks and Turkic groups have held a minority status, Pan-Turkism has been low-keyed in expression, making itself heard mainly in times of discrimination or persecution. It was only in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in its last decade, that it flourished. Writers and journalists, émigrés from Tsarist Russia and other countries, promoted it, joined by such distinguished Turkish intellectuals as Ömer Seyfeddin and Mehmed Emin [Yurdakul] [q.v.], or even Ziya Gök Alp, a Kurd, and Tektin Alp, a Jew. Their literary and political organisations inspired further activities, and their books and newspapers have remained the treasured heritage of Pan-Turkism to this day. No less important politically is the fact that from ca. 1910, a part of the ruling Committee for Union and Progress adopted Pan-Turkism as the official state ideology. Chiefly supported by Enver Pasha, the Committee used the state bureaucracy (including secret agents) and finances for Pan-Turk propaganda and activity both within the Empire and abroad, among Turkish-Turkic concentrations. The very entry of Turkey into the First World War was at least partly motivated by Pan-Turkism. The main contributors to these periodicals were from among the émigrés, referred to above. Nonetheless, organisationally Pan-Turkism in Turkey itself remained weak and limited to élite circles.

This situation was partly changed by Alparslan Türkeş. Born in Nicosia in 1917, he emigrated with his family to Turkey and chose a military career, reaching the rank of colonel. His connections with the Pan-Turks began at least as early as the mid-1940s, when he participated in their street demonstrations. A controversial figure, he entered politics in 1965, when he took over the leadership of a medium-size political party whose name he changed to the Nationalist Action party (Millîyeti Hareket Partisi). This ultranationalist grouping, active in politics until the military intervention of 1980, which banned all parties, and subsequently re-established as the Industrial Unions Party (Çalıspa Partisi), still with Türkiye as chairman, obtained—at least for a while—the support of Pan-Turkists. In recent years, though, they have abandoned it, since Türkiye did not achieve results that satisfied them, and, also, because Türkiye increasingly took a pro-Islamic stand (in order to gain more votes), which Pan-Turkists did not consider consistent with their basic ideology.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there seems to have occurred, again, an upsurge in Pan-Turk sentiment, in Turkey, where public feelings identified with the “Outside Turks” (Dış Türklər) first in Bulgaria, then in the Union of Independent States, heir to the Soviet Union, as both sides of the border increasingly wished for greater co-operation and solidarity. Nonetheless, the ideal of a Pan-Turk union has not been achieved, for several reasons. Among external factors, the general reluctance of the Powers to alter the status quo co-operated with opposition by the former Soviet Union and by China, as well as their protégés, to political (and even cultural) Pan-Turkism. Among internal ones, no less crucial, have been opposition by most of Turkey’s political establishment, strong competition by rival ideologies, paucity of numbers (and no grassroots support) and lack of effective organisation.

Bibliography: Several periodicals in Turkey still carry the message of Pan-Turkism. Some of these advocate the cause of a specific area and are edited and published largely by émigrés. Such are Azerbaycan, Turkistan and Emel (the last caters to Tatars). Two scholarly periodicals advocate Pan-Turkism more generally, the monthly Türk Kültürü (Ankara) and the bi-monthly Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları (İstan-

One possible connecting link among the various enumerations of the Pānc Pīr is the idea of martyrdom, since the tomb of a pāhil — which may come to have its own attached pīr — commonly attracts a particular devotion. For example, away from north India — where in north-eastern India — are visited as much by Hindus as by Muslims. The “doubtfully Islamic fair” (musulmdm dewtdr), and have certain ceremonies performed by Muslim drummers (dafdšl, strictly “tambourine”). Crooke’s lists, which enumerate the offerings (not excluding spirituous liquor) presented to the Five at different places and by different kawm, show an amazing diversity of practice between one community and another, as though the Five were Hindu household or village gods, and as though any conformity were only a matter of kawm organisation. The household worship of the Five may simply be directed to an iron bar or three-pointed spear, representing Ghāzī Miyān, or five wooden pegs in the floor of the courtyard. There may be some cohesion through the songs of the itinerant dafšams, but otherwise the Pācipirī have no formal organisation; the cult is discouraged by orthodox Muslims, and their “priests” are nothing but opportunists operating upon an illiterate and gullible public.

Specimens of the ballad poetry of the dafšams and others, given by Greven, are largely adaptations to Muslim ideas of tales found in the Indian epics, and the glorification of Ghāzī Miyān and his family.


(See Panjāb below.)

PANDJĀB (p., “land of the five rivers”), a province of the northwestern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In pre-Partition British India it comprised all that part of the Indian Empire, with the exceptions of the North West Frontier Province and Kāşmīr, north of Sindh and Rājpūtāna and west of the river Djamna. Geographically therefore it includes more than its name implies, for, in addition to the country watered by the Djjelum, Ĉināb, Rāwī, Bēa, and Sāleḍ, it embraces the table-land of Sirdh between the Sāleḍ and Djamna, the Sīnd-Sāgar Dāl, and the Sāleḍ and the district of Dērā Ghāzī Khān. Since 1947, the province has been divided between Pakistan and India, the eastern, Indian portion being now divided into the states of Pandjāb, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh (see 2. below).

Under British rule, the province of Pandjāb was administratively divided into two parts, British territory and the Pandjāb States. British territory, which had
an area of 99,265 square miles and a population in 1931 of 23,580,852, was divided into 29 districts, each administered by a deputy-commissioner. These districts were grouped into the five divisions of Ambala, Dhillundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multán, each under a commissioner. The Pandžáb States had an area of 37,699 square miles and a population in 1931 of 4,910,005. The conduct of political relations with Dughdāna, Patawdl, Kalsia, and the 27 Simla Hill States was in the hands of the Pandžáb Government. The remaining states of Lohār, Sirmür, Bilsāpūr, Mandi, Khoā, Kapurthala, Maler-Kotla, Faridkot [q.v.], Čambā, Bahāwalsūpur [q.v.], and the Phulkian states of Pāṭiālā, Dīnd, and Nabhā, were directly under the Government of India.

1. History until 1911

The history of this area has been profoundly influenced by the fact that the mountain passes of the north-west frontier afford access to the Pandžáb plains. For this reason, it is ethnologically more nearly allied to Central Asia than to India. The excavations conducted since 1920 at Harappa in the Montgomery district are evidence of a culture which probably flourished in the Indus valley about 3000 B.C., and which bears a general resemblance to that of Elam and Mesopotamia (Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, 3 vols., London 1931). But the first migration of which we have any evidence is that of the Aryan-speaking peoples who established themselves on the Pandžáb plains in pre-historic times. Centuries later, successive waves of invaders swept west devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the north-west. Persian, Greek, and Afghan, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Mahmūd of Ghazna, the hosts of Timūr, Bābur, and Nādir Shāh, and the troops of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.], all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fertile plains of the Pandžáb. All these migrations and invasions added to the heterogeneity of the existing population in the land of the five rivers. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the Pandžáb and the frontier zone from the banks of the Indus to the Afghan slopes of the Sulaymān range have never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general. The Sulaymān range itself has seldom formed a point of resistance to the tribesmen who established themselves on the mountain barrier.

The capture of Multān [q.v.] by Muhammad b. Kasīm [q.v.], in 947/13, extended Arab power to upper Sind and the lower Pandžáb, but the real threat to Hindustān came from the direction of modern Afghanistan. The Ghaznavīs invaded the powerful Hindu Ghāznavīs dynasty of Wayhand [see HINDU GHANZWIN] ruling between Lamghān and the Čināb. The power of this Hindu state was completely shattered by Mahmūd of Ghazna [q.v.], who annexed the Pandžáb, which became a frontier province of his extensive empire with its capital at Lahore (Lāhāwār [q.v.]) and the sole refuge of his descendants when driven out of Ghazna by the Šahsābānī sultans of Ghūr [q.v.]. However, the country had remained in Muslim hands since the days of the Arab conquest, but the fact that its rulers were heretical Kārmātians (i.e. Ismāʿīlīs) was one reason for Mahmūd's attack in 396/1006. Muḥammad Ghūrī annexed the Pandžáb in 582/1186 and on his death in 602/1206 it definitely became a province of the Sultanate of Dihlī under the rule of Kūṭb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.]. With the exception of occasional rebellions and raids from Central Asia, it remained under the Sultanate of Dihlī until the defeat of Ibrahim Lōdī [q.v.] by Bābur at Panipat [q.v.] in 932/1526 paved the way for the foundation of the Mughal empire. Under Akbar [q.v.] the modern province of the Pandžáb was included in the Šubān of Lahore, Multān, and Dihlī, a detailed description of which will be found in the Aʿlāʾīn Akbarī (tr. Jarrett, ii, 278-341).

The more intransigent policy of Akbar's immediate successors, above all, of Awrangzīb [q.v.], led to the growth of Sikh political power in the Pandžáb and transformed a band of religious devotees, founded by Guru Nanak [q.v.] in the 15th century, into a military commonwealth or Khāḷṣā animated with undying hatred toward Muslims [see SIKHS]. The weakness of the central government and the unprotected condition of the frontier provinces under the later Mughals exposed Hindustān to the invasions of Nādir Šaḥ [q.v.] and Ahmad Šaḥ Durrānī [q.v.]. On the bloodstained field of Panipat, in 1761, the Marāṭhās [q.v.], who were aspiring to universal sovereignty, sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan invaders. In the following year, at Barnālā near Ludhīnā, Ahmad Šaḥ dismastrodly defeated the Sikhs who had taken advantage of his absence in Kābul to possess themselves of the country around Lahore. The Sikhs, however, soon extended their sway to the south of the Sablēlj and ravaged the country to the very gates of Dihlī, but the further advance was checked by the Mughals who had rapidly recovered from their defeat at Panipat. It was the defeat of the Marāṭhās by Lord Lake, in 1803, which facilitated the rise of Randjī Singh and enabled him to found a powerful Sikh kingdom in the Pandžáb. His attempts to extend his authority over his co-religionists, the cis-Sablēlj Sikhs, brought him into conflict with the British, and, by the treaty of 1814, he pledged himself to regard the Sablēlj as the north-west frontier of the British dominions in India (Aitchison, viii, no. iii). After the death of Randjī Singh in 1839, his kingdom rapidly fell to pieces under his successors. Revolution succeeded revolution, and during the minority of Dalīp Singh the Khāḷṣā soldiery became virtually rulers of the country. Unprovoked aggression on British territory produced two Sikh wars which ended with the annexation of Punjab by the British. At first the newly-conquered territories were placed under a Board of Administration. This was abolished in 1855, its powers and functions being vested in a Chief Commissioner. In 1859, after the transfer of the Dihlī territory from the North-Western (subsequently the United) Provinces, the Pandžáb and its dependencies were formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

The annexation of the Pandžáb by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus brought the Government of India into closer contact with the Pathān tribes of the north-west frontier and the Amir of Afghanistan [q.v.]. Because this frontier was too long and too mountainous to admit of its being defended by the military alone, much depended upon the political management of the tribes. At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and no fixed boundary was conducted by the deputy-commissioners of the six districts of Hazāra, Peshāwār, Kohēt, Bānī [q.v.], Dērā Ismāʿīl Khān, and Dērā Ghāzī Khān [see DERĀGĀJT]. In 1876, the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshāwār, the three southern ones that of the Dērāgājt. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber [see KHJAB] during the Second Afghan War. Kurram
PANDJAB

[q. v.] became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi, and Wana were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Pandjab Government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901.

The Pandjab attained its latest dimensions within British India in 1911 when Dihlī became a separate province. It was not, however, until 1921 that it was raised to the status of a province.

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2. History after 1911

The course of British policy profoundly influenced political developments in the region after 1911. The British created a system of control based on their alliance with rural powerholders. They also encour-
gaged the growth of an “agriculturalist” political iden-
tity which the status of a governor’s province. This policy was largely dictated by the need to secure rural stability in a region which was the major centre for recruitment to the Indian Army. The Government of India’s in-
troduction of improved communications, the spread of western education and missionary activity, how-
ever, stimulated religious revivalism. The com-
munities of the Pandjab’s towns thus developed a communal political ideal which challenged the British definition of society. Two systems of politics emerged, the rural politics of mediation, and the urban politics of faith. The Government of India’s political institutions largely excluded the urban communities from power. Only members of the statutory “agriculturalist” tribes could stand for election in the rural constituencies which accounted for the majority of the seats in the Provincial Assembly, newly created in 1937. Because the rural voting requirements were low and large numbers of soldiers were enfranchised, agriculturalists comprised nearly three-quarters of the restricted electorate. This greatly handicapped both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, as their supporters were concent-
trated in the Pandjab’s towns.

The Unionist Party was the dominant political force. The Party was founded in 1923. It won the sup-
port both of the Muslim landholders from the West Pandjab and the Hindu Jat peasants of the eastern Ambala division. Its main policies concerned the elimination of rural indebtedness. Its cornerstone was the 1900 Alienation of Land Act which limited land transfers and divided Pandjab society into the categories of “agriculturalist” and “non-agricul-
turalist”.

Urban politicians, however, stressed communal identities. The Ahīrs championed the rights of Kashmīri Muslims and also attacked the heterodox Ahmadi community (see Ahmadiyya). The Khāñks also preached a revolutionary Islamic nationalism. The Sikhs Akāls were the first to successfully infuse com-
munal values into rural politics. They wrested power from the landholders of the Khālsa National Party through their militant struggle in the early 1920s to secure control of the Sikh shrines and temples. Muslim politics continued to move along the same track as before. The Unionist Party triumphed in the 1937 Provincial elections, reducing the Muslim League to a single seat. Jinnah received some consola-
tion when the new Unionist Premier, Sikandar Ḥāyāt Ḫān, agreed to support him in All-India politics in their Pact of October 1937. But the cost was the Unionist domination of the reorganised Pandjab branch of the Muslim League.

The Second World War dealt a series of blows to the Unionist Party. It had to agree to the unpopular measure of the forced requisition of grain. The War also undermined it by raising Jinnah’s status and signalling an imminent British departure from India. Simultaneously, the Party was internally weakened by the sudden deaths of Sikandar and Chhotu Ram, its leading Jat figure. Ḫidr (Ḵizr) Ḥāyāt Ḫān Tiwana succeeded Sikandar as Premier early in 1943. He remained wedded to the Party’s intercommunal stance, but he lacked his predecessor’s ability to unite all its Muslim factions. Jinnah seized the opportunity to reassert his authority over the Pandjab Muslim League. After protracted negotiations, he expelled Ḫidr from the party in May 1944. Thereafter there was a steady drift of Muslim Unionists into the Muslim League, while their Hindu counterparts joined the Congress.

The Unionist Party was reduced to a rump of 21 members following the 1946 Provincial elections. Ḫidr remained as Premier of a Coalition Ministry until March 1947. His resignation sparked an out-
break of communal violence which had become endemic by the summer of 1947. The disintegration of the police and other services helps explain the chaos which afflicted the region following the British departure.

The Partition of the Pandjab resulted from the ac-
ceptance of the 3 June Plan. The boundary commis-
sion drew a line passing between Lahore and Amrit-
sar. The decision to award an area of about 5,000 square miles of contiguous Muslim majority areas to India to retain the “solidarity” of canal and road systems evoked great controversy. In the chaotic two-
way flight of August to November 1947, 13 million people crossed the new boundaries. In 1956 the Par-
tiāla and East Pandjab States Union was merged with the Indian Pandjab State. This was, however, further reorganised along linguistic lines in 1966 with the Hindi-speaking areas being carved out into the new State of Haryana. The Himalayan Hill Tracts were also taken away to form part of what became the State of Himachal Pradesh. The Sikhs were left as a majori-
ty in their homeland for the first time. By 1981 they
comprised 56% of the State's population of 16,800,000. The West Pandjáb has undergone much less territorial reorganisation. It has incorporated the former State of Bahāwadār [q.v.]. From 1955-70 it was merged into the single province of West Pakistan. When it was reconstituted, it comprised 28 districts in five divisions and a population of 37,400,000.

Both the Indian and Pākistānī Pandjáb were historically well placed to benefit from the Green Revolution of the 1960s. They possessed good existing roads and canals and agriculturally skilful populations. With the introduction of the improved seeds and technology of the Green Revolution, agricultural production was further increased, with the result that they became the wealthiest regions in their respective countries. The Pākistānī Pandjáb possessed the additional favourable inheritance of a stranglehold over military recruitment.

The colonial legacy has also shaped political developments in the Pandjáb region. The Akālī Dal's dominant position in Sikh politics dates from its capture of the resources of the Sikh shrines and temples. The genesis of the Khalisṭān demand is complex and engendered by Mrs Gandhi's rule. Nevertheless, the sharpened Sikh communal identity during the colonial era, and Sikh distrust of the Congress following the failure of the Sikhs to demand in 1947, are important historical influences.

An important colonial legacy for the politics of the Pākistānī Pandjáb, and indeed for Pakistan as a whole, has been the region's establishment as a major army recruitment centre. For the virtual exclusion of non-Pandjabis from the continued military association with power has reinforced regional imbalances and increased alienation from the centre. Military service, landholding and political power have become increasingly intermeshed. Equally important, however, has been the inheritance of an unresolved tension between a political authority based on the mediation of local leaders and Islamic ideals. This boiled over in the anti-Ahmadi riots in Lahore of 1953 which were reminiscent of the Ahhrās' agitations of the 1930s. The riots resulted in the introduction of martial law in Lahore and the downfall of the Premier of Pakistan.

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Within the Pandjáb itself a similar pattern of influence from west to east may discerned in the pre-modern period. The local Muslim literary language, as often as not described by its authors in the usual Indo-Muslim fashion as "Hindi" or "Hindvi" rather than "Pandjábī" freely incorporates many Lahnda forms alongside those more strictly characteristic of the central Madjhl dialect of Lahore, the provincial capital. This may be accounted for by the continuing importance of Multān as a spiritual and political centre in the south-west, and by the fact that many of the most important writers came from the districts west of Lahore, where Pandjábī shades into Lahnda. The broad dialectal base of the literary language is to be seen in the simultaneous use of numerous western (Lahnda), mid-western (Lahnda-Pandjáb) and central (Madjhl) forms, e.g. feminine plural akẖi, akẖhīyān, akẖhīn "eyes", or future akẖhī, akẖhī, akẖhīgā "he will say". Only from ca. 1750 is it possible clearly to distinguish the Siraiki of south-western Pandjáb, more exclusively based on Lahnda [q.v.] from this composite Muslim Pandjábī literary idiom.

2. Muslim Pandjábī literature. The prolonged cultural
supremacy of Persian in the Panjâbi, only ended by the imposition of Urdu following the British conquests in the mid-19th century, accounts for the quite restricted nature of the typical genres of pre-modern Muslim Panjâbi literature, whose linguistic base has been indicated above. Written in Persian script and drawing extensively upon Perso-Arabic vocabulary, this Muslim literature may largely be considered in isolation from the contemporary Sikh scriptural and post-scriptural literature, whose dialectal base incorporates many more Hindi forms alongside their Panjâbi counterparts, which is recorded in the sacred Gurmukhi script, and whose abstract vocabulary is largely Sanskrit in origin. The two literatures coincide only in the isolated small corpus of pre-16th century šahâd and hymns attributed to Farîd al-Dîn Gând-ji Shâhâr (571-664/1175-1265 [q.e.j]) which is preserved in the Sikh LEASE GRANT (1604). While valuable as uniquely early examples of Muslim vernacular poetry in the Panjâbi, and as linguistic records (especially since the Gurmukhi script records such archaic features as morphemically significant distinctions of short vowels, never systematically indicated in the Persian script), these verses must in many ways be regarded separately from the later Muslim literature.

This abounds in the difficulties of attribution and dating, not to speak of the uncertainties of textual transmission, to be expected from its semi-popular character in relation to Persian. Also consistent with its popular nature is the fact that it is all composed in verse, whose patterns are based not upon the learned ʿarâd certainly familiar to many of its authors but on local metres characterised by regular accentual beats. The literature may be classified under three broad headings. The first consists of versified Islamic treatises on fundamentals of the faith or prescriptions of the gharāʾ. Although quite copious in quantity, this genre is of the least literary interest, even in the well preserved works of its first and best known exponent, Mâwlawâ Shâh “ʿAbd al-Lâh “ʿAbdī” of Lahore (d. 1075/1664).

A far greater literary significance attaches to the Šûfī lyric associated with kauwaštī performance. Here the previous genre is the kâfi, a lyric consisting of rhymed couplets or short stanzas having a refrain repeated at the end of each verse, and normally following the usual Indian poetic convention whereby the poet assumes a female persona, typically that of a young girl yearning to be united with her husband/lover, allegedly to be understood as an expression of the soul’s yearning for God. The 16th-century malamaṭī of Lahore, Shâh “Mâdhû Lâl” Hussayn, is considered to be the first exponent of the Panjâbi kâfi, although it must be observed that the transmission of the verse attributed to him has been largely through the oral kauwaštī tradition. The master of the genre is the Kâdîrî, “ʿAbd al-Lâh “Bullhe Shâh” (1680-1758), whose tomb is at Kâsîr, and in whose kâfis the combination of a lyrical poignancy underpinned by imagery from local legends and local life with widening Islamic references creates a local expression of Šûfī teaching and ideals still rightly regarded as classic. His reputation is matched only by that of another Kâdîrî, Sultan Bâbî of Jâhnâ (d. 1102/1691), whose more sober poetry is cast in the quafrâin form called dōhârā.

The third genre consists of longer narrative poems, composed in one or other of the two local metres called başî, and arranged by rhyme either in mathnawi-style couplets, or more usually in stanzas (paurî) of four or more lines, whose contents are often headed by Persian prose rubrics. Although more obviously designed for reading than the Šûfī lyric, at least the most famous of these narratives are equally performed as ballads to more or less set tunes. One category of such narratives indeed consists of historical ballads (sâr) on martial themes, the best known examples being the 18th-century Nadîr Shâh dî sâr by Nadîsâbâr, and the mid-19th century sâr on the Anglo-Sikh wars by Shâh Muhammad.

The largest and most popular class of narrative poems belongs, however, to the romance or kîsâ. Well attested from the 17th century, the Panjâbi kîsâ reaches its peak in the 18th-century Sîd Shâh (“Shâh Muhammad”) of Khanbâd (1180-1766). Comprising some 4,000 lines, this version of one of the most famous local legends is rightly regarded as the masterpiece of Muslim Panjâbi literature, not merely for its narrative skill but for its encyclopaedic vision of Panjâbi society, its exploitation of the total stylistic range of language from the most refined Perso-Arabic to the most earthily obscene, and its challenging mixture of the sardonic with the romantic. Classic treatments of other local legends, besides adaptations from the Persian of such widely diffused romances as Laylî- Majnûn or Shîrîn-Farhrad, followed in the early 19th century, and many further imitations were inspired by the development of Lahore as a major publishing centre from the 1860s. The only later kîsâ to achieve a popularity rivalling that of the Wârid Shâh Hîr was, however, the lengthy and elaborate re-working of the Arabian Nights’ romance of Sayy al-Mulak (1272/1855) by the Kâdîrî Miyaq Muhammad Bakhsh of Mîrpur (Kashmir) in some 10,000 lines as a Šûfî allegory incorporating a vast range of references to Islamic learning and local culture, characteristically concluding with the first history of Muslim Panjâbi literature.

3. Modern Panjâbi. While Panjâbi literature of a traditional type, if no longer of very high quality, continues even now to be produced in Pakistan, pre-modern patterns have been increasingly affected by the major linguistic and political changes which have overtaken the Panjâb in the 20th century.

The intimate association in modern South Asia between Urdu and Islam facilitated the ready acceptance during the British period by educated Panjâbi Muslims of Urdu in place of Persian as their main cultural language. The adoption of this modern standard Panjâbi was therefore left to the Sikh reformists and writers who from 1900 onwards used it as the medium of a modern prose literature. Being written in the Gurmukhi script, this literature was, however, unintelligible to nearly all Muslim readers, from whose ranks only a very small number of writers began to experiment with newer poetic forms, including adaptations of Urdu and English models into Panjâbi. This profound cultural barrier was naturally reinforced by the partition of the Panjâb in 1947, and the wholesale exchange of populations between its Indian and Pakistani parts [see PANJAB. 2. after 1911].

The place of Pakistan Panjâb as one of the stoutest continuing bastions of Urdu in South Asia was challenged in the succeeding decades only by very small groups of intellectuals and writers who began to lay the foundations of a modern standard. Panjâbi, inevitably profoundly influenced by Urdu, but consciously differentiated from it by the adoption of some elements from modern Sikh Panjâbî, and of a more carefully distinguished orthography (e.g. through the adoption of super-dotted nun to mark the retroflex r). The efforts of these pioneers have borne some fruit in recent decades, when political
developments have encouraged an increasing role for linguistic and other manifestations of local ethnicity in Pakistan. Their reversal of direction in the historic centring of Lahore, but at the cost of emphasising its distinctiveness from other regional standards, notably the Sirākī of Multān-Bahāwalpūr. For the present, therefore, Urdu continues to represent an attractive alternative to the greater adoption of Pandjābī as literary language, even in the specialised world of Pakistanī Pandjābī scholarship.


PANDJĪDĪ (Pandjīdī), a village now in the Turkmen Islamic Republic, situated to the east of the Kūshk river near its junction with the Murghāb at Pul-i Khištī. The fact that the inhabitants of this area, the Sarik Turkomans, were divided into five sections, the Sokīts, Harzaqīs, Khurāsānīs, Bāyaṝa, and the ‘Allī Shāh, has been put forward as a possible explanation of the origin of the name Pandjīdī, but it carries no weight as the Sariks were only 19th-century immigrants, whereas the name was in use in the 15th century.

This obscure oasis owes a somewhat melancholy importance to the ‘Pandji Incident’ of 1885, when an Afghan force suffered heavy losses in an engagement with Russian troops, and which threatened to become a major Anglo-Russian military confrontation in Central Asia. History proves that an ill-defined boundary is a potential cause of war. It was a knowledge of this and the Russian occupation of Marw in 1884, with an intention in Imperial Russian minds of extending power over all the Turkmen peoples of the region, that gave the necessary impetus to negotiations which ended in the appointment of an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission, for the delimitation and demarcation of the northern boundary of Afgānistan. Trouble immediately arose in this quarter, for while the Russians contended that the inhabitants of Pandjīdī were independent, the British held the view that they were subjects of the Amir of Afgānistan. According to the British, the district of Pandjīdī, which comprised the country between the Kūshk and Murghāb rivers from the Band-i Nādir to Ak Tepe, together with the rest of Bādgīs, formed part of the Harat province of Afgānistan. During the first quarter of the 19th century, Pandjīdī had been occupied by Djamshīdīs and Hazāras. Towards the end of this period, some Turkomans of the Ersari tribe, whose settlements were scattered along the banks of the Oxus between the Cardjuy and Bālgh, moved to Pandjīdī and obtained permission to settle there. Salor Turkomans had also settled in this area. About 1857, the Ersaris migrated from the oasis of Pandjīdī, and soon afterwards the Sarik Turkomans, forced southwards by their more powerful neighbours, the Tekkes, occupied Yulatan and Pandjīdī and compelled the Salor families to migrate elsewhere. Although, therefore, Pandjīdī had from time to time been occupied by various tribes, they had all, whether Djamshīdīs, Hazāras, Ersaris, Salors or Sariks, acknowledged they were on Afgān soil and paid tribute to the nādīb or deputy of the Afgān governor of Harat. The Sarik Turkomans had even supplied the Amir with troops. The British therefore contended that the district of Bādgīs, of which Pandjīdī formed a part, had long been under Afgān rule (Foreign Office mem. 65, 1205).

The Russians, on the other hand, contended that the people of this oasis had always enjoyed independence. Lessar, a Russian engineer, who visited Pandjīdī in March 1884, discovered no trace of Afgān authority, but a Russian doctor, named Regel, who visited it in June of the same year reported the presence of an Afgān detachment. In their opinion, therefore, Pandjīdī had only recently been occupied by Afghan troops.

The fact that the Afgāns had not permanently garrisoned this area was no proof of its independence. On the contrary, it was only natural that, after the Russian occupation of Marw and Pul-i Khāštī, ‘Abed al-Rahmān Khān should have taken steps to indicate his sovereign rights over this area. When, therefore, an Afgān garrison occupied Pandjīdī, the Russian Government immediately protested and disputed the Amir’s claim to the territory. While negotiations were taking place between London and St. Petersburg, events moved swiftly on the frontiers of Afgānistan. On 29 March 1885, General Komarow sent an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Afgān garrison. The Afgāns resolutely refused to withdraw, whereupon the Russians attacked them, driving them across the Pul-i Khištī with the loss of some 900 men. It must be admitted that the possibility of war drops in Pandjīdī, and the Russian advance to Yulatan on the Murghāb and to Pul-i Khāštī on the Harat Rūd, were both provocative actions almost certain to precipitate war. The whole incident should have been avoided, but the confusing reports of Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, to the Foreign Office, and the delay of Zelenoi, the Russian Commissioner, in arriving at Sarākhs complicated matters still more.
At the time, this incident seemed likely to embroil Russia and Britain in war, but, fortunately, the good sense of the Amir, who was at this critical moment on a State visit to Rawalpindi, and the diplomatic skills of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, prevented this, for even the pacific Liberal government of Gladstone had proposed to Parliament that £11,000,000 should be expended on preparations for war.

It was finally agreed that Pandjdh should be handed over to Russia in exchange for Dhu 'l-Fikrār, and by the year 1886 the northern boundary of Afghānistān had been demarcated from Dhu 'l-Fikrār to the meridian of Duktī within forty miles of the Oxus. After a dispute as to the exact point at which the boundary line should meet the Oxus, the process of demarcation was completed in 1888. This recognition of a definite frontier between Russia and Afghānistān led to a decided improvement in the Central Asian question.

In the history of mediaeval Islamic literature, Pandjdhī appears as the home, or the place of ultimate origin, of at least two poets: Abū Ḥanīfa Pandjdhī, whose Arabic verses are quoted in al-Bāḥkharī, Dumyāt al-kāz, ed. al-Hilī, Caire 1388-91/1968-71, ii, 257 no. 303 = ed. al-ʿĀrī, Baghdād 1390-1/1980-1, ii, 154; and Muẓaffarī Pandjdhī Marwī (Marwarīṭdhī ?), a Persian poet included by Niẓāmī Ṭārābī, Čahār maqāla, ed. Lūdīb al-ʿalābb, ed. Browne and Kāzżīnī, ii, 65-3, amongst the eulogists of the Ghaznawīs.


(C.C. Davies)

**PANDJHĪR,** the name of a river and its valley in the northeastern part of Afghānistān. From the river it flows southwards from the Hindu Kuğh [q.v.] and joins the Kābul River at Sarobi, and near this point a barrage was constructed in the 1950s to supply water for Kābul. The Pandjdhīr valley has always been important as a corridor for nomads who winter in the Lāmhānī-Djalalābād [q.v.] regions and then travel to summer pastures in Badakhshān [q.v.].

In mediaeval Islamic times, Pandjdhīr was a famed centre for silver mining [see MA[r]GON at V. 964, 967, 968 for details], and coins were minted there by the Saffārīds [q.v.], Abū Dāwūdīs and Bānījīdīrīs [q.v. in Suppl.] and Sāmānīds [q.v. see E. von Zambaur, Die Münzprägungen des Islam, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 79]. Pandjdhīr seems to have produced a poet in Persian of some renown (the "well-known" al-Bandjhdhī of Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, i, 499f, Abū 'l-Muẓaffarī Makkī al-Pandjdhīrī, eulogist of the Quz̄awīnīs; see A. Awdhī, ināj al-dīrāb, ed. Browne and Kāzżīnī, London-Leiden 1903-4, ii, 66).

In the 1980s, the Pandjdhīr valley was a particular centre of Muhdījī [q.v.] resistance to the Communist régime in Kābul and its Soviet Russian supporters.

**Bibliography:** See Le Strange, Lands, 417-19; J. Humlum et alii, La géographie d’Afghanistan, étude d’un pays aride, Copenhagen etc. 1959, 32, 41, 44, 311.

(Ed.)

**PANJDIH — PĂNĪPAT**

**PANDJHĪR** [see KANDAHAR].

**PĂNĐU’Ā, a mediaeval Islamic town of the Bengal Sultanate [see BENGAL], now in the Mādā District of the West Bengal State of the Indian Union, and situated about 16 km/10 miles to the south of modern Mādā town, in lat. 25° 8' N. and long 88° 10' E. It was the residence of Shams al-Dīn Íyās Shāh of Bengal (746-59/1345-58) and his five successors, and it was at Pandu’ā that he mounted the throne. Pandu’ā continued as the capital of the Bengal Sultanate till the reign of Djalal al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (817-35/1414-31), who transferred the capital to Gawr or Lakhnawī [q.v.]. On coins, Pandu’ā is referred to as Firūzābād. It was deserted due to its unwholesome climate and the rise of swamps and marshes. It is now a deserted town—a square mound, five miles in diameter with archaeological evidence of fortification.

Pandu’ā developed as a brisk centre of spiritual activity in Bengal. Djalal al-Dīn Tabrītī established his khānah dīkh at Deotala, near Pandu’ā. In 1742/1342 al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh built his tomb at Pandu’ā. Shāykh Sirāj al-Dīn Uthmān, known as Ḥakīm Kāirānī, a distinguished disciple of Shāykh Nīzām al-Dīn Awlīyā’ [q.v.], planted the Čighār order at Pandu’ā. His successors—Shāykh ‘Alī al-Hakk, Nūr Kūtb-i ‘Alam and others—played an important role in the cultural life of Bengal. According to the 1941 census, Pandu’ā was a State visit to Rawalpindi, and the diplomatic skills of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, prevented this, for the tomb of Nūr Kūtb-i ‘Alam. We find eminent sainats, like Shāykh Ahmad ‘Abd al-Hakk of Rudawli, visiting his shrine (Anu’d al-Uṣūn, 1213/1895). The site of Pandu’ā contains some splendid Muslim buildings, mostly in a ruinous condition, including the remarkable Adīnā or Friday Mosque, the largest and most significant mosque in Bengal, the “well-known” al-Bandjhdhī of Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, i, 499f, Abū ‘l-Muẓaffarī Makkī al-Pandjhdhī, eulogist of the Quzuwnīs; see A. Awdhī, ināj al-dīrāb, ed. Browne and Kāzżīnī, London-Leiden 1903-4, ii, 66).

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(Ed.)
PANTHAY, a term applied to the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan and their rebellion in the 19th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, Chinese Muslims in Yunnan province (in south-west China, bordered by Burma, Thailand and Vietnam) were known to the Europeans as Panthay, a term which had never been used anywhere in China. The Yunnanese Muslims were known as Hui-Hui or Hui-Tu.

Views concern the etymology of the term Panthay. If it derives from Chinese, it may have meant indigenous (Pen-ti) or rebellious brigand (Pan-Tie), although there is no reliable evidence. If, alternatively, it derives from Persian or Burmese, it might have been a corruption of Pan-se, a Burmese term, referring to Indo-Burmese of northern Arakan, who had converted to Islam in the early 13th century, and originating from Persian Parsi of which the sound was dropped by Burmese, who called Muslims Path or Pasi. The most likely etymology is that the term was a British coinage, corrupted by colonial officers in British India from the Burmese term Pan-se to designate the Yunnanese Muslims during their 1855-73 rebellion against the Manchu authorities. For today's Yunnanese Muslims in Burma, Panthay carries a pejorative meaning.

Sources concerning the first entry of Muslims and Islam to Yunnan vary in accuracy and credibility. Tang (618-906 A.D) and Sung (960-1279 A.D) records have left no adequate summary of the religious status and activities of Central Asian migrants in Yunnan, although archaeological evidence from the Tang period suggests that they were enslaved in the Buddhist Tali Kingdom of the native Yunnanese at that time. This accords with the fact that, when Tibet invaded the Tali Kingdom in 801, many of those taken prisoner were found to be conscripts from Samarkand. An unofficial history of the Tali Kingdom dating from the Sung period maintains that the first Muslims were Persian merchants and Southeast Asians on a tribute mission. According to Chinese Muslim legend, however, the first settlers were Arab merchants in the middle years of the Tang dynasty, and there is no evidence of Islam taking root in Yunnan prior to the Mongol conquest of the whole of China (1279), after which mass Muslim immigration into Yunnan was carried out by the central government through their own Muslim generals.

After the conquest, Muslims migrated to Yunnan in three waves, in 1253, 1256 and 1267. Various Muslim ethnic groups (Tanguts, Tatars, Uyghurs, Persians, etc.) were introduced, following their overlords as the province was settled. The Muslim immigrants were allocated lands and scattered all over the province, so that camps or villages, known as Hui-Hui Yin or Hui-Hui Chun, gradually developed. Furthermore, Central Asian Muslim soldiers were continually sent thither from other parts of China as part of a political and military strategy aimed at pacifying Burmese or local insurgents. This also served to promote social integration in that the Muslims intermarried with local Han women or to adopt non-Muslim orphans and bring them up as Muslims to become natural suitors for their daughters.

In order to maintain control of the Muslim population, the Mongol-Yüen court appointed Muslim generals as provincial governors, amongst whom the most eminent was the Bukhārī general, Sayyid Ajjali Shams al-Dīn ʿUmar, who was entrusted by Kublai
Khán [q. v.] with the task of sinicising not only the local tribes but probably also the Muslims. Under his governorship, many mosques were built, although he did not intentionally promote Islam. By the end of the Yuan period, the Muslims had gradually abandoned their Central Asian traditions in order to adopt Chinese customs and had developed their religion into a syncretised one.

During the Ming period (1368-1644), Muslim migration continued. However, unlike the Mongols, who had allowed their non-Han subjects to retain their traditions, the Ming rulers imposed Confucianism on the Han, and the Han and Muslim populations gradually gravitated towards a common Han culture. Under these conditions, Muslims were forced further to integrate, but managed to preserve their religious freedom and their numbers grew. As military activity decreased, soldiers engaged in other occupations, the most important of which, in mineral-rich Yunnan, was mining. The early Ming period also saw the start of the caravan trade, and eventually six trade routes linked Yunnan, Burma, Tibet and other parts of China. Porcelain manufacture also flourished. Hwei-Ch'ing (Islamic blue) was made chiefly in Yunnan for Muslim patrons abroad. By the onset of the Manchu-Ch'ing period (1644-1911), leather and carpet manufacture also significantly contributed to the Yunnanese economy. By the mid-19th century, the province of Yunnan was home to the second largest Muslim population centre next to that of Northwest China [see KANSU].

The national economic crisis prevailing in the 19th century was chiefly reflected in Yunnan in the mining industry, in which there was much Han-Muslim interaction, particularly in firing Han Chinese hatred against Muslims for their own interests. With all these factors ranged against them, the Muslims vainly tried to seek justice from the central government, but eventually they were driven to rebel against the Manchu authority itself.

The rebellions took place in the early 1850s in most parts of Yunnan, but were concentrated around Yunnan Fu (present-day Kunming), the provincial capital in the east, and the Tali region in the west. From the middle of 1856 onwards, local, uncoordinated insurrections gradually gravitated towards a few centres of leadership. In the eastern Yunnan, the grand imam, Yusuf Ma (Chinese name Ma Te-Hsing or Ma Fu-Chu) was elected as spiritual leader, but military responsibility was in the hands at first of his ahund disciples, mainly Hsu Yüen-Chi, later a military degree holder, Ma Ju-Lung.

Imám Ma, a prolific writer and Islamic educationalist, under whom Yunnan became one of the three Islamic learning centres in China, was a moderate theologian who advocated a negotiated solution to the Muslims' problems. On the other hand, Ma Ju-Lung, who had also been one of the imám's disciples, was an opportunist who sought privileges with the ruling Manchu.

Muslim forces were able to lay siege to Yunnan Fu three times between 1855 and 1862, causing severe strains on the imperial army and local Han militia, but failed to take the city. The response of the Manchu provincial government was to adopt a policy of 'Pardon and Pacification' and to reward the eastern rebel leaders with governmental posts and honorary titles. Imám Ma was appointed the Beg of Yunnan, which was the equivalent of Şaykh al-Islâm of Yunnan. This bought off the loyalty of the eastern rebels, who later became the main force led by Ma Ju-Lung to subdue the rebellion in the west.

This had been led by Tu Wen-Hsiu, also known as Sultan Sulaymán to the Europeans, who was more committed to the political and religious cause of Islam. His experience of the brutality of Manchu rule towards the Muslims in northwest China during the Djahriya (a Nakshbandiya [q.v.] Sufi sub-order) movement, inclined him not to yield to the Manchu's inducements and to hold out instead for an independent Muslim state within China.

Thus in western Yunnan, the situation was different. Here, the rebels seized Tali as capital of their sultanate (Ping-Nan-Kuo, in Chinese, "Southern Pacified Kingdom") in 1855. An Islamic court was set up and Islamic law implemented, but this only applied to Muslims, while the old Ming laws were retained and applied to non-Muslim subjects. Islamic learning was encouraged, Islamic schools were established to educate Muslims and many conversions took place, although these were not forced.

During the course of the rebellions, the two rebel groups were at odds and the only opportunity for them to unite to drive the Manchu out of Yunnan was wasted for two reasons. First, Tu Wen-Hsiu offered Ma Ju-Lung a high-ranking post in his court. Ma, who was politically and militarily more ambitious, rejected this, saying that he could serve under no-one other than the grand imám, Ma Ju-Lung. Secondly, there was considerable sectarian conflict. The eastern rebels belonged to the traditional conservative Kê-Ti-Mu (Ar. al-Kadim) who opposed new teaching or reform. The Tali court, on the other hand, was dominated by the Djahriya reformists who had been exiled to Yunnan after the suppression of their movement in northwestern China by the Manchu government. The grand imám, who himself belonged to the
Kê-Ti-Mu, was once courteously invited by the Tali Sultan to lead religious affairs, but the invitation was turned down. Under these circumstances, the Kê-Ti-Mu rendered assistance to the Manchu government to suppress the Tali rebellion for the sake of preserving their own religious interests.

After only 18 years, the Tali sultanate collapsed. Its fate was sealed following the defection to the Manchu of most of its Han leaders and its lack of modern weaponry in order to continue to fight. The defection of the Han leaders resulted from unbalanced power-sharing in the Tali court. The sultan was accused of favouring Muslims following her administrative and military affairs. Towards the end of its rule, the Tali court sought military assistance from Western powers. At the beginning of 1872 a Panthay mission, mediated by the British Government of India, and headed by the sultan’s adopted son, Prince Hasan, was sent to London to secure arms and recognition from Queen Victoria as a tributary of Britain. However, at that time the British government’s relations with Peking, from whom they hoped to gain further trade advantages, outweighed other considerations and the mission was not well received. Nor did it obtain the support of the Ottoman government in Istanbul, where it stopped on its way back to Yunnan.

The Yunnanese Muslim rebellion was not simply a political uprising against Manchu corruption, as it has been sometimes viewed. It was in reality a search for ethno-religious identity and social status. Prior to the Manchu period, Muslims were included in the Middle Kingdom, China, as Muslim Chinese and were treated equally with their Han counterparts. Under Manchu rule, they were classified as a minority, and their previous equal rights were gradually eroded. In these circumstances, a rejection of Manchu rule developed and was fanned by the religious undercurrents of refutation brought by the Sufi shariyina movement, these currents thus crystallising in the ideology of a secession movement, fighting for its own separate future.

The suppression of the rebellion was highly significant in Chinese history. It was another triumph of the Han supremacy and Confucianism which had never been challenged or set aside by non-Han elements. The status of Yunnanese Muslims was now reduced to its lowest level. They were forced to abandon their ethno-religious identity and to assimilate further into Chinese society. Many of those who did not want to live under these conditions fled to Burma [q.v.] and formed solid communities there in order to maintain their traditions, these being the forebears of the present-day Chinese Muslims in Burma.

Bibliography:

PAPYRUS, a term of Greek origin, ἀπὸ ρυσόν, is one of the world’s oldest writing materials; it seems to have been used in Egypt, the land of its provenance, since the 6th dynasty, ca. 2470-2270 A.D. As an equivalent for this word the Arabs, after their conquest of Egypt, used ṣawark al-bardī. However, these expressions were not of widespread usage, and in Egypt the term employed was fāfir, corresponding more closely to the original Greek. Elsewhere, the word kirti was also used, derived from the Greek χερτι, through the intermediary of the Aramaic kurti. And since this last term denoted not only papyrus but also parchment and later even paper, it became necessary in this context to add the adjective miṣrī ὑπὲρ ἑλληνικῶν, as was done by Ibn al-Nadim in his Fihrist, ii, 10 f. The use of this material extends over some seven centuries, lasting until the 8th/14th century. Its utilisation increased following the arrival of the Arabs in Egypt and remained dominant even in the 3rd/9th century, despite the introduction of paper [see KAQP].

Arab papyrology is the scientific study of texts written on papyrus, although it is conventional, as A. Grohmann (Einführung, 3, 1) has pointed out in his definition of this branch of scholarship, to include automatically within its scope non-literary documents written on other materials, such as leather, parchment, cloth, paper, ostraca, bone or wood. However, the mass of documents on papyrus is by far the most important.

Despite the antiquity of papyrus as a writing mate-
In Arabic culture, Arabic papyrology has developed quite recently. In fact it was only in 1824 that the subject first emerged as a science in its own right, this being the year in which two papyri were discovered in a small sealed pottery, located in a tomb or in a well near the Pyramids of Saqqāra (see Grohmann, Aperçu, table IX; N. Abbott, The rise, table IV). A. Silvestre de Sacy published them and thus became the founder of this discipline, which was nevertheless not to attain real prominence until 1877, the year in which sensational discoveries of papyri were made in the ruins of the old Arsinōe—Krokodilopolis (Kōm Fāris and Kōm al-Khayrāna) to the north of the town of al-Fayyūm. In subsequent years excavations continued, bringing to light a mass of material. The pieces found were sold to the museums of Berlin, to the Bodleian in Oxford, and to the National Library of Vienna, where the Archduke Rainer of Austria purchased 1,000 pieces; thus began the gradual development of the famous PER collection (Papyri Erzerzog Rainer), which currently holds the world's greatest accumulation of Arabic pieces and which celebrated its centenary in 1983 (see Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen...).

Sales terminated and other collections came into being around the world: in Hamburg, Heidelberg, Strasbourg and elsewhere. Excavations also continued in the hills of Old Cairo (Fustāt), in other ruins including those of the Memphis Necropolis, Ābūsir al-Malāk, and those of Ahnās (Herakleopolis), and, with fewer pieces found, at al-Ushmuīnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Kōm Ṣdhāw (Aphrodito) where in 1901, during the digging of a cistern, two metres of papyri were found. Other discoveries were made in Upper Egypt, at Akhmīm (Panopolis), at Gabalayn (Pathyris), the Memphis Necropolis, Abūsir al-Malāk, and those of Ahnās (Herakleopolis), and, with fewer pieces found, at al-Ushmuīnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Kōm Ṣdhāw (Aphrodito) where in 1901, during the digging of a cistern, two metres of papyri were found. Other discoveries were made in Upper Egypt, at Akhmīm (Panopolis), at Gabalayn (Pathyris), the source of part of the Heidelberg collection (see the works of C. H. Becker and R. G. Houry) and also at Elhī (Apollinopolis Magna) where the Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale of Cairo found some important pieces, including the well-known codex on papyri of al-Dāmīsī by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812) (see the edition by J. David-Weill), the only relatively complete book written on papyrus which has been preserved.

Outside Egypt, there have been few discoveries of papyri. In Arabia (some 600 pieces were found including about a dozen in Arabic) in the course of British excavations conducted at Awdājī al-Hafir in 1936-7, and a few other texts, which Grohmann has published by C. H. Becker (see Becker, Umayyad governor of Egypt, which has been published by C. H. Becker (see Becker, FSR I, and Arabische Papyri); (2) the oldest existing version of the Qurʾān is that of the Library of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) which has yet to be classified and made available to scholars, as well as countless fragments.走势 has studied several hundreds of these, in various forms, as have, more recently, Khoury, W. Diem and Y. Rāḥib (Ragheb) (see Bibli.)

In Germany, numerous collections exist: in Giessen, and especially in Hamburg: in Hamburg, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, and elsewhere. Excavations also continued in the hills of Old Cairo (Fustāt), in other ruins including those of the Memphis Necropolis, Ābūsir al-Malāk, and those of Ahnās (Herakleopolis), and, with fewer pieces found, at al-Ushmuīnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Kōm Ṣdhāw (Aphrodito) where in 1901, during the digging of a cistern, two metres of papyri were found. Other discoveries were made in Upper Egypt, at Akhmīm (Panopolis), at Gabalayn (Pathyris), the source of part of the Heidelberg collection (see the works of C. H. Becker and R. G. Houry) and also at Elhī (Apollinopolis Magna) where the Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale of Cairo found some important pieces, including the well-known codex on papyri of al-Dāmīsī by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812) (see the edition by J. David-Weill), the only relatively complete book written on papyrus which has been preserved.

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In France, in the Louvre and in Strasbourg, there are hundreds of contracts and letters of all kinds, including texts or fragments of texts belonging to the celebrated correspondence of the governor Kurra b. Shārīk. J. David-Weill began the systematic study of some of these collections, in particular that of the Louvre (see Bibli.) and this work has been continued by C. Cahen and most notably Rāḥib, who has edited two unpublished letters of Kurra b. Shārīk and has undertaken, with considerable success, to classify series of papyri according to common central themes (see Bibli.)

In England, there is a small but valuable collection in the British Museum, and another, of equal impor-
tance, in the John Rylands Library at Manchester; the Bodleian Library of Oxford holds about a hundred texts, to which more have recently been added.

In Italy, there are a few items in Milan and in Florence. In addition, Arabic pieces have come to light from time to time almost everywhere: in Oslo, Istanbul, Geneva and, in particular, St. Petersburg and Moscow. Prague also has about a thousand fragments. There exist, besides these, many other libraries which hold Arabic papyri, as well as private collections, often unknown to the academic community; not only here, but especially in the important collection mentioned above, in the East and in the West, there is an enormous quantity of material to be classified, examined and studied, which cannot be utilised until it has been treated and placed at the disposal of specialists. All these items need to be closely examined, as has been done, for example, in Vienna, Heidelberg and elsewhere, with the object, first of all, of saving the pieces from destruction; they can then be subjected to the appropriate scientific scrutiny.

It is unnecessary to stress the importance of papyri for the study of Arabic paleography and orthography, in spite of the fact that it is possible only to trace in part the history of these two auxiliary disciplines and to give examples of the possible methods of writing. However, since papyri constitute the preferred material for writing used in the period before the proliferation of paper, documents on papyrus have acquired a pre-eminent importance, not only in the two areas just mentioned, but also, and especially, in that of the Arabic language: scrutiny of such documents does not relate exclusively to the study of certain particular philological phenomena, such as, for example, the history of Kur'anic vocabulary, an area in which the fragments on papyrus are very numerous (see especially the analysis of Abbott, The Rise, 60-91), but also to the study of classical Arabic of the first three centuries of the Islamic calendar, as has been shown by S. Hopkins (Studies in the grammar...). Furthermore, it is clear that papyri afford considerable interest to scholars of the later centuries of the Arabic language, in particular the language of the Middle Ages (for more detail on this point, see Grohmann, Einführung, 88 ff.; Khoury, Papyruswissenschaftliche, 263-68; G. Endress, Herkunft und Entwicklung der arabischen Schrift, in GAP, i, 165-97; and Handschriftenkunde, in ibid., 271-96). This is to say nothing of the sometimes unique value of much of the testimony, authentic and usually dated, supplied by the papyri, of which more will be said in due course.

Particularly interesting are those documents which may be classified as texts of protocols, official or private documents:

1. **Protocols.** As early as the Byzantine period, for example, the start of each scroll was usually introduced by an official formula or protocol (πραγμάτευμα). The Arabs borrowed this method at a quite early stage, no doubt from the Byzantines: this is attested for the first time (among the texts currently available) in a bilingual text found at 'Awdija al-Hafir and bearing the date Dhu 'l-Ka' dā 54/674. Around 105/724 the unilingual genre began to replace the bilingual.

2. **Official and private documents.** Unfortunately the number of official documents available is too small to permit close study of the functioning of Islamic institutions in the early years. In the majority of cases one is at the mercy of later historians and scholars, who have not always left a reliable picture of preceding periods; this fact has been definitively established by the celebrated correspondence of the above-mentioned governor of Egypt, Kurra b. Sharīk (90/5/709-14). All of the important elements of this correspondence have been published so far (Becker, PSR, i; Abbott, The Kurraḫ papyri; Raghib, Lettres nouvelles), show him in a quite different light to his received image: equitable, zealous for the public good, resolute, etc. These administrative letters are all the more important in that they constitute a source of a unique kind, and that nothing comparable regarding the other Islamic provinces has survived in original and authentic form. We thus remain dependent on these letters, which are of considerable elegance, concerning the functioning of the administration of the earliest Islamic periods.

It is appropriate to draw attention to the opening of these letters, which usually begin with the basmala, followed by the name of the governor, who is himself the sender, and that of the addressee of his letter. The final formula al-salām 'aḍā ma'suṭāhā l-ḥādā ('peace be upon him who follows the Guidance') accompanies every letter written by a Muslim to a non-Muslim; in general, and notably in the correspondence under consideration here, the letter concludes with the name of the scribe and the date of composition (concerning such usages, see for example, al-Sūf, Adab al-kutūb, 225; al-Kalkashandi, Subh, vi, 344, 366). Other official letters, of equal rarity and of no less worth, such as, for example, the reasons stated above, the above formula but conclude with the classical phrase wa l-salām 'alyaka wa-raḥmat Allāh ('may peace be upon you, and the mercy of God'), before introducing the name of the scribe and the date of the letter.

As for private documents, these concern official or strictly private relations between individuals: marriage, divorce, purchase, sale, complaints and legal proceedings of all kinds, etc. Grohmann undertook in his CPR (see Allgemeine Einführung, 17-88), and subsequently in his Einführung, 107-30, a study of the theory of diplomatic study (Urkundenlehre) of the papyri. The form of these documents varies to some degree according to the content: ratification of a marriage contract, simple business contract, receipt concerning a sum of money received or outstanding, business letter, etc. Beneath the surface, however, as has been shown by Grohmann, Jahn and others, a comprehensive account of the theory of diplomatic has yet to be written. For such a project it would be necessary to examine the maximum possible number of papyri and to compare all the documents which bear a resemblance, close or distant, to others, first within the Arab-Islamic culture, subsequently in the neighbouring civilisations (Byzantine, Coptic), from which Islam profited in this respect.

The value of the various documents of papyrus cannot be over-stressed: value for the study not only of purely philological problems, but in particular of those relating to the administration and the social and private life of the early Islamic centuries in general, all the more so since this type of source is authentic, and often unique in its original authenticity. This opens the way to more reliable methods of investigation and constitutes a firm basis for further, more thorough studies.

Leben in den ersten islamischen Jahrhunderten, vorbereitet von A. Grohmann, neu bearbeitet und erweitert von R.G. Khoury, Wiesbaden 1994 (CAAI, III), 156, 168-169); the local influential families were also directly involved in the


idem, Leben und Werk des Dichters, BSOAS, xxxvii (1974), 547-71; H. sorah ibn al-Munabih. 1. Der Heidelberger Papyrus

Munabbih, BSOAS, iv (1930), 249-71; idem, Arabic in Islamica, (1880), 685-91; D.S. Margoliouth and EJ. Lammens, in Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 1982; O. Loth, Zwei arabische Papyrus, in ZDMG, xxxii (1900), 685-91; D.S. Margoliouth and EJ. Holmyard, Arabic documents from the Monneret Collection, in Islamica, iv (1930), 249-71; idem, Arabic papyri in the Bodleian Library reproduced by the collotype process with transcription and translation, London 1893; 


Turkish raids began within the intricate period of the Archipelago Duke's failure to greet sultan Mehmed I at Izmır as master of the western Anatolian coast; extensive looting was followed by the abduction of many Parions (Ducas, ed. Bonn, 109; Critoibulos, ed. Reinisch, 92; cf. M-L, ii, 371; Krantonelle, 25, 192, 257, 400; Uzuncarsih, Osmanli tarhi, ii, 1988, 30; Melas, 10), yet subsequent treaties (1419, 1426, 1446, 1454, 1458) were not sufficient to deter the Venetians from making raids; the last Venetian attack was in 1490 (M-L, ii, 394), while the information that extensive ravages took place in that raid is to be taken with reservations (Th. and N. Aliprantes, Paros-Anapides, 48-9, 168). Being a base for western espionage against the Sultanate in the early 16th century made Para one of the targets of Khayr al-Din Pasha [q.v.] in the Ottoman's Cycladic raids; its last ruler, Sagredo, surrendered Képhalos fortress (Dec. 1537) and 6,000 Parions and Antiparians suffered massacre, the young men ending up as oarsmen in the Pasha's vessels and young girls entering his harem, apart from many spoils (see NAKSHE; cf. M-L, ii, 404, 406, 407 ff.; Pitcher, 138 and map XIV; Vakalopoulos, iii, 151 and map, Krantonelle, 198). The last Turkish conquest of the Cyclades, 1537-8 [in Gk.], in Kimolika, vii (1978), 62 ff.; idem, Archipelagos, 75 ff.; Frazee, 83, 90, 253; M. Roussos-Melidones, in Pariana, xxxvi (1990), 20 ff. [acc. to W. sources]. Ottoman control was ratified by the 1540 treaty, which allowed for semi-autonomy under a kapudan pasha, while a semblance of Latin power continued until the eventual annexation of 1566 (see Th. and N. Aliprantes, 49-50, 66 ff.; 156, 168-9); the local influential families were also directly involved in the
island's affairs, predominantly the Kondylai and the Mavrogenai (see Th. Blancard, Les Mavrogeni, Paris 1909; cf. Pariana, xviii [1985], 71 ff. [Mavro]; xvii [1987] 71 ff. [Shepallios]; xxxvi [1995], 95 ff. [Desyllai]; also refs. in N. Aliprantes, in DEECE, v [1985], 42-119 [on families and coats of arms]).

After the Jewish Duke Nasi's death in 1579 [see NAKŞE], extensive privileges were granted by Murād III (Tab-râme of 1580, renewed by İbrahim in 1646, shortly after the ravages against Para in 1645-6) (cf. Zinkeisen, iv, 766; Vakalopoulos, iii, 491, 502, n. 2; Polemis, Η Παρά του Ηπείρου, 74 ff.; N. Aliprantes, 95 ff. [Desyllai]; also refs. in N. Aliprantes, in DEECE, v [1985], 42-119 [on families and coats of arms]).

In the later years of the Ottoman empire, the larger copper pieces were replaced by nickel. The seat of the Cycadic sandjak, enjoying privileges until the early 19th century, while Para was to suffer from incessant piratical raids in the course of the Turco-Venetian wars of the 16th-17th centuries (Vakalopoulos, ii, 139, n. 39, 144 ff.; iii, 503; iv, 134 and map, 192, 198; N. Kephalleniades, in Pariana, v, 197, 199-201; cf. Roussos-Melidones, in Pariana, vi, 1981, 181-93, 194-9; on the Bourtzi fortress). Meanwhile, the first waves of Capuchins and Jesuits established themselves on Para, particularly on its northern fortified sandjak, enjoying privileges until the early 19th century, while Para was to suffer from incessant piratical raids in the course of the Turco-Venetian wars of the 16th-17th centuries (Vakalopoulos, ii, 139, n. 39, 144 ff.; iii, 503; iv, 134 and map, 192, 198; N. Kephalleniades, in Pariana, v, 197, 199-201; cf. Roussos-Melidones, in Pariana, vi, 1981, 181-93, 194-9; on the Bourtzi fortress). Meanwhile, the first waves of Capuchins and Jesuits established themselves on Para, particularly on its northern fortified sandjak, enjoying privileges until the early 19th century, while Para was to suffer from incessant piratical raids in the course of the Turco-Venetian wars of the 16th-17th centuries (Vakalopoulos, ii, 139, n. 39, 144 ff.; iii, 503; iv, 134 and map, 192, 198; N. Kephalleniades, in Pariana, v, 197, 199-201; cf. Roussos-Melidones, in Pariana, vi, 1981, 181-93, 194-9; on the Bourtzi fortress). Meanwhile, the first waves of Capuchins and Jesuits established themselves on Para, particularly on its northern fortified sandjak, enjoying privileges until the early 19th century, while Para was to suffer from incessant piratical raids in the course of the Turco-Venetian wars of the 16th-17th centuries (Vakalopoulos, ii, 139, n. 39, 144 ff.; iii, 503; iv, 134 and map, 192, 198; N. Kephalleniades, in Pariana, v, 197, 199-201; cf. Roussos-Melidones, in Pariana, vi, 1981, 181-93, 194-9; on the Bourtzi fortress).}

In the new Medjidiyye currency of 1260/1844, the pâra became a small copper coin with multiples 5 (beşkâp pâras); 10 (onpâras); 20 (ünbepâras); 20 (punpâras); 40 (güümüslâç) and 100 (pârâ) paras were occasionally issued.

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The vocabulary is extended in the tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (ca. 725/1325), where marble spandrels and a fretted tympanum contrast with grey panels in the red stone, and the treatment is echoed in the interior. At Dhrāʾ the mīhrāb of the Kamāl Mawlā Masjid (795/1392-3) is surrounded with black and white fillets in the architrave, and in the Dājmī Masjid (Lāt Masjid) (807/1404-5) this treatment is extended to white lines trimming the black spandrels. In the Dājmī Masjid at Ahmadābād (827/1424), all five mīhrābs are surrounded with white fillets and a single open flower in coloured stones that may be the first application of true pietre dure. By 858/1454 contrasting marble trims to the mīhrāb of the Dājmī Masjid at Māndū are combined with the use of blue tile infill between the merlons of a frieze above; the trim and contrasting spandrels are repeated in the main entrance. Combinations of this kind reached a sophisticated level in the Purānā Khilā complex at Dihlā a century later, where intersecting white arches surround panels of ultramarine tile mosaic, alternating geometric and floral, with traces of turquoise green: these suggest a technique imported from Persia by Humāyūn [q.v.] on his return in 1555. In his Shāh Mandāl (pre-1556) the dados at both levels outside are filled with geometric inlay, white marble stars and kite-shaped lozenges in the Iranian range of cut brick shapes set in linear rosettes of structural stone. The spandrels are trimmed with a single white line and inlaid with a six-pointed star on either side. The internal dados, however, are of faience. At the roughly contemporary Masjdī-i Kuhna nearby, the tympanum of the central bay is filled with square and rectangular panels of this geometric inlay, framed with white strips, while the inner architrave is of successive rectangular panels inlaid with frets of white lines to form a geometric spider’s web. Black outlines to the inscribed panels define mīhrāb cartouches which were to be used regularly thereafter. The white semidome of the mīhrāb is divided into sectors by a fine black trim. Use of tilework combined with stone, both in contrasting colours, continued until the mosque and tomb of Tāsā Khān were built in 954/1547-8.

Geometric marble set in a red stone matrix, however, gained ascendancy in the metropolitan style during Akbar’s [q.v.] minority. The elegant little tomb of Atiga Khān (974/1566-7) at Niẓām al-Dīn has a fully Persian pīshkāh [q.v.] with inlaid white geometric tesserae on both dados and spandrels, the latter alternating with smaller areas of dark blue tile and green centres. Those in the lateral panels are reticulated in black lines rather than the red background stone; yet tile mosaic is fitted to the blind arches of the western enclosure wall. Larger-scale marble inlay appears in the merlon frieze and in a display of six-pointed stars among hexagons on the drum. This appears again on the drum of Humāyūn’s tomb (969/1561-2 to 1570), probably reflecting his preoccupation with astrology, and notably in stars set in the floor of the main chamber, though the exterior is trimmed only in the earlier linear style. It has been suggested by Koch (in Bīb., iv, 447-51) that the choice of red and white here refers deliberately to India’s tradition under the Sultanate, in contrast to Transoxania where such stone is absent, and that the star was used to symbolise both Humāyūn and his successors. Tessellated inlay is consummated in the great mosque at Fathpur Siḵri (979/1571-2), where geometric networks are used extensively on the intrados of arches and in bands framing blind arches, niches, and rectangular panels, modestly inside: again, some are set off with black lines and some with accents
of faience. The main mihrab is inlaid with black and white marbles, but the lateral ones, though on the same model, vary in detail, two being set with tilework in different colours.

The transition to floral forms is marked by the southern gateway to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (1022/1613). Though the wings are decorated with superimposed panels of geometric work, the background alternates in buff and red. The framing bands are in bannāṭ technique, and the spandrels carry diagonal palmettes with arabesque scrolling—but translating that intricate arabesque into stone. The two large extrados within the pishtākh transforms the usual interlocking rosettes into boldly stylised petals and leaves in a sequence of giant flowers reminiscent of block-printing: black, white, and green marble are used. The scheme is repeated in the pishtākh of the tomb itself. In the gateways to the tomb of I'timād al-Daula (1031-7/1621-7) at Agra the character of these features is already changed: the inlay on the extrados is intrinsically canted, and the spanded arabesques are spread more loosely but more evenly, while the side elevations are articulated with arched outlines framing vases and flasks. The tomb, wholly in white marble, astonishing by its wealth of miteculous surface ornament of polished pietra dura work, establishing a fully Persianate vocabulary under the aegis of Nūr Dzhāhān [q. v.], and epitomising the new technique and its overall use: the inlay is in black, grey, brown, buff and white, blue accents being introduced only in the pavilion roof near the skyline. The material includes khattū, agate, jasper and yellow porphyry. The dados both outside and in are in continuous geometrical work, some of interlocking angular pieces. Similar panels on the upper wall outside are subdivided by plain marble fillets, with borders of countered arabesque meanders throughout, and vivaciously coiled arabesques in the spandrels. The arch reveals are decorated with grouped trees, flasks, flower-vases and cups set within outlines of niches, cartouches, and lobed rondels, the round corner towers with ovate polemedallions. As the interior is largely painted, it is clear that this work was intended for more exposed positions. The floor of the upper chamber, however, is inlaid with swirling arabesques. It may be noted that there is a curious exchange of tendril motifs in the two adjacent pavilions of the audience hall (1037-46/1628-37), with trefoil arced arches anāt the rear wall and panelling reliefs and pietra dura. The Mū’azzam Burdī apart from banī-durara in the Red Fort at Dihlī (1048/1648) are inlaid with marble dados, panelled with marble columns in which the inlay is differentiated between powerfully serrated leaves framing the pedestal carving, and delicately framed floral repeats in the collars; all the dados are bordered with floral strapwork of the angular type.

At Agra Fort [see MAHALI], geometrical work is no longer in evidence. The Muḥammad Burdī apartments (1626-30) combine floral and arabesque inlay with floral relief carving in the marble dados, and for the first time the faceted columns are inlaid from base to scrolled brackets; even the sculpted leaves of the pool spread among inlay. The qarākā of the public audience hall (1057-66/1628-37), with three trefoil arched niches and a cīnī-khana wall at the rear, is of a more curvilinear design, in which the convex arched soffits, the concave ceiling coving, and the swelling capitals are inlaid. The spanded arabesques are without central palmettes, and the ceiling is articulated with foliate strapwork with sharp angles and claps at intervals like wrought iron work. As Koch has pointed out (op. cit., 20), the increasingly florid fullness in marble forms is in contrast to an increasing stylisation, slenderness, and symmetry of the floral inlay accompanying them. The deliberate choice of white marble as an image of purity was combined with a floral evocation of paradise referring to both legendary and Kurānic sources, as both inscriptions and contemporary historians consistently make clear. The developed medium thus played an essential rôle in the Mughal idea of divinely-endowed kingship. By 1045/1635 the Dawlat-khana-yi Khāṣ was built with marble columns in which the inlay is differentiated between powerfully serrated leaves framing the pedestal carving, and delicately framed floral repeats in the collars; all the dados are bordered with floral strapwork of the angular type.

This répertoire is that of the Tādī Mahal (1041-57/1632-47 [q. v.]). The relatively bold spandrel scrolling still centres on palmettes, or a lyre-shape, and vestigial use is made of the coarser technique of alternating chevrons for framing dados, but the work tends to incorporate elements of the florid style, and the spandrel becomes less articulated: it is subordinate to the sculptured forms. The mosque and its counterpart continue the older red stone style, with geometric inlay on the dome drum. The great mosques at Agra (1058/1648) and at Dihlī (1066/1656) make no use of the finer technique, though their red stone is set off by white accents and outlined paneling, with chevron work at Agra and reeding at Dihlī, both extending to the bulbous domes themselves. At Dihlī a new element is introduced in an outlined network of panels in the curved zone of transition under the domes. It appears that the imagery of floral inlay was appropriate only to the palace. It is significantly absent in the marble court mosques at Agra, the Misn Mašjid, the Naghina Masjīd, and the Mū‘azzam Mašjid, though the quintessential Mughal feature, the marble charkha, continues. Black outlines of the ābāz-yi namāz on the floor. At those in Lāhawr and Dihlī it is allowed a discrete appearance on the skyline. A final stage in the development can be recognised in the Red Fort at Dihlī (1048-58/1638-48), where the tendrils in borders are wavy meanders linking predictably-placed foliage and flowers. The main motifs, though finely executed, are reduced to a display of buds and blooms scarcely connected by their stems. The Bangālī vault of the baldachin in the public audience hall is plainly elaborated from that at Agra, with its convex arch soffit and coving. It is the wall behind which this is clad with work from Florence, with a figure of Orpheus at the apex and surrounding panels of birds amongst foliage and fruit, with lions at the foot, unique in Mughal architecture. The black matrix of these 318 panels, typical of the Grand Dāwlat workshops, is itself an innovation, accomplished by dint of composing it in an arboreal setting with Indian birds on the usual white ground, probably done in situ by local craftsmen. Koch has shown (op. cit., 23-33) that the whole is to be interpreted as a Solomonic setting for the ruler, as bringer of harmony to nature, hence of natural justice, with reference to David's pacification of the natural world through music.
In this instance, a convergence between the interests and crafts of the Mughal and European courts could lead to a cross fertilisation which, however, seems to have led no further. That the main impetus for the development of parcín-κari came from faience mosaic is clear in such details as the inclusion of centres of a different colour in peripheral leaves. A stimulus may well have been received from Bidar, as the Rangin Mahall there (ca. 1542-80) was decorated not only with faience mosaic but exceptionally fine mother-of-pearl inlay on dark basalt; Shah Jahān had passed through Bidar during his rebellion of 1623-4, and the complex seems to have been emulated at the Muḥammad Burdż at Agra on his accession. Patterns on textiles, and the floral painting as found in some tombs at Burhānpūr, are likely to have contributed to its evolution.

With the exception of the Mūtī Masjid at Dihlī (1073/1662-3), little use was made of parcín-κari after Shah Jahān’s death, and the craft had so declined by the mid-19th century that it could only be revived by a British initiative (Koch, op. cit., n. 24). At the Pādghānī Masjid in Lāhāwar (1084/1673-4), the exterior makes further use of red and white work, but though some strips are inlaid flush, the central pishtāk is ornamented with marble inlay standing out in relief: the spandrel scrolling is centred on a sunflower, with petals, leaves, and tendrils all embossed, and the soffit of the arch carries continuous floral scrolling articulated by a sequence of vases, both highly stylised, and possibly under Italian influence (Chaghatai, op. cit. in Bibli., 1972, 26-7). The contrast between sculpted marble and inlay is thus finally resolved by sculpting the white inlay itself.

Technique. The Muslim craftsmen still practising at Agra, who claim descent from those who worked for Shah Jahān, state that the work is properly called parcī-kārī from a Hindi root meaning “joined, stuck together”, as in Platts’ dictionary. The design, khākā, is first drawn in pencil, and then chiselled out with a burin, narzā (?), tapering conically to 1.5 mm with a 30° point held between the fourth and fifth fingers like a pen; another chisel, tākh (tankht), with a point 2.5 mm square is used to clean out the edges with a digging action, narānā. The white marble sang-i marmar, for the Makrī series, is only 100 km by 200 km; a road of 1000 km leads west of Dījāpur. The inlaid stones include malachite, dāna-fārang, lapis lazuli, lāqīward, cornelian, tākh, mother of pearl, sip, black onyx, sang-i mūsā, coral, marāji, turquoise, frūza, besides garnet, moonstone, smoky topaz, golden or yellow topaz, and all types of agate. Of these the malachite is now from the Congo, the lapis lazuli from Afghānistān, the cornelian from India, the mother-of-pearl is abalone from Australia, and the coral is from Sicily—a black variety is more expensive. The inlay in general is called parcī-kārī, the petals and leaves are parcī, and the stems dand. The flowers, seen as roses, gulāb, or jasmine, tāmūtī, are inlaid first, and then the stems.

The marble, once blasted, is cut with a bamboo bow, kamānā, with a wire blade: seven pieces can be cut at once with seven blades. It is then reduced with a hammer, hatīrāl, and chisel, Aghā, to the required shape, shakī; its edges are ground, ghāndā, with a broken piece of grinding wheel, sān. The inlay is cut roughly to shape with shears, kāthī, and ground on a wheel, ca. 30 cm diameter by 2.5 cm thick, set on a steel axle and operated by a bow 90 cm long. The composition of this wheel, regarded as the essential secret of the craft, is of river sand, sugar-cane juice, and brown resin: it should last 30 years, and if pitted can be restored by heating it with charcoal and rubbing it with marble. The flat surface of the wheel is used to grind the inlay surface, and its bevelled edge for the profile; it takes half an hour to shape a flower of 3 or 5 petals by eye, rakam hanānā, to fit one another. The marble is usually hollowed, kāyānā, to twice the depth of the inlay, the profile being exact. After the fit of each piece has been tested, a glue mixed from white cement, plaster of Paris, and beeswax, is put in the hollow and softened by holding a red hot coal over it with tongs, ēnta, for 5-10 seconds, and the stone pressed in place: it sets in 25 seconds. In some cases the parts are glued together; they are pre-assembled with beaten resin, sarēs, on a mica table. Once set, the work is ground smooth, sāf kārā, with a piece of grindstone, water, and river sand, and finally polished with white zinc powder, water, and a soft cloth. A piece of work some 40 cm across takes two craftsmen seven hours to complete (informant: Usūd Muhammad Asaf Khan b. Muhammad ʿAbd al-Kāhn b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1981).


For Timurid use of stone in daces, see B. O’Kane, Tābīb, Turba-i Jām and Timurid vaulting in Iran, xvii (1979), 87, pls. Ib, Iib, and fig; idem, Timurid architecture in Khurasan, Costa Mesa 1987, 60-1, fig. 25.5 and pl. 25-4; L. Golombek and D. Wilber, The Timurid architecture of Iran and Tūran, Princeton 1988, 134, 309, col. pls. VIIa-b, IXb, and pls. 125, 175. For the Persian cut brick and tile forms, see H. E. Wulff, The traditional crafts of Persia, Cambridge, Mass, and London 1966, 122-5.


For specific buildings in the sequence mentioned, see as follows: Dihli, Tomb of Itutmish, Asha, Dihli, 1939, fig. 23; Dihli, Tomb of Chhitrul-Din Tughluk, Andrews, op. cit., 1981, figs. 113-15; Hambly, op. cit. 1968, pl. 4, 6 (c); 10. Māfūd, Dājmī Masjīd: G. Yazdani, Mandī, city of joy, Oxford 1929, pl. x; Gascoigne, op. cit., 42 (c); Dihli, Masjdī-i Kuhna: Andrews, op. cit. 1981, fig. 118; Brown, op. cit. 1937, figs. 8, 9, and idem, op. cit. 1942, pl. lxii; Nath, op. cit. 1979, pl. xvii; Dihli, Tomb of Atāqā Khan, Brown, op. cit. 1937, ill. 13. Dihli, Hamūyān’s Tomb: Andrews, op. cit. 1981, fig. 125 (c); G.D. Lowry, Humayūn’s tomb: form, function and meaning in early Mughal architecture, in Muqarnas, iv (1987), 133-48; Fatḥpur Sikri, Dājmī Masjīd: Brown, op. cit. 1937, ills. 38-40; idem, op. cit. 1942, pl. lxii; Burjton-Page, op. cit. 1965, 150 (c); Nath, op. cit. 1979, pl. xxviii-xix; Saiyid A.A. Rizvi and V.J.A. Flynn, Fatḥpur Sikri, Bombay 1975, pls. 154-5; E.W. Singer, The Mughal architecture of Fatḥpur Sikri, in ASI, NS, Allahabad 1894-7. Sikandra, Akbar’s Tomb: Brown, op. cit. 1937, ills. 49-51 and idem, op. cit. 1942, pl. lxvii; Gascoigne, op. cit. 1987, 120, detail 142 (c); Hambly, op. cit. 1968, pls. 39-41; Nath, op. cit. 1977, pls. 33-54, details; idem, op. cit. 1979, pl. xxxviii-xlii. Agra, Tomb of Ḥamād-ull-Dawla, gateway: Nath, op. cit. 1977, pl. 10; idem, Andrews, op. cit. 1981, fig. 130 (c); Brown, op. cit. 1937, pls. 53-6; Gascoigne, op. cit. 1987, detail 159 (c), 155; Hambly, op. cit. 1968, pls. 42-5 (c), 53-4; Nath, op. cit. 1977, pls. 58-61; idem, op. cit. 1979, pls. xlv-xlvii.

Sirāy Doraha: W.E. Begley, Four Mughal caravanserais built during the reigns of Ḥāshim and Shāh Jāhn, in Muqarnas, i (1983), 167-79. Lāhāw, Dājamāt’s Tomb: Burton-Page, op. cit. 1942, pl. 3 (c); Davu, Tomb: Andrews, op. cit., 1981, fig. 130 (c); Brown, op. cit. 1937, pls. 53-6; Gascoigne, op. cit. 1987, detail 159 (c), 155; Hambly, op. cit. 1968, pls. 42-5 (c), 53-4; Nath, op. cit. 1977, pls. 58-61; idem, op. cit. 1979, pls. xlv-xlvii. Sarayi Dūrah: W.E. Begley, Five thousand years of Pakistan, London 1965, 82-3 (c); Sir R.E.M. Wheeler, Five thousand years of Pakistan, London 1950, pis. xi-xiv, and idem, op. cit. 1942, pls. lxxvi-lxxx, lxxviii; Gascoigne, op. cit. 1987, detail 193 (c); Koch, op. cit. 1988, (passim for ḡharıkāhā); la Roche, op. cit. v, 1922, Abb. 316, 319-20, 323, and Taf. 120-4 (large b & w); Reuther, op. cit. 1925, Taf. 63-71 (large b & w). For the inlay at Bīdar, see G. Yazdani, Bīdar, its history and monuments, Oxford 1948, 44-5, 96-120, xiv-xvii, and E. Merklinger, The madrasa of Muḥammad Gūrān in Bīdar, in Kunst des Orients, xi, 1-2, fig. 3. Dihli, Moṭī Masjīd; Brown, op. cit. 1937, pls. 73, 75. Lāhāw, Pādshāhī Masjīd: Brown, op. cit. 1937, ill. 87; A. Chaghatai, The Badshahi Masjid, history and architecture, Lahore 1972, pls. 3b, 12-4; Gascoigne, op. cit. 1987, 227.

PAREDĀN, a small town and fortress, formerly in the native state of Haydarābād, now in the Šīhpol, is attributed, like many of those in the Deccan, to the Bahmani minister Muḥammad Gāwān [q.v.], i.e. to the third quarter of the 9th/15th century, but may well be earlier [see BURG, iii. at vol. I, 1323b]. Paredān was for a short time the capital of the Niẓām-i Shāhī [q.v.] after the capture of Ahmadnagar [q.v.] by Akbar’s forces in 1545, but was conquered by Avarangbāb when he was governor of the Deccan in Shāh Dājmān’s reign. The fortress and old town subsequently fell early into ruins.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India 2, xx, 1-2. (Ed.)

PARGANA, a Hindi word, ultimately from a Sanskrit root “to compute, reckon up”, a term in Indo-Muslim administrative usage denoting an aggregate of villages, a subdivision of a district or sarkār [see MUQAMAL 3. Administrative and social organisation]. In later Anglo-Indian usage, the term was often rendered pergunnah, see Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, 698-9. The first reference to this term in the chronicles of the Sultanate of Dihli appears to be in the Tarikh Fīrus Shāh of Shams-i Sirāj ‘Afīt (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1891, 99), for it is not used by Hasan al-Nāzm in his Tāj al-maḍar, or by Minhād-i Dījmān i in his Tabakht-i Nāẓīrī. Although it first came into prominence in the 8th/14th century, partially superseding the term kāza, it is, in all probability, based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest. The exact date of its creation is therefore uncertain.

An account of the internal working of a pargana occurs in the chronicles of the reign of Shīr Shāh Sūrī (947-52/1540-5), who learned the details of revenue administration in the management of his father’s two parganas at Sasārām in Bihār. When he became ruler of Hindūstān he organised his kingdom into administrative units known as sarkārān which were divided into collections of villages termed parganas. Each pargana was in charge of a shikbār or military police officer who supported the amīn or civil officer. The amīn had for his civil subordinates a foudarī or treasurer and...
two kdrkuns or clerks, one for Hindi and the other for Persian correspondence. It does not seem correct to hold the view that in this respect he was an administrative innovator, for the provincial officials and institutions which he has been credited with creating were already in existence before he ascended the throne. This remained the administrative system until Akbar organised the Mughal empire into sdbas (provinces), which were divided into sarkars. The smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was the pargana or mahalli. Thus, for example, the sdb of Oudh was divided into five sarkars, five parganas (A^in-i Akbar, tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1891, ii, 170).

Under the Mughal emperors, the chief pargana officials were the kdnungo, the amn and the ghdar, who were responsible for the pargana accounts, the rates of assessment, the survey of lands, and the protection of the rights of the cultivators. Similarly, in each village a pataut or village accountant was appointed whose functions in the village resembled those of the kdnungo in the pargana. It must not be imagined that the pargana was a stable and uniform unit. Not only did it vary in area in different parts of the country, but often a new land settlement was followed by a fresh division and re-distribution of these fiscal units. The co-extensiveness of a pargana with the possessions of a clan or family has given rise to the suggestion that it was not only a revenue-paying area but that it was founded on the distribution of property at the time of its creation.

The Twenty-four Parganas: these were a district of Bengal lying between 21° 31' and 22° 57' N. and 88° 21' and 89° 6' E. It derives its name from the number of parganas comprised in the zamindar ceded to the English East India Company in 1757 by Mir Dja^far [q. v.], the Nawb Nazim of Bengal. This was confirmed by the Mughal emperor Alamgir II in 1759 when he granted the Company a perpetual heritable jurisdiction over this area. In the same year, Lord Clive, as a reward for services rendered by him to Mir Dja^far, was presented with the revenues of this district. This grant, which amounted to £30,000 per annum, made Clive both the servant and the landlord of the Company. The sum continued to be paid to him until his death in 1774, when, by a deed sanctioned by the emperor, the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues reverted to the Company.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(C.C. Davies)

**PARI (p., t. perii, borrowed into English as peri, French péri), a supernatural being of stories and legends, and likewise forming a whole category of popular beliefs. The word stems from Pers. par "wing"; and the being is sometimes pictured as being winged. Turkish tradition considers it as a beneficent spirit. However, amongst the Kazaks it is sometimes represented as an evil genie. In the Anatolian tradition, it is conceived as a being belonging to both sexes, and the compound form peri kizi "girl peri" is used for peris of the female sex. It was believed that marriage with human beings was possible. Peris form the main characters in the action in a whole category of tales of marvels; they bring aid to good persons but punish-
princess in the Black Pavilion, is a typical instance of the delusions experienced in a fairy-land. Another example of the use of folklore in polite literature is Dastan-i Djamal wa Daláli by the Timurid poet Muhammad Āsafi (d. 923/1517), an allegorical madhna'vi about the search of prince ""Glory"" for ""Beauty", the latter being personified as the daughter of the king of the paráis. The unique copy of the last-mentioned work, preserved in the Uppsala University Library (Nova 2, dated 1502-5), is also an important source for the iconography of Persian miniature painting. The fairies were depicted like angels, as the latter were commonly represented in Timurid art (see Stichoukine, 116). Other subjects giving occasion for picturing paráis were Nizámí's story of the Black Pavilion (see e.g. Robinson, Rylands, no. 418) and throne scenes of Sulaymán and Bilkís (cf. e.g. Tiley, 98, Pl. 14).


PARIAS (the word arose from such Latin countancy terms as paria facere "to settle an account" already current in Imperial Latin; Du Cange considered Mediaeval Latin pariae as from the Spanish) in the mediaeval Iberian peninsula "tribute paid by Muslims to Christians. The taxes raised to pay the freebooters; the Cid was despatched southwards to chastise the trouble-makers and to collect instalments overdue. (That we have to do with historical reality here is unlikely; what is important is that this was how the system was thought to function.) During the period following the Almoravid collapse, and again as Almohad power waned, payments resumed. From the initial agreement between the Castilian and Muhammad I Ibn al-Ahmar [see NASRIDs] in 1246 onwards, parias formed an important part of the relationship between Granada and Castile. As seen by Carriazo, such tribute bore an ambiguous status of the Nasrid kingdom; as seen by the Granadans parias were a way of buying respite from damaging tulas ("forays"). Carriazo has shown that the story that the penultimate Nasrid ruler, Abu l-Hasan ʿAllī, refused to pay parias to Isabel, saying "the kings of Granada who used to give parias were dead, and the places in Granada where they used to strike the coins to pay the tribute were being used to forge lance-heads" is apocryphal.


PARSA'IYYA, a sub-order of the Central Asian Nakhbandiyá [q.v.] Súfí laríka and the most prominent ghâybhí family of Balkh from the middle of the 9th/15th century. The eponymous founder of the line was Kh-ʿádja Muhammad b. Muhámmad (or Muham- mad) al-Háfíz al-Bukhari (d. 822/1419), who adopted the nickname Parsa ("the devout"). His tomb in Medina became a shrine for Central Asian pilgrims and the burial place of at least one Central Asian grand khan, the Tukáy-Timúrid, İmâm Kül (r. 1020-51/1611-41).

Kh-ʿádja Muhammad Parsaʾs son, Abū Našr, seems to have been the first of the line associated with Balkh. When he died there in 864 or 865 (1459-60 or 1460-1), his patron, the Timurid general Mir Mazīd Arghún, would hold at least until the beginning of the 12th/end 11th century. The Parsaʾís remained prominent in Bukhara well into the middle of the 10th/16th century, but the headquarters of the family and its order shifted to Balkh. The appointment of a great-grandson, ʿAbd al-Hādī b. Abū Našr (II) (d. ca. 967/1559) as shaykh al-islām at Balkh during the reign of the Abu l-Khayrid/Shībānīd ʿUbayd Allāh (r. 940-6/1533-40) established the family in an official position which it would hold at least until the beginning of the 12th/end of the 17th century. Parsaʾís appearing in the literary record after the mid-10th/16th century are almost always from Balkh. Among the most prominent members of the family were ʿAbd al-Walī Parsaʾ (alias Kh-ʿádja Dān Kh-ʿádja, d. ca. 995/1587), who is portrayed as populist leader, political advisor and mediator; Kāsim Kh-ʿádja, architect of the royal madrasa constructed by Nadīr Muhammad Khān [q.v.] before 1045/1635 as well as shaykh al-islām; and Sālih Muhammad (fl. 1100s/1690s), who was briefly installed as vice-khan (kāgān) at Balkh in 1107/1696. From the early 18th century onward, the
family's fortunes appear to have ebbed along with those of the city, although the survival of the shrine suggests that the family and the order it administered retained some importance for some time.


(R. D. McChesney)
Parsî (Pahlavi, parsî, np parsî, lit. "inhabitants of Fârs", "Persian"), the name given to those descendants of the Zoroastrians who migrated to India, mostly to Gudjarat (see V), from the 4th/10th century onwards (see magûs). The Parsis are described in the Kissa-yi Sangân, written in 1600 but using older oral tradition. In detail it is unlikely to be historically reliable but it probably has a valid overall perspective. It reflects the Parsi conviction that their move to India was divinely-inspired and that they have been treated tolerantly by the Hindu majority.

From the 17th century onwards, when European traders were arriving in western India, Parsis emerged from their previous relative obscurity to rise to positions of considerable wealth, significant educational status (both in terms of building schools and colleges and in attending them), from which base they introduced the industrial revolution into India (first in the textile industry, then in steel), developed Indian commerce (notably banking and insurance), were foremost in many of the professions in western India (notably law and medicine), became leaders in Indian politics, especially before the rise of the militants in the Indian National Congress in 1906. The major figures were Dadâbah Naorjî (1825-1917), popularly known as the "Grand Old Man of India", who was a founder of the Indian National Congress and the only person to be its president three times (1886, 1893, 1906). He was also the first Asian to be elected a Member of the British Parliament (1892-5). (The only other two Asian M.P.s elected prior to the 1900s were also Parsis: Bhownagree (elected in 1895) and Saklatvala (elected in 1923).) Two other major Parsi politicians in India were Sir Phirozeshah Mehta (1845-1915) and Sir Dinshaw Wacha (1844-1915). The former was especially important, not only in the Indian National Congress, but also in the government of India's commercial capital, Bombay. A brilliant lawyer and orator, he was mentor to many Indian politicians, especially Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan (see jhnâ), (Jinnah had several Parsi connections, notably his wife and his doctor, who nursed him throughout his final illness).

The popular image of 20th century Parsis is of a community in decline. Numerically that may be true. In the 1981 census they totalled 71,630 throughout India, a decline of 20% in a decade, and subsequent demographic studies suggest that the rate of decline is likely to increase. The cause is partly emigration, but also a low fertility rate due to late marriages (Parsi living standard expectations being high, young people commonly delay marriage until the age of 30), and with high levels of female education and career success many do not marry at all. Converts are not accepted, at least in the traditional areas of Gudjarat and Bombay, though in Delhi the children of mixed marriages may be accepted as Zoroastrians.

However, Parsis are typically a high-status social group, mostly professionals (the civil service, law and medicine) and of course figures in commerce, with some important political figures. (Mrs Indira Gandhi was married to an active Parsi politician, Ferezo, so Parsis sometimes claim that her sons were Parsis; this is especially claimed for Rajiv who is said to have resembled his father.) Since independence, Parsis have held the post of head of each branch of India's armed forces. They own India's largest industry, Tata, and South Asia's largest private company, Godrej Brothers. Recent studies have further established that the general standard of living of the average Parsi in Bombay is higher than that of the general population of the city and this is almost certainly true for other parts of India, with the possible exception of parts of rural Gudjarat. Throughout their history in India, Parsis have been noted for their charitable activities, not only among their own people but also among the wider community, especially in the subcontinent, back in Iran (see magûs, v, p. 1115) and indeed on a wider international scale.

From India, Parsis have migrated to most continents in pursuit of trade and education. The first Parsi to visit China was Hirjee Jivanjee Readymoney in 1756. Their main bases were in Hong Kong (some Parsi traders were there before the British take-over in 1841), Canton (the Zoroastrian Association was started in 1845) and Shanghai (the Association was founded in 1854). The main Parsi business was opium, but they diversified into many branches of the import-export trade and into property and banking.

The first Parsi to visit Britain arrived in 1723, but it was the mid-19th century before Parsis came in any numbers. Mostly they came for education, both formal and informal, and to find a successful career in the Indian industry, especially the textile trade and engineering. Others came for business. The first Indian firm in Britain was that of the Parsi Cama brothers (with Naoroji) which opened in London and Liverpool in 1855. The Zoroastrian Association was formed in 1861, the first Asian religious body in Britain. A burial ground was purchased in 1861 and the first building obtained in 1909. Prior to World War II, there were about 200 Parsis in Britain at any one time. More Zoroastrians migrated, along with other South Asians, in the 1960s and after. They came mostly from urban centres, above all Bombay, but also from Pakistan and East Africa. Typically, they are well educated (over 70% have a university education), concentrated in London and are professionals. There are a few Iranian Zoroastrians who settled in the 1970s and 80s.

Also from the 1960s Parsis began to migrate to Canada and to America. There are now some 21 Zoroastrian Associations on the continent with buildings in New York (opened in 1977), Toronto (1980), Los Angeles (1982), Chicago (1983), and Vancouver (1987). Following the fall of the Shâh a number of Zoroastrians migrated from Iran and they settled mostly in New York, Vancouver and California. It was an Iranian Zoroastrian, Arbab Rustom Guiv and the charitable foundation he endowed, which provided most, in some cases practically all, of
the funds to open the Zoroastrian buildings. It is typically the very well-educated Parsis and Iranian Zoroastrians who have migrated (in America most are scientists) were opened in 1862. These are known and estimates vary greatly. They are steadily increasing, mostly through migration, but it is also a young population so that the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate. Current plausible estimates suggest around 10,000.

The latest centre for migration is Australia. The Sydney-based "Australian Zoroastrian Association" was formed in 1971 and its building was opened in 1987. Numbers in Australia are probably little over 1,000, but they are increasing for the same reasons as in America.

The problems facing the younger Parsis in the "New World" and Australasia are those experienced by most South Asian migrants: the changing perceptions of successive generations; debates on intermarriage; and competition to build the city. Typically, these diaspora communities give greater emphasis to religious education than do the communities in the "old country" because the elders are conscious of the dangers of acculturation. The result, over a number of years, could be that the Zoroastrian youth in the diaspora know more about their history and teachings than do those in the "old country". However, what they are taught tends to be those facets of the religion more readily intelligible (rather than the purity laws). Consequently, the result of the geographical dispersal could result in a greater religious diversity.

There are also Parsi communities in Muslim lands (other than Iran). The most important of these is in Pakistan, mostly in Karachi, but with about 100 in Lahore (and until recently Quetta). Parsis played a significant role in the development of Karachi. The first Parsi firm to move to Sind was Jessawalla and Co (approximately 1825) and several others soon followed. The burial ground was opened in 1839; the first temple was built in 1849 and the first Parsi school in 1859. Numbers grew so that a second temple was built in 1869 and another adāma ("Tower of Science") was opened by 1872. The Zoroastrian architectural style is evident in the "West" than in South Asia (for example, certain philosophies or ritual interpretations are stressed rather than the purity laws). Consequently, the result of the geographical dispersal could result in a greater religious diversity.

Zoroastrian traders probably arrived on the east coast of Africa centuries ago, but the first known to have been on the mainland, Jehangir Bhoodar, came in 1870 and built the dockyard at Mombasa. The architect, Sorabji Mistry, was an important early arrival for he built many of the major municipal buildings. From around 1896 many lawyers, engineers and accountants came in connection with the building of the East African railway. The Zoroastrian Association was started in 1897 and began to acquire land in Nairobi from 1902. The main period of growth was post-World War II when numbers reached about 400 in each city, but with the process of Africanisation in the 1960s most emigrated, some to India and Canada but most to Britain. At present (early 1990s) there are only approximately 40-50 Zoroastrians in the two cities, mostly business men and professionals.

In East Africa, as in Pakistan, Parsis have remained within their own tightknit community (though there have been strong internal divisions) and as a result have, on the whole, retained their religious beliefs and practices. They have not been subject to the same processes of acculturation that those in the West have. Whereas Parsis in Bombay have been subject to marked Hindu influences, not only in dress and language but also in customs and concepts (e.g. wedding rites, symbolic decorations around the home, ideas on caste and rebirth, veneration for modern Hindu holy men), the deep reservations which have arisen from Islamic persecution in Iran have in practice meant that most, though not all, Parsis in Muslim lands have sought to preserve their distinctiveness. Although many feared for their fate in the 20th century, they have not experienced overt oppression from Muslims. Their situation in Iran is documented elsewhere [see Madjus]. The homeland remains the country in which there is the most widespread concern for their future. Many feel vulnerable and oppressed, generally their career prospects are limited (especially in government and the forces) but some stress that there has been no actual persecution and a few Zoroastrian businesses continue to flourish. Government estimates put the number of Zoroastrians in Iran in the 1990s at over 90,000—
tian economic growth, project Malays into the modern sector and, ultimately, break down communal compartments. PAS joined the ruling coalition in 1974 and, campaigning as part of the BN, it won 14 of the 154 federal seats in the elections of 1974. Led by Mohamed Asri Haji Muda (acting president 1964-71, president 1971-82), PAS reached the high-point in its electoral fortunes in 1969-74, but in the late 1970s it went into decline. Torn by internal disputes, PAS lost control of Kelantan and was forced out of the Barisan National, at the end of 1977 the federal government established it in Kelantan, and elections the following year (which PAS fought in opposition to the Barisan) not only confirmed the end of PAS rule in Kelantan but also reduced the party's seats in the federal parliament from 14 to 5.

Nonetheless, PAS kept up its attacks upon UMNO and, from the late 1970s onwards, these coincided with the upsurge of fundamentalism elsewhere in the Islamic world, notably the Iranian revolution. After Asri resigned as president following another poor performance in the elections of 1982 (when PAS won five seats), the more militant Yusuf Rawa (president 1982-89) assumed the leadership of PAS. Under the influence of the umma and professing its goal to be the creation of an Islamic state, PAS issued its fatwa declaring all supporters of UMNO to be infidels. The phenomenon of one Malay Muslim branding another as infidel—known as the "kafi-r-mengkafir dispute"—became particularly intense in Trengganu, Kelantan and Kedah, where UMNO and PAS vied with each other for support and where Malay kampong divided in their allegiance to one or other of the parties.

Competition between UMNO and PAS for power and authority has been a major feature of Malay politics while Dr Mahathir has been president of UMNO and Prime Minister of Malaysia (1981 to date). PAS ideas were spread by speakers at ceramah (private political meetings) and through the distribution of thousands of audio-visual cassettes. In its attacks both upon UMNO as guardian of Malay nationalism and mainstay of the Malaysian government and upon the Barisan's New Economic Policy, PAS received backing from Islamic universities, many Malays in local higher education institutions and Malay students. UMNO also established links with ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, the Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement) led by Anwar Ibrahim. Committed though it was to Malay interests, UMNO could not countenance an ideology that rejected secular nationalism and worldly materialism; UMNO leaders rejected the PAS strategy as a recipe for disaster in a country where Malays (i.e. Muslims) amounted to only a little over half of the total population. UMNO took the dakwah (Islamic revivalist) challenge seriously, however, with the result that government adopted a more obviously Islamic stance on certain issues (such as banking, higher education and the construction of mosques). Moreover, in 1982 Mahathir co-opted Anwar Ibrahim into the government, thereby diminishing the influence of ABIM. In 1984 a TV debate between UMNO and PAS leaders vied to de-legitimise the idea in the eyes of Malay Muslims was cancelled at the last minute on the intervention of the Agong (Malaysia's king). Tension did not fade; on the contrary, confrontation between government and PAS came to a head at Memali (Kedah) in November 1985, when Malay policemen opened fire on Malay farmers, and PAS acquired 14 martyrs for Islam.

UMNO's hold over Malays appeared to be endor-
ed by the 1986 elections when only one PAS candidate was returned to the federal parliament, whose total membership had been increased to 177. UMNO's success can be put down to its efficiency and control of the media, the five-fold increase in the election deposit required of candidates, and, perhaps most significantly, PAS's overtures to Chinese voters. Its attempt to line up an opposition front in co-operation with non-Malays, though vain, compromised its "Malay-ness"; Malay voters opted for ethnic interests rather than Islamic principles.

Although circumscribed by government restrictions, not least by the Internal Security Act, PAS was provided with an opportunity to advance its position by a power struggle that racked UMNO in 1987-90. In 1987 UMNO was split by a vicious leadership battle when Tengku Razaleigh challenged Dr Mahathir for the presidency of UMNO. A new political configuration seemed to be taking shape; the multi-racial coalition of the Barisan, which Mahathir's UMNO continued to dominate, was for the first time challenged by an alternative coalition of racially and ideologically disparate parties. PAS and Semangat '46 ('spirit of '46', a party composed of UMNO dissidents led by Tengku Razaleigh) formed the Anangat Perpaduan Ummah (Muslim solidarity movement), and together they joined the Chinese-dominated Democratic Action Party in the Gagasan Rakayat or People's Front. During the 1990 electoral campaign, PAS tempered its fundamentalism and adapted the slogan "Developing with Islam", but the three disparate parties failed to resolve their differences. The Barisan as a whole and UMNO in particular were returned with formidable majorities; Malays rejected PAS and Semangat '46, except in Kelantan, where APU formed the state government, while in the federal parliament PAS increased its representation from one to seven.

To some extent, the myth of Malay solidarity has been cracked in recent years by the emergence of PAS's challenge to UMNO and by the latter's internal rifts. Both UMNO and PAS have inherited and continue to appeal to the traditions of Malay culture, but, whereas PAS has presented itself as a fundamentalist Islamic movement, UMNO's reputation as guardian of Malay nationalism, its command of government and its capacity to respond to and generate social and economic change, and the breadth and depth of its organisation have all assisted its continuing political dominance.


PARWÂN [see PARWÂN].
PARWÀNA [see muʿīn al-dīn sulaymān parwāna].
PARWÂNACI, "relater", term used in Persian administration for the official who noted down the instructions for the promulgation of deeds, and who forwarded them to the chancery.
The function is recorded for the first time under TTmur, and is then found among the Tlmurids, the other of the Council for Finances (dīsam-i māl) and of the administration of the Ṣadr (sarkdr-i siddrat) [see ṢADR]. Only occasionally did each of these three departments have its own relater, or did there exist one single relater for the three together. In addition to Persians, there were also Turkish amirs among the relaters. In ranks, they were under the secretaries of the chancery (munšis [q.v.]), but subordinate to the viziers. As a rule, they apparently transmitted the orders for the deeds to the chancery in writing. The related documents were called parwāna, parvānā or rišāla, and they were sealed with the muhr-i-parwāna [see MUHR], which usually was in the hands of a keeper of the seal (muhrdr) and only exceptionally (see KHĀNdamī), during the Safawid period. According to Khwāna Bahar, Parwin I’tisāmī may be regarded as a poet in the classical mould. Among the literary influences detected in her poems are chiefly those associated with such former poets as Nasīr-i Khusrw, Anwārī, ʿAttār, Saʿdī, and Rūmī [q.v.]. Barring a few exceptions, her poems adhere to conventional verse forms, and include ḵāṣīlas, muḥnawwīs, kūfā, and ghazals. As regards the subject matter of the poems, it is dominated by moralistic and ethical themes. The poet is largely indifferent to the real social concerns of her time, and shows only a passing appreciation of the problems pertaining to her own sex. Still, Parwin’s poetry has a charm of its own resulting from a deep feeling of tenderness and compassion. As her favourite device, she uses the form of munšāra (strife poem) [q.v.] and dialogue, a technique borrowed from earlier sources but featuring more extensively and devoted to better use in her works.

name was Arabised as Abarwiz (see Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 19).

The main events of his long reign (dominated by the struggle with the Byzantines over the buffer-state Armenia and over control of the Fertile Crescent in general, culminating in the Persian invasion of Egypt in 619, but then the riposte by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, which brought the Greek armies as far as Mesopotamia in 627-8), see Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen 1944, 445-96, and R.N. Frye, The political history of Iran under the Sassanids, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iii/1, 163-72. Most relevant for us here are Khusraw Parwiz's relations with the Arabs on the fringes of Mesopotamia and, in particular, with the Lakhmid dynasty of al-Hira [q.e.], outlined in LAKHMIDS and chiefly significant for the fact of Khusraw Parwiz's overthrow of the last Lakhmid king al-Nu'mān III b. al-Mundhir IV in 602 and the establishment of direct Persian rule soon afterwards, ending the power of this Arab dynasty which had acted as a protective force against pressure from the Bedouins of the Arabian interior. The Sāsānids' flank in western Mesopotamia was laid open to attack, and a foretaste of the Muslim Arab invasions of the 630s given in the battle or, more probably, skirmish of Dhu Kār [q.v.] in central 'Irāk, when the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il defeated a coalition of other Arab tribes plus Persian regular troops, demonstrating that the Persian army was not invincible (see further, C.E. Bosworth, Iran and the Arabs before Islam, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iii/1, 607-9).

In later Islamic literature, such as adab works and the Mirrors for Princes [see NAṢĪḤAT al-MA'LŪK], Khusraw Parwiz became renowned for the splendour and luxury of his court. He was a devotee of music and poetry, and the famous musician Bābāzhān, allegedly the inventor of the rhythmic musical modes known as dastānū (see H.G. Farmer, A history of Arabian music, London 1929, 198-9), was one of his courtiers. His famous horse Shābdīz is mentioned, but above all he is linked with his favourite wife, the Christian Shīhrūr, as part of the very popular theme in Persian literature of Shīhrūr and her humble lover Farḥād, dealt with by inter alio Nizāmī and Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [q.v. see Farḥād wa-šābdīz]. See further on Parwiz's image in later literature, Nizāmī al-Mulk, Siyāsāt-nāma, index, and al-Qhāzālī, Naṣīḥat al-mulūk, Eng. tr. F.R.C. Bagley, Ghazālī's Book of counsel for kings, London 1964, 192, 194 and the references there.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

PASANTREN [see PASANTREN], the Ottoman Turkish form of the Yugoslavian town of Požarevac, better known in European history under its Germanic form Passarowitz. Požarevac is now a prosperous commercial town, situated in lat. 44°37' N. and long. 21°12' E. Some 60 km/40 miles to the southeast of Belgrade in the fertile plain of Serbia between Morava and Mlava, and only a short distance from the Danube port of Dubravica.

The town, whose name is popularly connected with the Turkish word pozar ("fire") (M.D. Milčević, Književna Srbija, Belgrade 1876, 172, 1058), is first mentioned in the very end of the 9th/15th century. It must, however, have been previously in existence and have become Turkish like the surrounding country in 1459. According to the Turkish treasury registers of Hungary of 1565 (A. Velicë, Magyarországi török kincstári defterek, ii, Budapest 1890, 734), Pasarofca belonged to the Turkish sandjak of Semendre (Semen-dria, Smederevo), and in the middle of the 11th/17th century, Hādji Khalīla describes it as the seat of a judge (ṣābīlī). (cf. Speroni, xviii, Belgrade 1892, col. 26). Towards the end of the century, many Serbs migrated from Pasarofca and at the beginning of the 18th century it is sometimes mentioned as a village.

Pasarofca was, however, destined soon to become famous through the peace which ended the Austro-Turkish war of 1716-18. At the end of 1714, the Ottoman sultan Ahmed III [q.v.] had already declared war on Venice on the pretext that the peace of Carlovitz was being abrogated, and in 1715 occupied the Morea and some of the Ionian Islands. Austria, which at first intervened to negotiate as an ally of Venice, in 1716 entered the war herself and her armies, led by Prince Eugene of Savoy, won three great victories, at Peterwardein, Temesvár and Belgrade, so that England intervened to secure peace. After long preparations (see von Hammer, GOR, iv, 159-64), the congress of Passarowitz was convoked. The negotiations at which plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Austria, Venice with England and Holland as mediators took part began on 5 June 1718 and the Treaty of Passarowitz was signed on 21 July.

Peace was concluded on a basis of the territory actually held by the opponents at the time (uti possidetis): Austria retained the eastern part of Sirmia, the banate with Temesvár, the whole of northeastern Serbia, with Belgrade, Požarevac, etc., and Little Wallachia; Venice also retained a few places she had taken on the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts, received certain commercial preferences and the island of Cerigo (Kythera), but had to restore to Turkey the whole of the peninsula of the Morea and the southeastern districts of Hercegovina. By a commercial agreement which was also concluded at Passarowitz on 27 July, Austria secured certain trading, consular and other privileges such as preferential tariffs, in the Ottoman Empire. The Imperial Ostend Company was formed to exploit these concessions, and in 1719 commercial activity began from the new "free port" of Trieste. The actual Treaty of Passarowitz in effect proclaimed that the Ottomans were no longer a serious military danger to their European neighbours.

Following the traditional formalities observed after the conclusion of a treaty of peace, the first Turkish plenipotentiary İbrahim Pasha Newaḥehiši went to Vienna with his retinue and Count Wirmont, the Austrian representative in the negotiations, to Constantinople. A member of the Turkish embassy wrote in 1726 an interesting account which has been published by Fr. van Kraelitz in text and translation (Brief über den Zug des Gross-Botschafers Ibrahim Pasha nach Wien im Jahr 1719, in SB Ak. Wien, chvii [1908]; in TOEM, vii [1332/1916], 211-27, the Turkish text of this edition was reprinted by A. Refik).

During the Austrian occupation (1718-39), Pasarofca was the most important place in this territory. In the Serbian war of independence against Turkey, it was besieged for a long period, but had finally to surrender to the Serbs (1804). In 1813, the town again fell into Turkish hands but became Serbian again (see Serbia, Okt. 1917, i, 298-9).

In the years of peace that followed (1815-1915), Požarevac developed. Prince Mišl in 1825 made it his second residence and had two konaks (palaces) built there. Shortly afterwards, a Prussian officer visited the town and left interesting notes on the conditions there (Otto von Pirch, Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829, Berlin 1830, part i, 119-71). In the second half of the 19th century, the population increased steadily,
At the beginning of the 20th century, the town was under German occupation and later by the Bulgarians. It was occupied by the Germans in 1915 and by the Bulgarians from October 1916, but in the autumn of 1918 it was again occupied by the Serbs. Since then it has belonged to Yugoslavia since 1919, becoming part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was later renamed Yugoslavia. The town was part of the Yugoslavian Republic of Serbia (Jugoslavija) and later the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was occupied by the Germans in the First World War and, after the First World War, it was occupied by the Serbs. Since then, it has belonged to Yugoslavia now.

PASAROFCA — PASHA

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Efendi, seized power before the Karamanoglu [q. v.] and in the same region, after the defeat of the Seljuk Sultan Chiyyah al-Din Kaykhushraw II [q. v.] at Köse Dagh which took place in 641/1243 (cf. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, i, 177).

At the end of the 8th/14th century, the title of *pasha* seems to have been added to the names of certain members (restricted in number) of the petty Turkish and Turkoman dynasties which shared Asia Minor, these are sometimes members, sometimes members of their families. It was the same in the principles of Tekke, Aydin, Defilali and Kızıl-Ağ海拔ad and probably also in other little kingdoms of Anatolia (cf. for Sarukhan’s, *Alî Pasha*, according to Şehibâ al-Din Ibn Fadl Allâh al-‘Umari, al-Tâ’rîf bi l-‘mastahâl al-shâfî, quoted by al-Kalkâshandî, Şuh al-ašâr, viii, 16, l. 14).

In the family of ‘Othmân, two individuals are credited with the title of *pasha*: *Alî* al-Din, son of *Othmân*, and Süleyman, son of Orkhan.

The case of *Alî* al-Dîn is very obscure. Two different individuals of this name have even been distinguished: the one being *Alî* al-Dîn Bey, son of *Othmân*, the other *Alî* al-Dîn *Pasha, ważîr* [q. v.] of *Othmân*, and the two may have been confounded (cf. Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Aldeddin Bey*, in *TTM*, years xiv and xv, 4 articles). It may be added that the same individual or one of the two individuals in question may also have been a *beylerbeyi* (cf. Oruç’s chronicle, ed. Babinger, 15, l. 15). Whatever be the case with this insoluble problem, it seems certain that the title of *pasha* was given early to statesmen (cf. a Sinân Pasha under Orkhan).

The title of *pasha* in any event very soon became the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the beylerbeyis of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* of the capital. It was later extended to officials with similar functions.

In the second half of the 8th/14th century (in 760/1359 or 763/1362?), Lala Şâhîn who, according to the Ottoman historians, was the first (?) *beylerbeyi* of the *Othmânîs*, was given the title of *pasha* at the same time as he received this office. The same title was then given to the *beylerbeyi* of Anatolia (thus keeping up the idea of the two beylerbeyis, one of the right and one of the left wings) of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîrs* of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* [q.v.]. The number of the *pashas* was given early to statesmen (cf. a Sinân Pasha under Orkhan).

The increase in the number of *pashas* was due to the growing empire, extended to the other beylerbeyis, beylerbeyi of Anatolia (thus keeping up the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the beylerbeyis of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* [q.v.]). The number of the *pashas* was very rapid. M. d’Aramon mentions only 4 or 5 *pashas* in any event very soon became the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the beylerbeyis of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* of the provinces, and 2. the *ważîr* [q.v.]. The number of the *pashas* was given early to statesmen (cf. a Sinân Pasha under Orkhan).

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does really seem to come from *bash-ogh" but, contrary to what the present writer at first thought, has nothing to do with *pasha*.

*pasha* is in Arabic "sovereign". This etymologically, the only admissible one (with however the possibility of the influence mentioned under 5), was proposed by the Turkish-Russian dictionary of Bougadov (1869) and later revived by the Russian encyclopedia of Brockhaus and Efron. It had previously been proposed by d'Herbelot (under *pascha*, à propos of the spelling with final *h*). This explanation is based on the use of the words *baskak* and the forms *baskaks* and *baskaki* (variants in *bashkak?, bashkan?*, *bashkak*, *bashkak?, bashkan?*), sometimes also *bashagha*, both in the Tatar and in the Crimean-Tartar. The popularity of the formation *baskak* with the name *Pasha* is explained by the fact (a. *baskak*, *bashagha*, *bashagha*, *bashagha*) that *Pasha* is a softened form of the word *basha*. This etymologically, is wrong.

5. Turk* bashak* (*varianis banakhk?, banakhn?) (Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire*, and under *baskak* in that of Boudagov). This word of the *"Khârâzamian language", according to Vullers, came into use in Persia (Ilkhanid period). Among the Mongols, it meant the commissioners and high commissioners sent by them to the conquered provinces (or the West only?), notably in Russia. The accepted etymology is from the verb *basmak* ("to press, impress (e. g. of a seal)" (not, however, with the extended meaning of "to oppress, tyrannise over", giving the meaning of "oppressor" for the bashak), an official whose main duty was to collect taxes and tribute, cf. G. Doerfer, *Turkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1963, 241-3). However extraordinary such an explanation of an official title may appear, it seems to be confirmed by the parallelism with the Mongol equivalent of *baskak*, which is *daruga* or *daruga* (*daruga* or *daruga*) (var. *darghak*), a Mongol verb synonymous with *basmak* in the sense of "to impress". These may, however, be popular etymologies.

Schefer, in his edition of the *Voyage de M. d'Aramon* (238, n. 3), says "The etymology of the word pacha given by Geffroy (from the Turkish bakh) is wrong. Pacha is a softened form of the word *bachteq* or *bachtq* which means a military governor." 

Carpini calls the Mongol *bashaks* *bashachi* (variants in the ms.: *bashati, bastaci*; cf. *The Texts and versions of John de Pl. Carpinii,*, Hakluyt Soc., London 1903, 67 and 264, notes). In the edition of 1596 (Hakluyt) there is a marginal note "Basha, vos Tartarica qua utuntur Turci". This also implies a confusion between the words *baskak* and *pasha*.

It is not impossible that there was actually some confusion among the Turks themselves between *pâdişâh* (*pasha*) and the title *baskak", the synonym of the Mongol *dârâgâh*. It may be noted that the title of *pasha* (which is sometimes given to an Egyptian secretary, according to Muhammad Kazwini) is applied either to Anatolians, subject in fact or in theory to the Mongols, or to officials of the Mongol *Ilkhan* (like the governor of *Baghdâd* mentioned above; cf. also *piser-i Ali Pasha* alluded to in the *Bezm-i rezem* of *Azîz b. Ardashîr Ashârbâbâdî*). This explanation was confirmed with the spelling *bashagha* instead of *pasha*, but which is not found in Persian sources, according to Meninski (*Al Pasha* by al-Dîn Sulaymân, of the dynasty of Kizîl Sulaymân, is called *Shâh* Sulaymân, of the dynasty of Kizîl Shudjâ). This title, which is not to be confused with *bashagha* (variants in *bashkak*, *bashkan*, *bashkak*, *bashkan*), is also called *Câbed*, *Câbed*, *Gal Pasha* in *al-Dîn Sulaymân*, of the dynasty of Kizîl Sulaymân, of the dynasty of Kizîl Shudjâ). This title, which is not to be confused with *bashagha* (variants in *bashkak*, *bashkan*, *bashkak*, *bashkan*), is also called *Câbed*, *Câbed*, *Gal Pasha* in *al-Dîn Sulaymân*, of the dynasty of Kizîl Sulaymân, of the dynasty of Kizîl Shudjâ).

As the lexicographers have sometimes confused *basha* and *pasha* some have thought that *basha* also meant "elder brother" (Mehemd Şalâh, *Kâmil-i 'ottomâni*, ii, 291 ff., followed by Chilors). It seems that there are two separate problems and that *basha* is really for *basha*, but with the meaning of *aoga* (military title) in chief". The *kavas* (also called *Janissaries* or *yasakè*) were called *basha-aoga* (according to Roehrig). On the other meanings of *basha-aoga*, and in general for more details on some of the points dealt with here, see Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques du Caire*, Caire 1930.

A note on the accentuation: In the word *pasha*, the tonic accent is on the last syllable (*pasha*). In the word *basha*, it is on the first (*basha*), as is shown by the weakening of the final vowel in the pronunciation *bâshî*, already mentioned.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see M. Z. Pâkhân, *Osmanî tarih degerimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-54, s.v. *Pasha*.

(J. Deny*)

**PASHA KAPUSU, WEZÎR KAPUSU**, a term of
Ottoman administration denoting the building presented by Sultan Mehemmed IV in 1064/1654 to the Grand Vizier Derwisch Mehmed Pasha and intended to serve both as an official residence and as an office; after the Tanzimat [q.v.] period it became known as the Bâb-i Âli [q.v.] or Sublime Porte, and soon came to house most of the administrative departments of the Diwân-ı Hümâyûn [q.v.].

**Bibliography:** M.Z. Pakalin, Osmanlı tarih dévleri ve terimleri sözlüğü, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 757.

-- (Ed.)

**PASHALIK** (t.), means 1. the office or title of a pasha [q.v.]; 2. the territory under the authority of a pasha (in the provinces).

After some of the governors called sandjak-beyi (or mir-liwa) had been raised to the dignity of pasha, their territories (sandjak or liwa [q.v.]) also received the name of pashalik.

Early in the 19th century, out of 150 sandjaks 70 were pashaliks. Of these, 25 were pashaliks, i.e. sandjaks in which were the capitals of an eyâlet, the residence of the governor-general or wâli of a province. For further details, cf. Mouradjea d’Ohssoon, Tableau général de l’Empire Ottoman, viii, 307.

**Bibliography:** See M.Z. Pakalin, Osmanlı tarih dévleri ve terimleri sözlüğü, Istanbul 1946-54, ii, 758.

-- (J. Deny)

**PASHTO** [see AFGHÁN].

**PASHTÚNÍSTÁN**, a name given to a projected political unit based on the North West Frontier province (NWFP) of Pakistan. The project had a dual origin, in the NWFP and in Afghanistan.

Although Pashtún possessed a strong sense of cultural identity deriving from language, genealogy, law and custom, there is no evidence before the 1920s of any desire for political expression of that identity. A precondition of the formulation of political demands was the creation of a political arena in the form of the NWFP. The origins of the province may be traced to the conquest of the trans-Indus lands of the former Durrání empire by the Lahore state between 1819 and 1837. In 1849 this region of the Sikhsâhâni passed into British hands and in 1901 four trans-Indus districts (Peshawar, Kohâr, Bânû and Dêra Isma’il Khân), together with the cis-Indus districts of the NWFP, passed into the British Empire as part of the North-West Frontier Agency (as in 1930). On several occasions after 1919, particularly during the Second World War, Afghan governments raised claims to the trans-Indus lands, including the territory of Balûchistán [q.v.] and its dependencies, possession of which would have given Afghanistan an outlet to the sea. In 1947 Afghanistan modified its position (following contacts with the KK) and demanded that the Pâhkîns of NWFP should be offered a choice between joining Afghanistan and an independent Pashtúnistán. Afghanistan maintained this demand after 1947 and in 1949 encouraged the emergence of a phantom national assembly of Pashtúnistán with the Fâkhèr of Ipi [q.v. in Suppl.] as president. During the prime ministership of Muhammad Dâwûd (1953-63 [q.v.]) the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Pashtúnistán reached its height during 1960-4. However, in 1965 the Pakistani government agreed to the proposal of the royal commission of the NWFP that the region should be included in West Pakistan’s one-unit scheme in 1955. Diplomatic relations were suspended in 1955 and 1961, and during 1960-1 there were armed clashes in Bâdjawr. In 1963 the dispute was patched up, but Pashtún nationalists in Afghanistan maintained the claims. During the period 1973-5 relations deteriorated again (although mainly because of the insurgency in Balûchistán rather than NWFP) and during the 1980s the Afghan government gave encouragement to dissident Pâhkûns in Pakistan. The extent of the territory embraced in the Afghan claim for Pashtúnistán was uncertain. It included not only the NWFP but also the tribal territories, areas outside the NWFP inhabited by Pâhkûns, and, in some versions, Balûchistán as well. The Pashtûns of the Afghan Pashtûn tribal belt were, however, not included. Although India and the USSR occasionally issued vaguely sympathetic statements, neither they nor any other state supported Afghan claims.

**Bibliography:** Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, 550 BC-AD 1537, London 1958; Sir William Barton, India’s North-West Frontier, London 1939; Khalid B. Sayeed, Pakistan: the formative years, 1857-1948, London 1968; A.T. Embree (ed.), Pakistan’s western frontiers: the transformation of a political order, New Delhi 1977; S.M. Burke and L. Ziring, Pakistan’s autonomous component of an all-India confederation. The KK dominated political life in NWFP under British rule until 1947, when the party began to lose support to the Muslim League, which demanded that the NWFP become part of the projected Pakistan. When it became clear that there was little support for NWFP joining what was perceived as Hindudominated India, the KK switched to advocacy of an independent Pakhtunistan (Pathanistán). This option, however, was not included in the referendum of July 1947, which was boycotted by the KK and yielded an overwhelming majority for Pakistan. Thereafter, the KK accepted the decision and agitated for the greatest degree of provincial autonomy within Pakistan, and this became the main plank of the programme of its successor party, the National ‘Awami Party led by ‘Abd al-Wâli Khân, the son of ‘Abd al-Ghaffâr. A permanent problem for the Pakhtuns was that Pakistan was not a majority within the NWFP, despite their dominant position in the adjacent tribal areas.

Afghanistán’s interest in the fate of the frontier Pakhtûns derived from an historic claim (Afghanistán contended that the Durand Agreement, although frequently confirmed by Afghan governments, notably in the 1921 Anglo-Afghan treaty, had been accepted by Afghanistan under duress and had lapsed in 1947), ethnic links, geographical propinquity and political concern about Pakistan interference in Afghan politics (as in 1930). On several occasions after 1919, particularly during the Second World War, Afghan governments raised claims to the trans-Indus lands, including the territory of Balûchistán [q.v.] and its dependencies, possession of which would have given Afghanistan an outlet to the sea. In 1947 Afghanistan modified its position (following contacts with the KK) and demanded that the Pâhkîns of NWFP should be offered a choice between joining Afghanistan and an independent Pashtúnistán. Afghanistan maintained this demand after 1947 and in 1949 encouraged the emergence of a phantom national assembly of Pashtúnistán with the Fâkhèr of Ipi [q.v. in Suppl.] as president. During the prime ministership of Muhammad Dâwûd (1953-63 [q.v.]) the dispute between Afghanistan and Pakistan over Pashtúnistán reached its height during 1960-4. However, in 1965 the Pakistani government agreed to the proposal of the royal commission of the NWFP that the region should be included in West Pakistan’s one-unit scheme in 1955. Diplomatic relations were suspended in 1955 and 1961, and during 1960-1 there were armed clashes in Bâdjawr. In 1963 the dispute was patched up, but Pashtún nationalists in Afghanistan maintained the claims. During the period 1973-5 relations deteriorated again (although mainly because of the insurgency in Balûchistán rather than NWFP) and during the 1980s the Afghan government gave encouragement to dissident Pâhkûns in Pakistan. The extent of the territory embraced in the Afghan claim for Pashtúnistán was uncertain. It included not only the NWFP but also the tribal territories, areas outside the NWFP inhabited by Pâhkûns, and, in some versions, Balûchistán as well. The Pashtûns of the Afghan Pashtûn tribal belt were, however, not included. Although India and the USSR occasionally issued vaguely sympathetic statements, neither they nor any other state supported Afghan claims.

**PASHTUNISTAN — PASIR**


(M.E. YAPP)

**PASIR,** a former sultanate in southeastern Borneo, now in the province of Kalimantan Timur of the republic of Indonesia. It comprises the valley of the Pasir or Kendilo river, which, rising in the north on the borders of Kutei runs in a southeasterly direction along the eastern borders of the Beratos range and, turning east, finally reaches the straits of Makassar through a marshy district. The country, about 1,125 km² in area, still contains primitive forest, in so far as the scanty population, which is found mainly in Pasir, the residence of the sultan, and in Tanah Grogot, that of the official administration, has not cleared the trees to make ricefields. Although some gold, petroleum and coal are found in Pasir, Europeans have not exploited them, still less do they practice agriculture. A European administrative official was first stationed in 1901 at Tanah Grogot at the mouth of the Kendilo river. Pasir was therefore a good example of the Borneo coast state which, as regards Islam, developed independently of European influence. The population of the sultanate was in the 1930s estimated roughly at 17,000. It consists of Dayaks who live by growing rice, of immigrant Bandjarese and Buginese from Celebes, who control the trade; they are found chiefly in the flat country at the river mouth. On the coast, the Badjos, a people of fishermen, live in their villages built on piles in the sea. Of the 9,000 Dayaks, about 4,000 had by the 1930s adopted Islam, while 5,000 in the highlands were pagans. The Buginese have a predominating influence in view of their large numbers and their prosperity; the Bandjarese are of less importance. There are very few Europeans and a small number of Chinese and Arabs in Pasir.

Half of the population are therefore foreigners, but like the Dayaks they belong to the Malay race and mix with one another.

Whilst Borneo formed part of the Netherlands East Indies, i.e. until 1949, Pasir was despotically ruled by the sultan and the members of his family; the people had no voice in the government. Alongside of the sultan and his presumed successor was a council of five notables, which the sultan consulted on important occasions; this was also the highest court of the country. These notables and a number of other members of the sultan’s family had estates as fiefs. Since 1844 each sultan on his accession concluded a treaty with the Netherlands East Indian authority. In 1908 they declared themselves vassals of that government. In 1900 the right to collect duties on imports and exports and taxes, as well as the monopoly of opium and salt, was ceded to the government in return for compensation. This amounted in the 1930s to 16,800 gulden yearly, of which 11,200 went to the sultan and 5,600 to the notables. The sultan still collected the following taxes: a poll-tax from adult males; 1/10 of the yields of the ricefields and forest products; 2 coconuts from each fruit-bearing tree; and military service. He also had an income from the administration of justice in the capital. From the very legendary history of the country, it may be gathered that this despotic government, which is foreign to the Dayaks, was introduced from eastern Java. Under the ruling caste were the chiefs of lower rank, priests and landowners and freemen as a middle class. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were still slaves and debtor-slaves as the lowest class in Pasir, although slavery had long been abolished in other states of the Indies under Dutch influence. As was usual among other Dayak tribes, slaves went about like free people, took part in festivities and games, might own property and were not even distinguished by dress. If their debt was paid to their master by someone, they went over to the latter. Slaves were not sold.

The following remarks are confined to the pagan Dayaks and their Muslim relatives, the Pasirese.

According to tradition, an Arab (Tuan Said) brought Islam to Pasir. His marriage with the daughter of the reigning chief did much to further the progress of Islam in the country.

As to the Pasirese, their social life was only superficially affected by Islam. In their daily life, a pagan conception of the worship of the deity and of the world of spirits still prevails. The old belief in the important influence of spirits on the fate of man and reliance upon their signs are evidence of this. The fact also is significant that, throughout Pasir, there was in the 1930s only one missigit and a few smaller places of worship. The number of Muslim religious leaders and badijis was also small, nor was the enthusiasm to make the pilgrimage to Mecca great. On important occasions, appeal is made for assistance to the spirits; this is particularly the case with illness among the Pasirese, who hold the pagan blian feasts, which are also celebrated in South Borneo. Amid a great din of gongs and drums which can be heard a long way off, the pagan priest (balian) becomes possessed by the spirit which then communicates to him the remedy for the illness. Even in the capital Pasir, exclusively inhabited by Muslims, the advice of the balian is sought; only during the month of Ramadān did the sultan forbid this.

How attached the upper classes of Pasir were to animistic views is evident from the legend still current according to which sultan Adam in the middle of the 19th century used to isolate himself for several days in the year on the mountain of the spirits, Gunung Melikat; he had concluded, it was said, a marriage there with a female djim from which a son named Tendang was born. This son, who has the gift of making himself invisible, is said to live on the island of Madura where he married a princess of the djim. He appears from time to time in Pasir, when he is invited by a great sacrificial feast (formerly also human sacrifice). These feasts are still celebrated occasionally, especially in order to free the land from misfortune and sickness. In the village of Busui, a house was built for Tendang with a roof in three parts, which was built on a large pole and thus resembled a dove-cote.

The revenues of the priests consist of what they collect at the time of the month of fasting in Lewau (balian) and pitia, everyone giving what he can and the chiefs exercise no pressure. A priest also receives a small fee at the end of the month of fasting in Lewau (balian) and pitia, everyone giving what he can and the chiefs exercise no pressure. A priest also receives a small fee at the marriage or divorce.

The calendar now in general use in the sultanate is the Islamic one. As elsewhere among the Dayaks, the tilling of the fields begins when a particular constellation becomes visible in the heavens.

The family life of the Pasirese has developed to some extent according to Muslim ritual. Among the
followers of Islam, marriage is performed through the intermediary of a religious leader, with the father or another man as wifii, but only after an agreement has been come to about the very considerable dowry. This is paid to the parents of the bride; she herself only receives a small part of it. According to Dayak custom, young people are allowed to meet very freely before marriage. A marriage feast is marked by a very considerable consumption of palm-wine. The man remains at least a year in the home of his parents-in-law before he can take a home of his own. Divorce is very frequent, but the attention bestowed is seldom devoted to the wishes of the woman in the negotiations between the parents. Man and woman retain their property after marriage; after a divorce, this goes back to the family. Property acquired during marriage is divided into two equal portions between husband and wife. After the death of one or the other, the survivor inherits all. Only a few families follow the Muslim law. The followers of Islam are buried with Muslim rites.

Bibliography: A.H.F. Nusselein, Beschrijving van het landschap Pasir, in BTLV (1905); see also INDONESIA.

(A.W. NIEUWENHUIS)

PASISIR (Old Javanese, pasisi or pasir; Indonesia, pasir “shore, coast”) originally an administrative unit of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram encompassing Java’s northern littoral from Cirebon in the west to Surabaya in the east. Historically, its importance comes from the establishment during the 15th-16th centuries of small Muslim enclaves within the prevailing religious mix of Hindu, Buddhist, and animistic beliefs. While traditions of the conversion to Islam at the hands of the wali sanga, or Nine Saints, differs from place to place, common to them are direct experience of Islam in the Middle East, or transmission by one who had such experience, and an element of Islamic egalitarianism. Under the guidance of the wali sanga these enclaves rapidly developed into independent Islamic principalities.

Explanations for Java’s conversion to Islam at this time range from those emphasising the “mood of the times,” through influences of the Sufi tariqa (q.v.) to a race with Christianity. More significant here is the region’s response to the changing economic environment, itself an outcome of the economic interests in the island.

Culturally, the pasisir played a key role in the introduction of important Arabic texts, especially those dealing with the sharia (q.v.). Of those cited in the early 19th century Surat Centini, only a half-dozen are attributable to the pasisir era. These include the Mukharar (al-Mukharar of Abu ʿl-Kāsim Abī al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Raṣīfī) [see AL-NAWAWI], the Kitab Naswai (Mutāj al-ʿakīn in al-Nafṣi), the Kitāb Nuṣrat b. Ṣaḥḥaṭ (Ṭufayl al-muḥāḍīr bi-dhār al-Mīnāhād) of Ibn Ḥaḍīr al-Haytami (q.v.), the Ṣaḥāba (Ṣaḥāba “Ṣuṣum”), and the Sūjar (al-Muḫḥasar fi ṣāḥīḥ “ṣaḥīḥ al-muḥāḍhab al-ʿImām al-Saḥḥābī al-Maṭbāʿūn al-Muṣṭaḥṣir) of Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Īṣāfānī). To this can be added an important work on Sufism, the Hulūmadin, a corrupted title of the Ṣaḥāba ʿulamāʾ al-dīn al-Ṣaḥḥābī (q.v.).


PASIR — PASWAN-OGHLU

The first Muslim states on Java, from the 15th and 16th centuries were, with their companion volume Islamic states in Java 1500-1700; a summary, bibliography and index, in Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, ix/s, bx (1974, 1976); Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, Literature of Java, catalogue raisonné of Javanese manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands, 3 vols., The Hague 1966-70; Soebardi, Santri-religious elements as reflected in the book of Tjentini, in BTLV, cxxvii/3 (1971), 311-428.

(M.C. HOADLEY)

PASSAROWITZ [see PASSAROFCA].

PASWAN-OGHLU (written Pashön-oghü, as if from Pers. pāshān “guard, shepherd”, cf. Kamās al-ʿĀlam, i, 1467) or Pāzwānd-oghlu (as in Abd al-Rahmān Sheref, Taʿrīkh-i, 280) or, according to modern Turkish orthography, Pazvantoğlu (Ḥamīt Muhīs, Türkîye tarhî, 423), but on his own seal “Pāzwānd-zāde ʿOṭmān” (in Ḍevıkî, see Bibli., the rebel Pāga of Vīdin (1758-1807). His family originated in Tuzla in Bosnia, but his grandfather, Paswan Ağa, for his services in the Austrian wars was granted two villages near Vīdin (q.v.) in Bulgaria in ca. 1739. ʿOṭmān’s father ʿOmer Ağa Paswan-oghlu not only inherited these villages but as boyrakdar, etc., was also a rich and prominent man (aṣbāḥ); on account of his defiant attitude, however, he was put to death by the local governor.

ʿOṭmān himself only escaped death by escaping into Albania, but after taking part in the war of 1787-9 as a volunteer, he returned to his native town. Very soon he was in the field again and fought with distinction, returning to Vīdin in 1791. From there he organised with his men raiding expeditions into Wallachia and Serbia. When the sultan wanted to punish him for this, he cast off his allegiance in 1793, took to the mountains and at the end of 1794 captured Vīdin with his robber band and became the real ruler in the pāgālīk there. Vīdin, which he fortified again, thus became a meeting-place for robbers and discontented Janissaries who were driven out of Serbia in 1792, and he himself became the popular leader of all those who opposed the reforms of Selīm III.

In 1795 Paswan-oghlu even attacked the governor of Belgrade, Hadjlī Mustafa Pasha, a supporter of Turkey and Russia, the Porte in 1798 sent an army of 100,000 men against him under Admiral Khâčik Hüseyin Pașa. He besieged Vīdin in vain until October, and had to withdraw with heavy losses. This defeat and Bonaparte’s invasion of Egypt induced Turkey to come to terms, nominally at least, with Paswan-oghlu and to give him the rank of Pașa of three tails (1799).

Nevertheless, he declared himself again against the reforms, against the central government and even
against Selim III; he also sent several expeditions to plunder Wallachia (1800 and 1801) and incited the Janissaries, who had in the meanwhile returned to Belgrade, to occupy the fortress (in the summer of 1801) and to murder Hādīdī Mustafā Paša (at the end of the year).

At this time, he repeatedly asked the Tsar to number him among his faithful subjects and also offered his services to France. The Porte, which shortly before had forgiven Paswan-oghlu everything, from 1803 declared war on him again, but the Serbian rising of 1804 restored his autonomy. Paswan-oghlu himself had to fight in the western part of his territory against Pintzo’s rising (1805). The appearance of the Russians on the left bank of the Danube (1806) induced him to offer his services to the Porte, but the latter instead gave the supreme command to the commander of Rusçuk [q.v.]. This embittered him so much that he resolved to defend only his own territory against the allied Russians and Serbs, but he died soon afterwards on 27 January 1807.

That Paswan-oghlu was able to hold out so long was due to the state of the Ottoman empire at the time, to his personal ability and foresight (he never abandoned Vidin), but for the most part to luck. Within his area he collected customs and taxes, ruled strictly and despotically, although not entirely without mildness and justice. In Vidin, he was active in public works, built many mosques, madrasas, khānakahs (see F. Kanitz, Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan, Leipzig 1882, 4, 8). Although his health was rather poor as a result of too great mental strain, ambition led him to aim at independence, as evidence of which we have the coins struck by him and known as Pazzanetca.

**Bibliography:** Various notes on Paswan-oghlu are already found in the contemporary travels of G.A. Olivier (1801) and L. Pouqueville (1805), but it is not till the Notes sur Paswan-oghlu 1758-1807 par l’adjutant-commandant Mériaig, of the French agent in Vidin (1807-8), that we have a complete picture of him which is still the best account of his career; these Notes were edited by Grjur Jakšić in La Revue Slave (i [Paris 1906], 251-79, 418-29; ii [1906], 139-44, 436-48; iii [1907], 138-44, 278-88) and tr. in the Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja (xvii [Sarajevo 1946], 175-216; xviii [1948], 1-183). The Herzog von Gotha, in his Geschichte der Blutigen in Europa, vii, Gothia 1863, 230-41; C. Jireček, Geschichte der Bulgaren, Prague 1876, 486-503; Iv. Pavlovít, Ipsini iz francuskih arhiva, Belgrade 1890, esp. 103-28 (diplomatic reports regarding Paswan-oghlu, 1795-1807); M. Gavrilovíc, in La Grande Encyclopédie, xxvi, Paris n.d., 68; St. Novakovic,Turško carstvo pred srpskim ustanak 1780-1804, Belgrade 1958; J. Joc, Documents pour l’étude de la religion du p. Djibh 1958, repr. Belgrade 1971. (K. N. NIZAMI)

**PATTANI** (Thai: Pattani), a region of Southeast Asia, formerly a Malay Sultanate but now included in Thailand (as a result of the Treaty of Bangkok, 1909, between Great Britain and Siam), and at present comprised of the four southern provinces of Pattani, Narathiwat, Yala (Jala) and Satun. The population of these four provinces is approximately 1,500,000, 80% of whom are Malay Muslims.

From the 14th to 18th centuries, Pattani was a leading entrepôt for trade between China and Southeast Asia. The conversion of the royal court to Islam, reported by the mid-15th century, enabled it to profit from the economic and political advantages which affiliation with the Muslim community offered. Because of the relatively early date (in the local context) of conversion, the community was regarded as one of the cradles of Islam in Southeast Asia.

For the history of Islam, Pattani is chiefly famous for two reasons. The first is a lengthy and continuing tradition of *kitab* literature, that is, works on *fikih*, *kalam*, and *tawawuf* written in Jawi (Malay using the Arabic script). The founder of this tradition and its most prolific author was Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIrīs al-ʿAlā, [q.v.]. He has been followed by a line of in-
fluential and versatile scholars, the most prominent of whom was Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn (1856-1906), who supervised the Malay printing press in Mecca and attracted many pupils from the Malay-speaking world, among them Tok Kenali (1886-1933), a famous teacher and influential figure for the practice of Islam in Northeast Malaysia. Ahmad b. Muhammad Zayn is remembered chiefly for al-Fatdwd al-Fataniyya, which is a substantial collection of his rulings. They are technically excellent, show a secure command of Arabic sources and illustrate the adaptation of Islam to the realities of Malay life in the late 19th century. The tradition of kitab writing is maintained to this day and is influential in the northern Malaysian states of Kelantan, Kedah and Perak, as well as Patani itself.

Second, and related to the first reason, Patani was, and to some extent remains, famous as the home of a distinct tradition of Islamic education and learning as conducted in the pondok (literally "hut") schools [see PESANTREN]. These are privately-run traditional Islamic institutions, headed by a tok guru (religious teacher), often with Middle Eastern education, where young Muslim men and women are instructed in a wide range of Islamic subjects. Traditionally, many pondok graduates went on to study in Mecca, Medina and Cairo (al-Azhar), and, more recently, also in the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. The pondok is regarded by Patani Muslims as a guardian of their religion, language and culture and for that reason has been an object of considerable concern to the Thai government throughout this century.

This brings us to the final point. Patani, and the present northern Malaysian states, came under Siamese (now Thai) domination during the 19th century. The relationship between Thais and Muslims was, and remains, strained, Thais still referring to Malays as khak (aliens, visitors). In the modern state of Thailand the Muslims of the south are a tiny minority (3% of Thailand's 50 million largely Buddhist population). The history of Patani Muslims has been one of prolonged struggle to remain independent in religion, language and culture. The traditional past is kept alive by a vigorous tradition of oral and written histories which emphasise the pre-19th century period, when Patani was outside the sphere of Siamese influence. The policy of the Bangkok government towards the southern Muslims has oscillated between a grudging tolerance on the one hand, and an aggressive policy of Thaiisation on the other. The latter was especially prominent in the 1940s and 1950s, giving rise to strong local reaction and bloody clashes between the government and the Malay Muslims. Imprisonment of religious leaders resulted in an even greater determination by their followers to sustain their traditional Islamic way of life.

From the 1960s to the present, Bangkok's attitude tends to be one of assimilation, as expressed in policies such as grants to religious schools providing that they teach secular subjects as well as Islam; attempts to set up councils of religious leaders to advise (but as yet there are no ghar'a courts); the publication of Thai language translations of the Qur'an, and some concessions to the wearing of Muslim dress. These policies are intended to chip away at the Muslim attempts to diminish the practice of their religion. In fact, throughout this century, the Muslim response to efforts at assimilation has been to strengthen their devotion to Islam.

The economic condition of Muslims in the four southern provinces has been deteriorating since the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s, Bangkok recognised that the subsistence-level living standard of the Malays was a factor in the increasing political unrest, banditry and separatist activities which were occurring in the area. Efforts to improve the economic conditions of the region have so far met with little lasting success, the reasons being complex, but including a reluctance to invest capital in an area whose history has been so troubled.

There are a number of separatist movements among the Malays, which since the late 1940s have struggled for either independence or irredentism with Malaysia. Since the displacement of their traditional leaders by the Thais, the people have turned to religious figures for leadership, and the existing national fronts have leaders from this group. These movements have been dealt with severely by the Thais and are currently in a period of quiescence. The occasional separatist violence is followed by rapid suppression, but the determination of the separatists, and their continued support by Muslims outside Thailand, indicates that the "problem" will be an ever-present one for the Bangkok government.

Bibliography: There is as yet no standard reference work on Patani. The following Bibliography has been divided into subject headings for ease of reference.


(VIRGINIA MATHESON HOOKER)
published, disclosed Sasanid-Islamic pottery in levels of ca. ante 750, below a 15th-century mosque with two mihrabs, one incorrectly orientated. The former large town was much depopulated, leaving a large ruin field, in which numerous Arabic epitaphs, none of them recorded, protrude from cemeteries which are overgrown by tobacco crops. The growing of tobacco for snuff is the principal industry.

At least twelve versions are extant of the Habari za Pate, the traditional Swahili history. They record the Nabhanī dynasty, claiming that it was founded ca. A.D. 1290. It is not claimed that the rulers were descended from the Nabhanī maliks of Umānī [see NABHAN], but rather from collaterals of the same tribe. Widely-held Swahili traditions report that it and other Swahili towns were founded under the umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. In spite of their 19th-century date, recent archaeological evidence here and in the vicinity at some twenty-six sites suggests that there is some nucleus of truth: they may be a plausible reminiscence of the increase in demand for mangrove roofing timbers consequent upon the extensive building operations of that reign.

This dynastic record consists thirty-five rulers, and is remarkable in repeating a complete isnād for each of the first twenty-five. It appears to be a composite work, the account of the first twenty-five rulers having been composed ca. 1810, with additions in distinct styles ca. 1888 and 1911. A highly glossed version was published in English by C.H. Stigand, with some work, the account of the first twenty-five rulers having been published. The Portuguese had a customs post on the island from ca. 1510 until 1698, and an Augustinian mission from 1596. The most important trade was in mangrove poles and ivory, and later in tobacco. The island came under Umānī suzerainty in 1698, intermittently paying customs dues to Zanzibar. Following a revolt, the island was garrisoned from Zanzibar in 1861, when the Nabhanī islām, with his family, slaves and followers, migrated to Witu on the mainland. A surviving item of the regalia of Pate, an intricately-carved ivory horn, with an Arabic inscription, is exhibited in the museum.


G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville

PATRAN [see APRATAN].

PATRNA, a city in Bihar Province of the Indian Union, situated on the right bank of the Ganges (lat. 25° 37’ N., long. 85° 8’ E.) and with a population (1971 census) of 474,000. In the years 1912-36, it was the capital of the province of Bihar and Oriissa of British India, and subsequently, of Bihar alone.

From 1116/1704 onwards, it is known in Muslim chronicles as Azimābād, after Awrangzib’s grandson Āṣīm al-Shān who made his court here. Patnā, how-
Persia worsened the effects of the socio-economic problems of the day. The Divan was not in session that day; the sultan and grand vizier were absent from Istanbul and the kâşım-mâkim [q. e.] was at his private residence in Çengel Köy on the Bosphorus. The government was not able to organise any effective resistance. The rebellious 'ulema', led by Arnawud Zulâli Hasan Efendi, a former kadî of Istanbul dismissed in 1140/1728, successfully pressed the sultan to appoint a new government. Before this the Grand Vizier Newghêiri İbrahim Paşa and other prominent members of the sultan's entourage, were murdered (18 Rabî' I 1143/1 October 1730). The new sultan Mahmud I [q. v.], who acceded to the throne on 6 October, was urged to grant a general amnesty to the rebels following a huddjet issued by the new Şeyhülislâm (14 Dümâdâ I 1143/11 November 1730). Patrona Khalil, instead of seeking high office, aimed to effect a counter coup. Kabakulak İbrahim Ağa (notorious for his bloody suppression of the revolt in Dort-Yol in the Hatay/Antakya nahiye [q. v.]), the admiral Djanim Khodja Mehmed Paşa, and a former khan of the Crimea, Kaplan Giray, were arrested and totally compromised by the new government. Before this the rebellious leaders, was invited to attend the meeting of the Divan, at which the sultan was to appoint him beglerbegi of Rumeli. During the meeting in the seraglio, the three leading rebels were set upon and killed. 'Ulemâ' such as Zulâli Efendi were arrested and secretly executed later. In Ramadân 1143/March 1731 a riot ensued, purportedly instigated by a group of Albanians in revenge for their fellow-countryman Patrona Khalil; this was quickly suppressed by the newly appointed grand vizier Kabakulak İbrahim Paşa.

Paintings of these bloody events were made by the French painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Inv. A 2012 and A 4082 i.a.).


PAWLÁ, the name given in the Mughul emperor Akbar's monetary system to the ¼ dâm (¼ payâs). (J. ALLAN)

PAYÁS, the Ottoman Turkisch form of modern Turkish Payas, a small town at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta 18 km/12 miles north of Iskandarûn [q. v.] (lat. 36° 46' N., long. 36° 10' E.). Lying as it does in the very narrow coastal corridor between the sea and the Amanus Mountains, the modern Turkish Gavor Dağlari, Payâs has always been a strategically important point on the route from Cilicia to Antioch; the name itself goes back to that of the classical Greek town of Baiae (see PW, ii/2, col. 2775 [Ruge]).

In the early Islamic period, Payâs was on the road connecting Iskandarûn with the frontier fortress against the Byzantines of al-Massûsa [q. v.] (Mopsuestia), and the classical Arabic geographers name it Dâyâ, which may indicate that it was a small town under the control of the Usûmans, with their acquisition of Syria, it became in the 10th/16th century quite a significant port; the vizier Şükollu Mehmed Paşa [q. v.] built there a large caravanserai, a mosque, madrasa, imâret and baths. In the next century, Ewliya Celebi describes the port as strongly fortified and with batteries of cannon. In the 19th century it came within the vilâyet of Adana, and Cuinet numbered its population at 6,325, slightly more than half of whom were Muslims. With the 1921 agreement between France and the Nationalist Turkish government in Ankara, Payâs came just within the boundaries of Turkey. After the 1939 incorporation of the Hatay vilâyet in Turkey, Payâs was included within this last, and is at present the chief-lieu of a nahiyé in the île of Dört-Yol in the Hatay/Anthaky il. The population in 1950 was 2,653.

Bibliography: Ewliya Celebi, Seyhântâme, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, iii, 42-3; Sâmi Bey, Kdnûs al-âlam, Istanbul 1894, ii, 1571; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, Paris 1891, ii, 105-8; L. Strange, Palestîne under the Moslems, 422; R. Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médioâle, Paris 1927, 453, 503; I.A. art. Payas (Besim Darkot), on which the above article is based.

PAYGHÜ (r.), a Turkish name found e.g. among the early Saldjuks, usually written P.y.ghü or B.y.ghu. In many sources on the early history of the Saldjuks these orthographies seem to reflect the old Turkish title Yahyû, which goes back at least to the time of the Orkhon inscriptions (see C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, in JRAS [1965], 9-10), and it was the Yahyû of the western, Oghuz Turks whom the eponymous ancestor of the Temir-Yâliq (Yahyâ) Temir-Yâliq, the 'Iron-bow' served (see O. Cahen, in Orisins, ii [1949], 42; Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040, Edinburgh 1964, 219 and n. 46). But the orthography P.y.ghü, B.y.ghu, is so frequent in the sources that it has been suggested (e.g. by P. Pelliot and O. Fritsak) that we have here a totemistic personal name used by the early Saldjuks, stemming from bigulplgu [the name of falcon] (see M. Th. Housiaux, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, Leiden 1894, 28). See the lengthy discussion in J. Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komanen, in W. Bang and Marquart, Osttürkische Dialektstudien, in AGW Göttingen, N.F. xii, Berlin 1914, 423 n. 5, 44. In support of this, it is true that the name/title Payghû / Bîghû Khân re-appears amongst the Karâkhânsids [see ILK-KHANIDS] in the 6th/12th century (see Fritsak, Die Karâkhânids, in Is. xxvi [1953-4], 54).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

PAYSA, Pâsâ (Hindi), English form pice, a copper coin of British India = 3 pries or ¼ anna. Under the Mughals, the name pâsâ became applied to the older dâm, introduced by Shâh Shâh, 40 of which went to the rupee, as the unit of copper currency; the name found on the coins however is usually simply fullü or rawâni. Pâsâ is the general name for the exten-
sive copper coinage coined in the 18th and 19th centuries by the numerous native states which arose out of the Mughal empire (see J. Prinsep, Useful tables, ed. E. Thomas, London 1858, 62-3). In the currencies of modern India and Pakistan, 100 paise = one rupee, and in that of Bangladesh, one taka.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, 703-4.

(1. ALLAN)

PECENEGS, a Turkic tribal confederation of mediaeval central and western Eurasia. Their ethnonyms appears in our sources at times: Be-lo-nag, Abu-ch-ke-Pecheneg, Basy, Be-ca-nag, Bakhan, Arm-Pecheneg, Greek Patwazidati, Patwazison, Rus'. Pecheneg, Lat. Pecenici, Bisseni, Byseni, Besi, Besmen, Pol. Pleczynowie and Hung. Besenyö (< Belgenlä Pechënäk). It has been etymologised, with some uncertainty (cf. Prztsak, Pechenegs, 211; Bazin, A propos du nom des Petchéniéques), as a variant of badjanakl-badjanak "in-law." (Old Church Slav. Pecenicka, i.e. "the in-law clan/tribe.") Their earliest history and origins are unclear. They have been identified with the Per-iyu (= Middle Chin. *Pak-nízık = Pecheneg (?), according to Pelliot, Quelques noms, 226, n.1), noted in a 7th century A.D. Chinese source, the Sui-shu, a T'ieh-le tribe, located near the En-ch'ü (Onoghur?) and A-lan (Alans). But, this is far from certain. More reliable is a notice in a Tibetan translation of an 8th century Uyghur source on the "northern peoples" which tells of Be-lo-nag hostilities with the Hor (Oghuz), probably in the Syr Darya region (Bacot, Reconnaissance, 147; Ligeti, Rapport, 170, 172, 175, 176). Oghuz traditions (cf. Jahn, Geschichte der Oguzen des Rasid ad-Dîn, 24-5; Abu '1- Ghazâ Bahadûr Khân, Shagdara-yî Tarakism, ed. Kononov, 41-2) appear to confirm this. The presence in their union of the Kangar/Kenger (Kâyraf) sub-confederation (Const. Porph., De admin. imperii, 170-1) may also point to a tie to this region. Kangar has been connected with the Kengeres people mentioned in the Kül Tegin inscription and the Kangarâya (< *Khangarâye) nomads who settled in Transcaucasia. These, in turn, may be related to the Türk toponym Këngû Tarban and the Chinese Kang-ch'ü (a term designating the middle Syr Darya and adjoining lands, see Klyashtorniy, Die Inschriften, 156-78) and Old Iran. Kangû. Prztsak (Pechenegs, 212-14) derives this ethno-toponym from Tokharian *kânû "stone." (cf. Turk. Taghtaken "stone city," Kengeres < kânû + Łopso) > *drş > *ärs > *äs = Kengeri) and suggests that they were Tokharian-speaking, mercantile city-oasis (Taghtaken) dwellers. The difficulty here is that although Kang, etc., may be connected with *kânû, *äs cannot be derived from *Łopso (= Iran. Łordel which produces Uralic), Prztsak further conjectures that the Kangars, driven into the steppe by an Oghuz-Karlu-Kimek coalition, became nomads, forming a confederation consisting of Tokharian, Eastern Iranian and Bulghar Turkic elements. Their connection with Eastern Iranian elements is hinted at in the remark of al-Biruni (Tabûdî, tr. Alli, 19) regarding a people that "are of the race of al-Lan and that of al-As and their language is a future form of the languages of the Khwārzamians and the Bajgânajâk."

This is echoed in the Old Rus' translation of Josephus Flavius (ed. Meshchersky, 454) which adds "the Yas, as is known, descended from the Pecheneg clan/tribe." Németh, followed by Ligeti, however, on the basis of their fragmentary linguistic remains, view them as Common Turkic-speakers (most probably, Kıpçak, see Németh, Die Inschriften, 16, 50-1; Ligeti, A magyar nyelv, 568, 569, and Györföly, A Besenyő nyelv, 170-91). Anna Commena (ed. B. Leib, ii, 142) remarks that the Pechenegs (whom she calls "Seythians") speak the same language as the Komans (= Kuman-Kıpçak). Mahmûd al-Kâshgari (tr. Dankoff, i, 84), however, seems to lump them together with the Bulghar and Swäw speaking a "Turkic of a single type with clipped ends." The available linguistic material points rather in the direction of Kıpçak. The possibility that they adopted Turkic is not to be excluded.

Islamic geographers (cf. al-Istakhri, 10; al-Mar'ûfi, Khwarazmshâh, 180-1) were aware that the Pechenegs had entered the Western Eurasian steppes in a series of migrations, the source of some confusion of the Pecheneg habitat in other Islamic authors. This confusion is furthered by the use of the ethnonyms Basджi=m-BAшджи, etc., to denote both the Başğırs (Başkort) and the Hungarians in both their Transitional (Magna Hungary) and Pannonian homelands. Warfare with the Oghuz (who absorbed some of them, cf. the Oghuz Pechen, Karluks and Kimâks drove the Pechenegs from Central Asia into the Volga-Ural/Yayik mesopotamia and later, with added Kazakh pressure in the late 9th century (Const. Porph., DAI, 166-7), into the Pontic steppes. Here, they were nomadised from the Don to the Danube. They were, as Kâshgari notes (tr. Dankoff, i, 92), the closest, of all the Turkic peoples, to Kûmû. The Islamic authors, without indicating which of their abodes is meant, note that they were the objects of annual raiding (for slaves and booty) by the Khazars, Burdâs/Burtâs and others of their neighbours (Ibn Rusta, 140; Gardissi/Barthold, 35, 36; Hudûd al-'alam, 101, 142, 160 (commenting that the slaves brought from Khazaria to the Islamic lands "are mostly from here") i.e. the "Khazaric Pechenegs"); al-Bakrl, ed. tr. Kunik and Rozen, 42; Gardissi/Barthold, 35, however, perhaps using information pertaining to their earlier homeland, describes them as rich in cattle, horses and sheep and possessing "many vessels of gold and silver. They have many weapons. They have silver belts..."

The Byzantines, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' day (d. 959) were eager to use them to control the steppe approaches to the Empire. According to the De adm. imp., the Pecheneg union was composed of 8 tribal groupings, and it was thought that they were controlled by "great princes," four on each side of the Dnieper (reflecting Turkic bipartite, left-right organisational principles). These further subdivided into 40 "districts" (mäellungen), clan groupings (?). This internal organisation, like other steppe polities, was dynamic. Thus Cedrenos (ii, 381-2) reports 13 tribes in the 11th century. The names of the 8 tribal groupings, consist of two parts, the name proper, usually a horse colour, and with some possible exceptions, the titles of their rulers, e.g. Xäbûw-yn-gälta Kabûkin-Yul "the tribe of the Yula with bark-coloured horses," Çwrmow-kahlizâ Sara Kûl Bey "the tribe of the Kûl Bey with greyish horses." The De adm. imp. also notes the names of the "great princes" (hereditary positions, passed from cousin to cousin) at the time they were expelled from their Volga-Ural/Yayik habitat, ca. 889 (DAI, 166-9; Németh, Die Inschriften, 50-1; Ligeti, A magyar nyelv, 507-11). None of the contemporary sources (Byzantine, Rus' or Islamic) notes the presence of a supreme executive authority in this tribal confederation. The Hudûd, 101, merely comments that they were ruled by an "elder" (mäisht) and had no towns. The notice in Abu Sa'id (d. 1286, preserved in Abu 'l-Fidâ, d. 1331), reporting that they had a town, Badjânâkîyya, and were ruled by a Khâşkân (Abu 'l-Fidâ, Takvim,
(205), should be viewed as a topos. The Pečenegs, like most of the nomadic polities in the Western Eurasian steppes, were stateless. The Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (893-927), used them to defeat the Hungarians, allies of Byzantium during his war with the Empire (904-6). Formal relations with Rus’ were established in 915 so that the Pečenegs, now Byzantine allies, could attack Bulgaria. After 920, Pečenegs-Rus’ relations were largely hostile. On occasion, Pečenegs served as mercenaries in Rus’ campaigns (e.g. Igor’s 944 raid on Byzantium PSRL, i, cc. 72, 73). Relations with Rus’ worsened under Vladimir I (978-1015), producing several decades of war (988-ca. 1006-7). They were decisively defeated by Yaroslav of Kiev in 1036 and thereafter pushed (by Rus’, Oghuz and Kuman-Kıpçeşk pressure) toward the Byzantine Danubian frontier (PSRL, i, cc. 150-1; Diaconu, Les Petchenègues, 39-49) which now became their primary area of focus. Military defeat and the loss of pasturages led to internal conflicts which resulted ultimately in their movement into Byzantine lands from which a weakened Empire could not dislodge them. The Rus’ defeat of the Western Oghuz (1066) and the entrance of the Kuman-Kipc’aks into the Pontic steppe increased the pressure on the Pečenegs, who retaliated with their own depredations. The Byzantine Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118), aided by the Kuman-Kıpçeşks, delivered a mortal blow to Pečeneg military might at Levunion in 1091. Some Pečenegs fell under Kuman-Kıpçeşk overlordship, others took service as borderguards with Byzantium, the Hungarian kingdom (where they also settled) or Rus’ (where they became part of the Černii Kloboucí (“Black cowls”) noted in Rashid ad-Din, ed. Alizade, ii/1, 1.62-3, as the kazem-i kuldh-i siyahân), a Turkic, nomadic force in service to the Kievian rulers. In their heyday, the Pečenegs had extensive commercial ties with Rus’ (where they sold horses, cattle and sheep) and the Islamic world. Al-Mas’udi notes their introduction to Christianity in the late 10th century (the conversion of the Christians) by a captive Muslim, along with Byzantium, the Byzantine, the North Caucasus (Bab al-Abwâb, Murudj., IstakhrT; Mas udî, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1960; Ibn Sa’îd, Kitâb al-Dhughriyya, Beirut 1970; Idrisî, Kitâb Nuzhat al-mushtâq, Opus geographicum, a. Bombaci et al., Naples-Leiden-Rome 1970-84; I斯塔khri, Mas’ûdî, Murâdî, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1966 ff.; idem, Tanbih. (e) Persian. Anon., Hudud al-slâm, tr. Minor; Gardzî, Zaym al-âkhîr, in V.V. Bartol’d (ed., Zhurnal vostochnogo Azii iz drevnykh tsel’yu 1893-1894 gg. in Zaptiki Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, ser. VII, i, t. i, 74-175; Pers. text and Rus. tr. repr. in Sovyentsa, Moscow 1963-73, viii, 23-62; Rashid al-Dîn, Dî‘âmî al-Tâvdrîkî, a. A.A. Alizade et al., Baku-Moscow 1980; idem, in K. Jahn (ed. tr.), Die Geschichte der Oguzen des Rastid ad-Dîn, facs. ed., Vienna 1969. (f) Byzantine. George Cedrenos, Georgoi Cedrenoi compendium historiarum, i. I. Bekker, Bonn 1893; Anna Commensen, Alexiade, ed. tr. B. Leib, i-iii, Paris 1957-45; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio, ed. Gv. Moravskîc, tr. R. Jenkins, Washington, D.C. 1967. (g) Russian. Josephus Flavius, in N.A. Meshc’er-skîc, Istoryja judovskoj soyini osiâja flavijâ v drevnerusskom perceve, Moscow-Leningrad 1958; Pal’tso sibirskîj bud’ismo’, St. Petersburg/Petrograd-Leningrad-Moscow 1841-.

2. Studies.

PECEWİ — PECS


Pecewi was born in 982/1574 in Pécs in south-western Hungary, whence his epithet Pecewi (or, alternatively, Pechewi, from the Hungarian pécs [peĉ]). His family had a long tradition of Ottoman military service. Both his great-grandfather Kara Dâwud and his grandfather Djafer Beg served as slay begi in Bosnia; his father (name unknown) took part in campaigns in Bosnia, and in Irák during the 1530s (Pecewi, Ta^rikh, i, 87, 102-6, 436-7, ii, 433). Pecewi’s mother was a member of the Sokollu [q.v.] family. At the age of 14, after the death of his elder father, he joined the household of his maternal uncle Ferhad Pasha, beglerbeg [q.v.] of Buda, and then of that other Sokollu relative, Lala Mehmed Pagha [q.v.], in whose service he remained for 15 years until the Pagha’s death while Grand Vizier in 1015/1607 (Ta^rikh, ii, 323). He participated in many of the campaigns of the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1593-1606. Thereafter, Pecewi was appointed ʻahār (land census) recorder in the Rumelian sanjak of Egrîbî, Inebakhî and Karîlli-li (1015/1606), then mumâkîd [q.v.] (clerk) to the Grand Vizier Kuyudju Murâd Pagha (ca. 1607-11). Following a fire at his home in Pécs, he returned to Hungary for several years, but by 1031/1622 was again in Istanbul, where he witnessed the deposition of Îljâmân II (Ta^rikh, ii, 380-8). He subsequently resumed an official career, serving as defterdar [see Daftrdar] of Dijâr Bakr (ca. 1033/1623-4), from which he was sent as beglerbegi of Rakka [q.v.] with 200 sekân troops to the defence of Mârdin (1033/1624), and then as defterdar of Tokat (1034/1625) (Ta^rikh, ii, 391-2, 394-5, 403). His next recorded post was defterdar of the Tuna (Danube) province, from which he was dismissed in 1041/1631-2 to be appointed defterdar of Anadolu (Ta^rikh, ii, 421). His next post may have been as governor of Istonîl Belgrad (1042/1632-5), after which he became defterdar of Bosnia (1043/1633-4) and then of Temesvár (1047/1638) (Ta^rikh, ii, 445, 442). Retiring from official employment in 1051/1641, Pecewi spent his last years in Buda and Pécs writing his history.

Pecewi’s History as published (2 vols., Istanbul 1626-3/1864-6; repr., 1 vol., with intro. and index, ed. F.C. Derin and V. Çabuk, Istanbul 1980) covers the period from the accession of Süleyman in 1520 to the death of Murâd IV in 1640, and is one of the principal sources for Ottoman history, particularly for the period ca. 1590-1632 when the historian was a close observer of many events. It is a compilation (described repeatedly by Pecewi as a maktûa) drawn upon the histories of Djelâl-zâde Muṣṭâfa [see GAJÂLZÂDE], Râmadân-zâde, ʿAlì, Hasan Beg-zâde [q.v.], Kâtiç Mehmed [see KATIG CEBELI] inter alios (Ta^rikh, i, 3; on his use of the Hungarian histories of Heltai and Istvánffy, see Karacson Imre, Pecewi İbrahim’in tercüme-i hali, in Türk defterleri [1327], 1/3, 89-96), but also including much unique material garnered orally from leading viziers and other Ottoman officials and military men. It is particularly rich for events on the Hungarian and Bosnian frontiers, incorporating details which Pecewi learnt from his family and local acquaintances, and for the critical period of the early 1620s. Though written in relatively simple Ottoman Turkish, the text contains much anecdotal material and some less usual terms (occasionally of Hungarian origin) which render it lively but not without difficulty. There is a strong authorial presence, which contributes to its value as an original source.

Pecewi’s History was a major source for Kâtiç Cebeli’s Feçlikâ, Na’tim [q.v.] and Djewri, and was used extensively by von Hammer. No other historical work by him is known.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see P. von Kraelitz, Der osmanische Historiker İbrahim Pecewi, in Id., viii (1910), 252-60; Ahmed Refit, ‘Alimler ve sanâkatdarlar, Istanbul 1924, 292-95; GOW, 192-5; İstanbul kültüphanesi tarih-coğrafya yazarları kataloğu. I. Türkçe tarih yazarları, 2 fas., Istanbul 1944, 225-30; Ş. Turan, art. Pecevi, in IA, ix, 453-5 (with further references).

(Å. BABBING-[CHRISTINE WOODHEAD])

Pechina [see peçejan]

Pécs (Ottoman Pécs, German Pünklim, Latin Quinque Ecclesiæ), town and centre of a sandjak in Transdanubian Hungary.

Founded on the site of Roman Sopianae and preserving remnants of buildings from the first centuries of Christianity, Pécs became an episcopal see in 1009, housed the first university of the country (established in 1367) and was the most important economic centre south of Lake Balaton throughout the Middle Ages.

The town surrendered without fight to the forces of Kâsi, sandjak-begi of Mohâc [q.v.] and Murâd, sandjak-begi of Pozség (Põshchega), during Süleyman the Magnificent’s sixth Hungarian campaign, on 17 Rabî II 950/20 July 1543. Until 1570, it belonged to the sandjak of Mohács, although the name of this administrative unit alternated between Sekcső (Sékcsy) and—rarely—Pécs. Around the middle of September 1595, the liwa of Pécs was attached to the newly-created vilâyet of Széptető (Sigtétár) (cf. Istanbul, İstanbul Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Tamsîfi 314, p. 362) and remained so until 1597. Then it was transferred to the province of Kânişa [q.v.], established in 1600. There was one serious but unsuccessful attempt by Count Nicholas Zrinyi to retake Pécs in 1664, which caused great damage. Ottoman domination ended on 3 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1097/21 October 1666 when Louis of Baden captured the town.

The 16th century Ottoman surveys present the original population of Pécs as purely Hungarian. Their number shows a markedly decreasing tendency, as in most administrative centres of Hungary. This meant that out of 351 married and 58 unmarried Christian heads of households with their 10 priests in 1546 (Báshbakan Osmanlı Arşivi, Tafter defteri 411, fols. 3b-9a) there were only 195 heads of families and 2 widows left by 1579 (ibid., Tafter defteri 585, fols.
5b-7a). On the other hand, the number of Ottoman mercenaries getting regular pay diminished from 828 in 1545 to 220 in 1568. Some of them, however, had received timars, 237 persons being so listed in 1570. In the same year, there served 22 za'ims and 98 timariots plus their ğebelius in the sandjak (Tapu defteri 480). Muslim civilians are not listed in the defters at all. The total number of inhabitants can be estimated at 4,500–5,000 in 1546 and at 2,500–3,000 around 1580. Population data from the 17th century are very scarce. The first Habsburg survey in 1687 found 363 houses, mostly within the city walls, which permits us to draw the conclusion that there had been no radical changes in the meantime. The Muslim majority may have become dominant with a not-negligible Slav infiltration.

The Reformation (Unitarian, Calvinist and also Lutheran) strongly affected the town, which was the scene of open disputes among Protestant theologians. In the 17th century, however, the Jesuits restored Catholicism.

Local grain and grape cultivation was modest. In spite of that, the town was a significant centre of viticulture, producing wine from the crops of the neighbouring settlements. In 1687, as many as 3,334 units of vineyards, cultivable in one day, were registered, naming 387 actual and/or former owners, the latter being mostly Muslims. The number of mills was traditionally high, amounting to 40 wheels both in 1546 and 1687, some of which being ruined at the latter date.

Pécs remained an important emporium in Ottoman times as well. Transit cattle and horses passed through the town both in the directions of Vienna and Venice. Local shops were numerous (46 in 1570), mostly in Muslim, rarely in Christian possession.

The town had remarkable Muslim religious and cultural institutions. Among the țakıhâ of its mevlevi-khané there were outstanding personalies such as Ahmed Dede, later head of the Yeni-bâşı melevi-khané in Istanbul (cf. Gábor Agoston, 16-17. azírdá Macaristan'da tasavvuf ve mevlevilik, in I. Millîlerarasi İnkarcı Hali Konferansı Tebliğleri, Konya 1987, 228-9). Today, two ğiurmi's (those of Gazi Kâsin Paşa and Yağovali Hasan Paşa) and a ğürbe (that of İdris Baba) still survive in their original form.

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PEDROCHE [see BITRAWS]; PEHRLEWÁN [see PHALAWÁN]; PELOPONNES [see MORA]; PEMA, an island of East Africa. It appears in Yâkût and other authors as al-Djázira al-Khadrâ', and lies to the north of Zanzibar [g.v.] off the Tanzania coast. There has been much debate whether the Menouthias mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea is Pemba or Zanzibar, with the balance in favour of the former. At ca. A.D. 50, it attests Egyptian and Arab trade in the area.

Nothing is heard of it until al-Djâhâz (d. 255/868-9), who mentions Landjîja, a corruption of al-Unguđa, the Swahili name for Zanzibar, pairing it with an island of forests and valleys which he calls Kanbalû. Geographically this is satisfactory, for Pemba is hilly and wooded, as opposed to the flatness of Zanzibar. Al-Masû'dî travelled thither with 'Ummân shipowners in 304/916, and gives an account of its trade. Buzurg b. Shâhriyâr (d. ca. 956) speaks of it as a trading station on the way to Sofâla, but in spite of these dates the thirty ancient sites so far identified suggest a misuse of these dates by the 10th century. At these the principal remains are of mosques, some in actual use, and occasional houses.

Yâkût mentions two cities on the island, called Mtanby and Mkanbalu, recognisable in modern Swahili as Mtambwe and Mkumbuu [see MTAMBWE MKUU]. Each had a sultan. The first-named had as ruler an Arab who was stated to have emigrated from al-Kûfa. At this place in 853-6 a hoard of more than 2,000 silver pieces was recovered, naming ten local rulers, accompanied by seven Fâtimid dinârs. The ten rulers covered three to four generations in a hoard formed ca. 1070, which would place the earliest of them in the 10th century. Al-Masû'dî speaks of kings (mûlûk) of the Zândî people (Mûrîdî, iii, 6, 29-30 = §§ 848, 871), and it may be suggested that (like the Ayyûbîds) these would have reigned in different places at the same time. There is no historical record of their vicissitudes.

Pemba was a vassal of the Portuguese Crown from 1506 until 1695, with a king. After 1698 it fell to the 'Ummânîs. It served Mombasa as a rice-growing area, for which its very rainy climate (76° a. p. a.) made it suitable. Under Sayyid Sa'id of 'Ummân and Zanzibar (1806-56), clove cultivation was introduced ca. post-1822, making it eventually, with Zanzibar, the greatest clove exporter in the world. The clove plantations were almost all in Arab hands, and exploited until 1873 by slave labour. A disastrous hurricane had destroyed many plantations in the preceding year, and the abolition of slavery came as a further disaster.


PENANG (Malay name Pulau Pinang), a state of the Federation of Malaysia consisting of the island of Penang (113 sq. miles) in the Straits of Malacca and a strip of land on the mainland opposite known as Province Wellesley or Seberang Prai (285 sq. miles) linked by a road bridge since 1985. The capital, Georgetown, ranks with Johor Bahru as Malaysia's second most populous urban centre (both a little over
400,000 in 1980) behind the Federal capital Kuala Lumpur.

The sparsely inhabited island was acquired from the Sultan of Kedah in 1786 for the East India Company as an islet for country trade. After initial success, it was overtaken by Singapore, remaining a subsidiary centre until the establishment of plantations in eastern Sumatra stimulated it again early this century. From 1805 it briefly had the status of a presidency under the English East India Company, from 1829 joined with Malacca and Singapore as the South-East India presidency. From 1836, and in 1867 became a British colony. After the Japanese interregnum from 1942 to 1945, Penang was joined to the rest of Malaya in 1948 as a state of the Federation of Malaya (since 1963, Malaysia [q.v.]). It retained the free-port status it had enjoyed under British rule for some time. In 1970 it opened Malaysia's first free trade manufacturing zone, and soon became a significant centre for electronics component manufacturing.

Reflecting the commercial history of the settlement, the population is ethnically mixed. There is a Chinese majority, Penang having the lowest proportion of Malays found in any peninsular Malaysian state (Malays being dominant numerically and politically in the Federation as a whole; see MALAYSIA). Georgetown is a predominantly Chinese city (68% in 1980), with Malays (19%) and Indians (13%) in the minority. Muslims in Penang comprise the whole Malay population and a small proportion of the Indian population, including the so-called Jawi Peranakan or Jawi Pekan, Muslims of South Indian extraction who have to some degree adopted Malay language and customs. The latter, being urbanised, have provided political and intellectual leadership to Penang Muslims. Unlike Singapore, Penang has not had an important Arab community. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the Shari'iat law school is followed.

In the Malay states, the hereditary Ruler (Sultan) is head of religion, administering and regulating Islamic affairs through the agency of an advisory council of religious notables (Maljîs Ugamâ Islâm) and secretariat (see MALAY PENINSULA, 8). Such control was absent in the British colonies, beyond the appointment of a Muslim Advisory Board and a Muslim and Islamic courts (Mahkamah Kadi) to administer the Shari'iat. In 1957 under the independence constitution, Islam became the official religion of the Federation of Malaya, of which Penang was a component state. The head of Islam in Penang was thenceforth the Federal Ruler or Yang Dipertuan Agung (chosen in rotation from the hereditary Rulers of the Malay states) and a religious administration parallel to that of the Malay states was set up under the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment of 1959. This provided for a Malay Ugamâ Islam headed by a state Mufti, including among its activities the support of Islamic schools, propagation of Islam, supervision of the khatâ, and administration of zakât and fitra. A system of fitra. A system of jizya courts (Mahkamah Kadi) to administer şerî'ia law was also instituted, though as elsewhere in Malaysia this jurisdiction extends only to Muslims in the areas of family and testamentary law, immorality, false preaching, and failure to fulfill religious obligations.

Given their cosmopolitan urban society, historically higher educational levels, and lack of governmental concern with religious matters, the British Straits Settlements became, in Roff's words, "sniping posts" for critics and reformers. In education, reformist ideals found expression in the foundation of the Madrasa al-Mahfûr in 1916, which used Arabic and English as the media of instruction, while the Jawi Peranakan in general embraced the government English education stream. In the 1920s, thanks in large measure to the scholar-publisher Sayyid Shaykh al-Hâdi, a Malacca-born Malay of Haçdrî descent, Penang emerged as the centre of reformist thought and Muslim publishing in Malaysia, promoting the values of the young Turks or kaum muda, who stood for informed idljîhâd rather than blind taklîd. Reformist journals like the Malay-language Al-İkhwân (1927-31) circulated from Penang throughout Malaya, southern Thailand and Sumatra. Among other achievements were the publication of several collections of sermons and the printing of the holy book in Malay.

Within Malaysia, Penang has retained its non-conformist milieu, as an urban centre removed from the centre of power. From Penang in the 1970s and 80s, Chandra Muzaffar, born in Kedah of Indian background, has been prominent in advocating the need for a liberal Islamic sociology unfettered by ethnicity in a modern plural society.


PENCE (t., from Persian pandé, "palm of the hand"), a term of Ottoman Turkish diplomatic. It was a mark, somewhat resembling an open hand and extended fingers, affixed (on either of the left- or right-hand margins or at the foot of the scroll) to documents, such as ferman (see FARMÂN) and buyurulanlar [q.v.], issued from the Ottoman cagares by higher officials such as viziers, beylerbeys and sanâgûbs begs.


PENDIK (t., from Persian pardj yak "fifth"), a term of Ottoman Turkish financial and administrative usage. It denoted the fifth which the sultan drew as the ruler's right (equivalent to the Arabic khâlīfah) and was charge of the process of thus extracting the sultan's fifth. This involved, in particular, the collection of young boys from the Christian Balkans and Greece by the process of the dewrózirmâ (see DEVIRZIRMÊ), and these were then trained for either palace or military service as the kâfî kullarl, the official in charge of the process of thus extracting the sultan's fifth who termed the pekw Presbyterian.

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In older Malay writings it is also used as an honorific word has often been used for chiefs of tribes and clans. In current writings it is often used for the hierarchy of Islamic religious dignitaries. In older Malay writings it is also used for chiefs of tribes and clans. In current writings it is often used for the hierarchy of Islamic religious dignitaries. Very often these religious dignitaries also received im-

international respect to the latter. Only in matters of

families and inheritance was the judgment of the

penghulu courts corrected this

they were bound by and

the secular courts. The 1931 Regulation also pre-

scribed the foundation of an Islamic Court of Appeal,

as a substitute for the former term of

penghulu para nabi). In more Javanised areas the word indicated the highest religious judge but it was also often used for the various sultanes and at places where the authority was exercised by a provincial governor (regent, bupati).

In these places the penghulu exercised authority in all religious affairs, with the implementation of Islamic jurisprudence as his first and the administration of the mosque as his second task. The common Javanese and Sundanese term for this functionary was also pengulu. He would be discussed in subsequent developments in the role and position of the Islamic judges in Indonesia through history and also the role of judges in areas outside Java even if they had other names such as, inter alia, hakim, lukum, serambi (after the place of the religious court: in the serambi or front veranda of a mosque), gadi, mufti, syarat or even "priest" and "chief priest" (hoofd-priester) by the Dutch colonial government.

In Malay historical writings since the 16th century religious functionaries under a rich variety of colour-

ful titles took a position at the court of the sultanes. Very often these religious dignitaries also received im-

portant tasks in the general administration of the country. Shams al-Din al-Samatranl (ca. 1605-30) as well as a later successor Nur al-Din al-Ranlri (1637-

43) served the Achenhese court not only in religious affairs, but also as a Minister of Foreign Affairs. Col-

lections of Malay law show a clear awareness of the differences between customary law and Islamic law, with priority given in most cases to customary law and only verbal respect to the latter. Only in matters of family law and inheritance was the judgment of the Islamic officials to be taken as the final decision. (Cf. Liaw Yock Fang, Undang-undang Melaka: the laws of Malacca, The Hague, 1976. Classical Islamic Javanese literature since the 17th century depicts the penghulu as the court official assigned to execute Islamic regulations, as being often in conflict with mystical wanderers and teachers. In masterpieces of this literature such as the Serat Jatiswara and the Serat Censthini, the penghulu (some-
times together with his following called kaum) is depicted as a stubborn official and as being not reliable as a guide for religious matters. Also, in the poetic genre of suluk (shorter mystical poems) we find many descriptions of the penghulu as a stupid and ridiculous figure, clearly of a lower standard than the mystical teacher, kyahi or guru, living in his pondok or periaapan (hermitage, outside the towns), centres of real spiritual life. At the end of the 19th century Snouck Hurgronje found a cleavage between the penghulas, closely related to the realm of politics, and the penghulu as religious teacher at pesantren [q.v.], independent of, neglected or sometimes even opposed by the "administrative" religious leaders. Snouck Hurgronje felt that there was a clear preference for the independent leaders on the part of the Indonesian population. He related a number of cases where the penghulu urgently needed the scholarly advice of good leaders of the pesantren [q.v.]. (Verspr. geschr., iv/1, 281; idem, Adviezen, 's-Gravenhage 1957, 762-97). Still, at

several Javanese courts the penghulu held a high posi-

tion. In many cases he was a member of the family of the ruler. Several penghulas are also well known for their literary skills and are also known as authors of babad, traditional Javanese history-writing. The rich variety of Islamic administration in the dozens of Muslim kingdoms in the vast Malay archipelago became more centralised after the tighten-

ning of colonial rule in the 19th and early 20th cen-

turies. The Dutch administration in the 19th century recognised the Islamic courts in the traditional fields of family law and inheritance, while a penghulu also served as a "council of priests", used in the 1882 regulation. The various editions of the basic colonial legislation (Regeringsreglement, 1815, 1830, 1836, 1854) recognised the indigenous rulers (sultans and regents) as "head of religion", with the task to supervise and control the "Islamic priests" (i.e. penghulas, hajis and religious teachers). The penghulu then was only nominated by the Governor-General in his function as adviser to general law-courts. In 1882 the first law on religious courts was promulgated. This law made the "clerics" (i.e. penghulas) the chairman of a judiciary council. After many debates (started between L.W.C. van den Berg, the main author of the 1882 law, and Snouck Hurgronje, who denied the "priesthood" of Muslim judges and the collegial character of Islamic courts), the 1931 regulation on penghulu courts corrected this law. An effect of the 1882 law was the diminishing influence of the local native rulers on Islamic courts because the penghulu as religious judge became nominated by the Governor-General. This tendency became stronger after C. Snouck Hurgronje was nominated as "Adviser for Native Affairs" (1899-1906). Snouck and his successors were deeply involv-
ed in the functioning of the penghulu, especially as religious judges. They gave advice for nominations, reprimanded corrupt and ignorant penghulas and finally even organised formal examinations of candidates (a number of examples in G. Pipper, Studien over de geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesie, 1900-1950, Leiden 1977, 63-96). The various activities of this colonial of-

cice created a climate of centralised administration in the field of religion, taken over by the Indonesian government and its Ministry of Religion since January 1945.
or the fixed allowance of 10% of the amount of money
involved in a case of inheritance, was ... He was of Tatar
descent and was born in the village of Daridja near
Urmiya. In his early youth he came to the capital
justice and from free gifts presented to them as heads
of mosques and judges in religious courts.
Since the independence of the Indonesian Republic
and the creation of a Ministry of Religious Affairs
(1946), the title of penghulu has been officially abol-
ished. His tasks in the field of religious courts have been
taken over by the Kapela Pengadilan Agama, head of all
religious courts in a district (kabupaten), while his tasks
as administrator of marriages, divorces and reconc-
iciations are committed to the Kapela Kantor Urusan
Agama, head of the local branch of the Ministry of
Religion on the sub-district level (kecamatan) and his staff.
The administration of mosques has commonly
become a private undertaking, not directly related to
the government. Many Muslims, however, are still
using the officially abolished term for the Kapela Kantor
Urusan Agama in his function as administrator of mar-
riages.
In 1974 the parliament of the Republic of Indonesia
passed a bill on marriage which strengthened the posi-
tion of the personnel of the Ministry of Religion,
because all cases of divorce now had also to be con-
sorted to by this part of the bureaucracy. During the
1980s, the Ministry of Religion carried out an exten-
sive survey concerning the procedures at religious
courts, and in 1989 the parliament passed a bill on
religious courts, where the subordination of these
courts to the general courts was abolished; the former
no longer need the approbation of the latter. Also, the
differences between Java-Madura and the (outer)
islands were abolished by the laws of 1974 and 1989,
which meant the ultimate centralisation of the Islamic administration.

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PERAK, a sultanate on the west coast of the
Malay peninsula. It became politically independent in
the early 16th century following the fall of its overlord
Malacca [q.v.] to the Portuguese in 1511. Sometime
after 1528, the elder son of the refugee Malacca sultan
fled to Perak where the people accepted him as ruler.
Perak was already known for its extensive tin deposits,
and under this new régime it began to expand economi-
cally. But although it inherited many of Malacca’s cultural traditions, including adherence to
Sunnî Islam and Şafiîî law, Perak never developed into a similar Muslim centre because it remained a distribution point for tin and jungle products rather than being fully integrated into the international Islamic trade network.

The 18th century court text, the Misâ Melayu,
nonetheless suggests that by this time a loose Islamic hierarchy was already developing. Like other Malay courts, Perak attracted a number of Hadrami Sayyid migrants who were accorded great respect and who
have been seen as a powerful impetus to the growth of religious orthodoxy. However, the ability of the Perak court to act as a patron of Islam diminished sharply
from about 1800 because of a series of succession
disputes, invasion by neighbouring states, and a
growing Chinese mining population. In 1874, one of
the contenders for the throne signed the Pangkor
Treaty with the British, which obliged him to appoint
a Resident whose advice he was to follow in all matters
‘except custom and religion’. But this secular-
religious distinction proved impossible to maintain
because Islam was so much a part of Malay life. In
order to facilitate their own administration, British
advisors, through the sultan and the State Council,
actively fostered the clarification of Malay Islamic law
and the establishment of statewide religious hierar-
cy and court system. In the development of Malay
Islam during the colonial period, Perak is important
because many measures were initially introduced here
and later adopted in the other Malay states.
When the Federation of Malaya (later Malaysia
[q.v.]) gained independence in 1957, each state was
given responsibility for administering Islamic law. In
Perak, as in the other Malay states, Islam was con-
formed as the state religion, headed by the sultan who
acts in consultation with the Majlis Agama Islam dan
Adat Melayu (Council of Religion and Malay Custom).
The Majlis is empowered to issue fatwas and
through its executive arm, the Religious Affairs
Department, supervises matters such as the collection
of zakat and fitrah, and the teaching of Islamic doc-
tine. A system of syariah (shari‘a [q.v.]) laws court is
maintained to deal with religious offences committed
by Muslims. Like the rest of Malaysia, however,
Perak stops short of being a fully Islamic state because of the necessity of accommodating its considerable
non-Muslim population.

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PERAK, the name of two Ottoman
statesmen.
I. Pertew Mehemed Pasha, Ottoman admiral
and vezir, started his career on the staff of the imperial
harem, became kapudâ•î basiç [see kapudan], later
Agha of the Janissaries, and in 962/1555 he was ad-
anced to the rank of vezir; in 968/1561 he was ap-
pointed third vezir, in 982/1574 second vezir and
finally commander (serdar) of the imperial fleet under
the kapudan pasha Mu•âûdühüm-zâde ’Ali Pasha. He
had fought at the Battle of Lepanto [see AVNAR, iv, nos.
382, 438; Mehmed Thüreyû, Şâhîî-i ’elbâmî, ii, 37-8.
II. Pertew Mehemed Sâ’d Pasha, Ottoman
dignitary and poet (1785-1837). He was of Tatar descent and was born in the village of Darîdja near
Urimya. In his early youth he came to the capital
Istanbul and entered upon an official career. In Muharram 1240/September 1824 he became minister for civil affairs (mülkiyye nāzir) and given the title of marshal (mujār). In the spring of 1836 he was given the title of Paşa but was dismissed by the autumn. In the beginning of September 1836 he was banished by Mahmud II to Scutari in Albania. Pertew Paşa set out a few weeks after his banishment to his place of exile but did not reach it. He died in Edirne on 5 Ramadan 1253/33 December 1837, three hours after a banquet which the governor there, Mustafa Paşa, gave in his honour (according to Gibb, HOP, iv, 333: Emin Paşa), and was buried there. No-one doubted that his sudden death was due to poison, and public opinion ascribed the crime to Mahmud himself. On his family, see Sıdıqi-i əğmənə, ii, 38. His son-in-law, who shared his views, was the intrigue-prone private secretary to Mahmud II, Wessaf Bey, a highly educated man but lacking in character and accessible to bribery, who lost his office about the same time as Pertew Paşa and was banished to a Tokat in Anatolia; cf. G. Rosen, Geschichte der Tuerkei, i, Leipzig 1866, 255-6. Pertew Paşa’s successor was his political opponent 2Akit Paşa, cf. Babinger, GOW, 357-8. As a statesman Pertew Paşa took up a pronounced anti-Russian attitude and was no less hostile to the Christians, whom he oppressed with long obsolete and forgotten laws. His feeling against the Christians increased with advancing years.

As a poet, Pertew Paşa composed a Dithen, which was esteemed as a model of the poetical art of the period of Mahmud II. There are two editions of it: Bülak 1253 (8°, 91 pp.) and Istanbul 1256 (8°, 130 pp.). On other works by Pertew Paşa, see Bursali Mehmed Tahir, Əğmənə müəllifleri, ii, 114-15. His valuable library, rich in manuscripts, was in what was formerly the Sellmiyye monastery in Uskudar, and is now the New Istanbul. This Pertew Paşa is not to be confused with the statesman and poet Pertew Edhem Paşa, who died on 7 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 1289/6 January 1873 as governor of Kastamuni [q. v.], a number of whose poems have been published e.g. a Şahmâne and Lêbhka, n.p. [Istanbul] n.d., and 18kâl ə-əfhâk r’sêkd al-abkâr, Istanbul 1904. On him, see Mehmed Tahir, op. cit., ii, 114-15; IA, art. Pertew Paşa (Şerafdîdît Turan).

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(F. Babinger)

PERZEREN [see PRIJEN].

PESANTREN, Javanese “santri-place”, the educational institution of Indonesia where students (santri) study classical Islamic subjects and pursue an orthoprax communal life. Pondok (“hut, cottage”; cf. Ar. funûk) is an alternative term, meaning “lodgings” and, by extension, “Islamic religious boarding school”. Pesantren is used most often in Indonesia (especially Java), whereas pondok is the preferred term in Malaysia and the Patani region of southern Thailand. Sometimes the two terms are combined in Indonesia, when the speaker means to make clear that a traditional Islamic boarding school, a “pondok pesantren”, and not merely a religious day school (such as the more modern madrasa), is meant. The Minangkabau [q. v.] region of Sumatra has a parallel type of Islamic school, called surau. This article treats mostly the Indonesian institution, although some references to peninsular Malaysia are included.

The indigenous origins of the Javanese pesantren are thought by some scholars to be in the rural Javanese Hindu-Buddhist mandala and in the perceptions of the Javanese community of the world of the cosmos, in which the traditional charismatic teacher—versed in magical and healing arts—became the kiai (“venerable religious teacher, respected old man”), cf. šaykh of Islamic times. The traditional Islamic Kur‘ân school—the kuttâb—easily blended with the Javanese prototype, which helped to domesticate and, through a dominant Şâhîfî fiq, inform and integrate, if not unify, Islam in Java. There was also considerable Şûfi content in the programmes of many pesantren; and Islam, not different, Şûfism continues to be an important factor in a sector of pesantren life in Indonesia (see Madjid, 1983; Nasution et alii, 1990). The historical evolution of the pesan- tren is a complex matter, requiring analysis of its premodern existence in a dynamic, triadic relationship with the rulers (kraton) and the market (see Abdûllâh, 1986), before it became more of an independent, somewhat separatist venture in Islamic communal life in late colonial times and even more in the present.

The origins of the Malay pondok were probably in Patani [q. v.] (southern Thailand) in the 15th-16th century. Patani Muslims are proud of their tradition in Islamic education, their close ties to the Islamic Middle East, their success in resisting assimilation to Thai language and customs (in large part because of the pondok system in the sustaining of an Islamic microcosm), and the many Malay religious books written in Arabic script (kitab jau). To this day, Patani and neighbouring Kelantan in Malaysia have a strong pondok tradition, which resembles that of Indonesia in most respects (see Matheson and Hooker, 1988, 43-6; Winzeler, 1975).

The pesantren was well established in rural Java by the 17th century and has contributed much to the spiritual, cultural, social and economic character of Islamic village life down to the present (see Geertz, 1956, 144 ff.; Oepen and Karcher, 1988, passim). The Javanese pesantren was the dominant Islamic educational institution in Indonesia during the colonial period, when it was a bulwark against Dutch penetration into Islamic faith and order in the countryside (see Raharjo, 1985, 245, on the gradual post-independence shift of pesantrens from closed, guarded institutions to open and more independent schools).

Usually, pesantrens have been built in undeveloped space near a village or in a separate part of a settled location. Most students have traditionally travelled to attend pesantrens outside their native districts. Traveling for study was a hallmark of early Islamic education in Java, and it had both pre-Islamic Javanese as well as classical Islamic precedent. Thus there is often a somewhat alien character attaching to santris, because they are not connected with the local kinship
and adat. In recent years, pesantren students at selected institutions have begun to provide some social and economic services in their rural locations, as part of modernisation and development. One ‘specialised’ (takhasus) pesantren, Darul Fallah, in Bogor, West Java, is sponsored by teachers from the Bogor Agricultural Institute, for the purpose of training students in farming and crafts within a strong Islamic ethos devoted to useful careers in rural development (for an overview, see S. Widodo, in Oepen and Karcher, 1987, 140-5). But East Java’s ‘Pondok Modern’ students, for example, are forbidden to have social contact with the townspeople of Gontor and the idea of service to the immediate community is lacking. However, ‘Pondok Modern’ does have a strong sense of being a waqf that belongs to the world-wide Muslim community (short description, 26).

In Java (as in Nazareth) it is thought inappropriate for a spiritual leader to have been educated in his own community; the one who has returned, however, after gaining wisdom and power through foreign experience and travel, may find a receptive attitude in his home territory. In addition, the pesantren holds up an ideal of affinity based on a common, transcending Islamic faith and discipline, whereas so much of archipelago life centres on local custom and traditional social patterns. On the other hand, pesantren life provides for youth a laboratory for self-government and socialisation into that larger community of togetherness and consensus that residents of the Malaysian-Indonesian archipelago also value highly. Pesantren-educated Muslims have tended to criticise their compatriots for what they perceive to be their less than pure Islamic belief and lax ritual observance. This Islamist attitude has given Indonesia (mostly in the 20th century) its (much analysed) santri type of orthoprax Muslim, as contrasted with the vast community of abangan, that is, Muslims who have not been educated in the formal Islamic education in the Arabic classical curriculum and who perishes when the kiai dies, with advanced training in Mecca or Cairo, and there have been virtually untouched ones, with strong personal charisma and little in the way of formal Islamic education in the Arabic classical curriculum. Although often a pesantren perishes when the kiai dies, sometimes institutions endure and even flourish in the hands of the kiai’s heirs, who may include former students who marry the kiai’s daughters and carry on the teaching tradition.

The physical plant of a typical pesantren consists of the kiai’s house and lodging for assistants, a building for regular prayers and instruction, an open space for community activities and sports, latrines/bath with ablution facilities, student dwellings (the pondok proper), and utility buildings such as granaries, and surrounding fields that are worked by the students. There is a great range of physical accommodation found among pesantrens, from minimal necessities (the majority) to elaborate campuses, such as the Pondok Modern, in Gontor, East Java, with its Friday mosque, tall minaret, staffed library, bookstore, student laundry, guest quarters, playing fields, ball courts and other facilities.

Earlier accounts remark on the extreme filth of the students’ quarters, clothing and persons (e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, 1906, ii/30-1), resulting among other things in chronic skin disease. In the writer’s visits to pesantren, the range of personal cleanliness and housekeeping among males has appeared to be about what one would find in men’s college dormitories in the west, that is, from acceptable to unsanitary. Female lodgings have appeared to be clean and orderly and the women students very well groomed. The pondok has served as the main form of Islamic educational institution in Indonesia until the early 20th century, when modern schools—such as the madrasa—began to be established. A distinctive aspect of the pesantren is its character as a nearly total institution. Although students freely come and go, and although the curriculum is often largely accessed by means of private study and individual interaction with the kiai, or his assistants, the regime of the typical pesantren is a 24-hour-a-day way of life, with morning classes and/or tutorials, Kur’ān recitation, afternoon study and work in the fields, with the rest of the time spent preparing meals and taking care of personal maintenance tasks, perhaps doing errands for the kiai and his staff, and honourable begging (in earlier periods especially). The all-important regular prayers punctuate each day’s progress.

The pesantren is often a place of little comfort, extreme crowding, and scanty means. Student body sizes range from scores to thousands, with some Javanese establishments drawing students from throughout Indonesia and abroad (see Direktori Pesantren: I, passim, for specific enrollment figures and curricula of 255 selected institutions from the more than 5,000 in Indonesia). As no or minimal fees are charged, depending on the institution, poor students can benefit from the régime of strict moral and religious

more than in recent reformist times, often provided Ṣūfi indoctrination, both to the santris and to people in the community. Of no small consequence is the kiai’s personal property—land and buildings—which may be inherited, donated as waqf, or acquired by means of his industry. Whatever goes on in the way of teaching an Islamic curriculum—and this has varied greatly in the past, although today standardisation of the curriculum has widely set in—the kiai nevertheless bestows on the operation a special blessing and legitimacy. There have been extremely learned kiais (and gurus), with advanced training in Mecca or Cairo, and there have been virtually untouched ones, with strong personal charisma and little in the way of formal Islamic education in the Arabic classical curriculum. Although often a pesantren perishes when the kiai dies, sometimes institutions endure and even flourish in the hands of the kiai’s heirs, who may include former students who marry the kiai’s daughters and carry on the teaching tradition.

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training, socialisation into community self-government, and time for meditation on life from an Islamic perspective. Students generally range in age from around ten to twenty-one, although in some cases children as young as seven attend a pesantren (as at the Pesantren Ihyaul Ulum, near Gresik, East Java). In larger pesantrens, the older students act as preceptors for the younger ones and self-government is the rule, with the kiai standing aloof, his house and his face turned away from the pondok part of the campus where the students reside. He is approached for help and intervention only for special and urgent reasons.

The pesantren curriculum has always been centred on the Kur'an, both its recitation and interpretation, and Arabic language (or Malay or Javanese in Arabic script) texts on jurisprudence, doctrine, classical Arabic grammar and rhetoric, ethics, mysticism, hadith and devotional practices (e.g. collections of prayers, praise, invocations blessings). (See Matheson and Hooker, 1988; and van Brunissen, 1990, for genres and titles of Arabic script books used in pesantrens and pondoks over the past century.) Pesantren textbooks are often referred to as kitab kuning "yellow books" because of the orange-tinged paper they have often been printed on. Modernist pesantrens, such as have been supported by the Muhammadiyah, use textbooks in Romanised Indonesian (as well as Arabic language and script), which are called, by contrast, buku putih "white books." The distinction between the two types of Islamic education—traditionalist and progressive—symbolised by the colours, is much less pronounced than a generation ago.

Today, most Indonesian pesantrens have augmented their traditional course of studies to provide instruction in modern subjects in a curriculum divided into three levels: ibtidaiyah ("primary" with ca. 60% general content); tonaatuniyah ("middle" with ca. 40-50%); and aliyyah ("higher" with only 20%) (Rahardjo, 1985, 241). Some pesantrens also have an advanced level, takhsasir, "specialised", where students study only Islamic subjects, such as Kur'anic studies, fiqh, tasawwuf and others. Many pesantrens are still rural and provincial, with a curriculum dominated by Islamic subjects taught by rote. Arabic proficiency varies considerably, but there are students who are able to test their students' competence to a level sufficient for studying advanced classical texts rather than simpler summaries. Moreover, students are often obliged to study at more than one pesantren (whether in Indonesia or the Malay world) if they would cover a sufficient range of the classical Islamic studies curriculum. However, the contents and methods of pesantren instruction have undergone considerable modernisation in the more progressive institutions, such as the aforementioned ones at Gontor and Bogor, where modern secular subjects—such as social studies, natural science, mathematics, history and English—are also taught.

Traditional pesantrens, based on individualised instruction under the authority of a kiai, although still serving a mostly (but not exclusively) poor, rural clientele, have steadily diminished in importance since independence, when the more modern madrasas, in Islamic education, and the sekolah or "secular" school, with a minimum of religious instruction, have come to dominate. The bureaucratically regulated (whether by government or voluntary religious associations) madrasa offers modern subjects alongside Islamic studies, but, unlike the pesantren, has neither kiai nor an all-encompassing social environment of Islamic discipline. The madrasa continues to be a major part of Indonesian education, although the sekolah is continually gaining ground as universal public education gradually becomes a reality in Indonesia (see Steenbrink, 1986).

The modern type of pesantren is far different from the old-style institution. At Gontor, for example, the more than 1,900 students are required to converse socially only in Arabic and English (Indonesian is the instructional medium in general courses, with Arabic the medium in Arabic and Islamic studies and English for teaching that language). Lapses into Indonesian or Javanese in daily life are punished by a short haircut, which is a major humiliation for youth acquainted with rock culture and Jakarta or Surabaya street life (to be "sent to a pondok pesantren" is a proverbial parental threat when children become unruly at home). The strict Arabic- and English-only rule testifies to the institution's commitment to training its students to be capable participants in both the global Islamic and economic communities. A number of outstanding Indonesian religious, civic, governmental and educational leaders have graduated from Gontor, which since the later 1960s has also granted the B.A. degree (in usul al-din). And unlike most old-time pesantrens, the "Pondok Modern" has been placed on a secure foundation for continuing development and growth as a rational organisation with a large and capable professional staff and foreign as well as internal funding (e.g. the Saudi government provided the resources for a major academic building on the campus).

The modern pesantren, whether in Bogor, Gontor or a number of other places, does not exist in name only, for it continues, like its predecessor, to sustain a closely regulated, full-time Islamic communal ethos set apart from the differing but equally worrisome seductions of syncretistic Javanese culture and modern secular materialism. Java, particularly, is experiencing increasing urban encroachment on its rural areas, so that once isolated pesantrens are being surrounded by inexorable development. It is likely that some of the special qualities of pesantren education will be preserved, but in new ways. One widespread development in Indonesia is pesantren kiti ("express pesantren"), intensive Islamic education for youth during the summer vacation, held on university campuses and in other facilities. As the Indonesian social scientist, Taufik Abdullah, has summarised the situation, "the future of the pesantren will be determined by its ability to maintain its identity as an ulama-dominated educational system, while at the same time clarifying its role as a complementary feature of national education." (102)

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(From M. Denny)

PESHAWAR, a city of Muslim India, in the northwestern part of the subcontinent, now in Pakistan (lat. 34° 01' N., long. 71° 40' E., altitude 320 m/1,048 ft.). In modern Peshawar, it is also the name of various administrative units centred on the city (see below). The district is bounded on the east by the river Indus, which separates it from the Punjab, and on the south-east by the Nangarhar, and on the south by the river Indus, which separates it from the Pandjab. The Swat valley, the country is still studded with crumbling Buddhist stupas. Here, too, have been found one of Asoka's rock edicts is to be found near the village of Shahbazgarha in the Yusufzay country. Both Fa-hien, in the opening years of the 5th century A.D., and Huen Tsang, in the 7th century A.D., found the inhabitants still professing Buddhism. It is also on record that Pühragahara was the capital of Kanishka's dominions. Through centuries of almost unbroken silence we arrive at the era of Muslim conquest, when, between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, numerous Pathan tribes from Afghanistan spread over and conquered the country roughly corresponding to the modern North-West Frontier Province (T.C. Plowden, Kabul-i Afghān, chs. i-v; Selections from the Tārikh-i Murāshā). The town of Peshawar is an ancient one, and as Paraghawara or Puragahara it was once the capital of Gandhāra.; it was also called Bagram, apparently such in early Pashto poetry. The present name of the town is popularly ascribed to the Mughal Emperor Akbar (q.v.) and is said to derive from Persian peshawar "frontier [town]". Islam first appeared there in the time of the Ghaznavids (q.v.). Sebuktīgīn fought over the surrounding region against its then possessor, the Hindūshāhīs (see hindooshāhīs) ruler Diypāl in ca. 376/986-7, and his son Mahmūd like- wise combated and defeated there Diypāl's son Anandpāl in 396/1006. Thereafter, it came firmly within the Ghaznavid dominions, forming an important link in the route down from the Afghan plateau to the Ghaznavid capital in northern India, Lahore (Lāhāwār [q.v.]). In 575/1179-80 Peshawar was captured by the Gūrid Muḥīr al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām [q.v.], but destroyed by Čingiz Khān some forty odd years later. The town has therefore retained its strategic importance, it is somewhat surprising that Peshawar is so little mentioned in the Indo-Muslim sources.

Towards the end of the 9th/15th century, according to local tradition, two large branches of Pathan tribes, the Khakhs and the Ghūriyya Khel, migrated from their homes in the hilly country around Kābul to the Djalalābād valley and the slopes of the Safiād Kōh. The most important divisions of the Kākhāb were the Yūsufzay, Gugiyanī and Tarkhānī; the Ghūriyya Khel were divided into five tribes, the Mohmands, Khāllīs, Dāwūdzhāys, Čamkannī and Zerānīs. The Yūsufzay, advancing into the modern Peshawar district, expelled the inhabitants, known as Dilāzhāiks, and finally conquered the country north of the Kābul river and west of Hōtī Mārdān. By the opening years of the 10th century, the Ghūrids had already reached the Khaybar area. Eventually these powerful tribes dispossessed the original inhabitants, driving some to the Swāt Kōhīstān and forcing the Dilāzhāiks across the Indus. Later, the Ghūriyya Khel attempted to oust the Kākhā branch but were signally defeated by the Yūsufzays.

Since the modern Peshawar district lay athwart the route of invading armies from the direction of Central Asia, much of its history resembles that of the Pāндāb. The Pathans of this part of the frontier proved
a thorn in the side of the Muslim rulers of India, and, although nominally incorporated in the Mughal empire, they were never completely subjugated, even Akbar and Aurangzeb contending themselves with keeping open the road to Kabul. Bâbur [q.v.] had used Peshawar as a base for campaigns into Kohâr, Banâ, and Bangâh, and Awrangzib's governor of Kâbul, Mahâbat Khân b. 'Ali Mârdân Khân [not to be confused with Mahâbat Khân Zamâna Beg [q.v.]], used Peshâwar as his winter capital, building there his great city (see below). With the decline of Mughal power, Peshawar fell (in 12th/18th century) into the hands of the Persian invader Nâdir Shâh Afârân [q.v.] and then subsequently taken over by the Afghan chief Ahmad Shâh Durrânî [q.v.] of Kandahâr; under his son and successor Tîmûr Shâh, the Mughal practice was revived of using Kâbul as the summer capital and Peshawar as the winter one.

With the militant expansionism in the Pandjab of the Sikhs in the early 19th century, Peshawar in 1834 was captured by the Italian commander in Sikh service, General Paolo di Bartoleomeo Avitabile, but with the defeat of the Sikhs by British forces in 1849 and the annexation of the Pandjab, the Peshawar valley came under British control for nearly a century; administratively, it remained part of the Pandjab until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. (For British administration and development with the 'viceroy' and 'trustee' theory of the region, see C. Collins Davies, The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908, 2nd ed. London 1975.) In the 1930s, the Peshawar region was violently disturbed by the agitation of the Khudâi Khudâmadârs or 'Red Shirts' of 'Abd al-Ghaffâr Khân [see Khân, 'Abd al-Ghaffâr, Suppl., allied with the Indian National Congress; this rather unnatural alliance, against all the trends in other Muslim parts of India, gave a peculiar flavour to NWFP local politics in the run-up to Partition in 1947, although after that date the Muslim League took over from the previous Congress-inclined provincial government (see J.W. Spain, The Pathan borderland, The Hague 1963, 165-73, 211 ff.).

Peshawar city was the capital of the NWFP of Pakistan for eight years, until in 1955 the NWFP was amalgamated, together with the provinces of the Pandjab, Sind and Balâdîstân, into the 'one-unit' province of what then became West Pakistan. The city (population in 1981, 555,000, since Partition, almost entirely Muslim, the great majority ethnically Pathân) is situated near the left bank of the Bârâ river about 21 km/13 miles east of the Khyber Pass. Its importance as a trading centre on the main route between India and Afghânistân increased after the construction of the Khyber railway to Landi Kual in 1925. It has 16 gates which are closed every night and opened before sunrise. The richest part is the Andar-Shahr where before Partition the wealthier Hindus had taken up their abode. In this quarter, conspicuous on account of its high minarets of white marble, stands the mosque of Mahâbat Khân. On the north-west the city is dominated by a fort known as the Bâlâ Hişâr. The Shâhî Bâgh with its spacious and shady gardens around the ancient fort is a favourite resort of the inhabitants in the spring. The fame of the Khâs Khâ'ânî or Storytellers' Bazaar is known throughout the length and breadth of the frontier and beyond.

Two miles to the west of the city are the cantonments, the principal military station in the province. Some three miles to the west of the cantonments is the former Islâmînîya College, since 1950 erected in Peshawar University and now with five constituent and eighteen affiliated colleges.

Peshawar is also the chief-lieu of a district and of a division (area 38,322 km²/14,798 sq. miles) which comprises the districts of Mârdân, Hazâra, Kohâr and Peshawar plus tribal agencies.


PESHWA, a Persian word for 'leader' with various connotations (Pahl. peshpây). As a title, it was used for one of the ministers of the Bahmaní sultans of the Dakhan and, more specifically, the hereditary ministers of the Marâthâ kings of Satara [see MARATHES]. At first, the Peshwa was only the mukhya pradhân or 'prime minister' of Ávâdji's Council of Eight, and this post was not hereditary up to 1125/1713, the year of the accession of Ávâdji Visvânâth, when the Peshwâ began to outstrip the other pradhâns and the Pratinidhi in importance. When the Peshwâ transferred his capital to Pûna [q.v. (Poona)], the Council of Eight fell into disuse. With the promotion of Ávâdji Visvânâth to the post of Peshwa by Shâhû, a great number of Brahmans from his subaste of the Cit-pâvans or Konkanasthas began to migrate from the Konkan to the Dakhan. Brahmins of all subastes had figured prominently in the early part of Shâhû's reign, but by the 1730s the Cit-pâvans had already gained ascendency in the Marâthâ state. Before the rise of Marâthâ power, these Brahmins had occupied a rather low position in the Brahmâ hierarchy. Now, however, they began to derive a sense of caste superiority from their association with the Peshwâ.

Ávâdji Visvânâth in 1131/1719 obtained the farâns for svârgâda, cauâth and sardeimukhi from the Mughâl emperor, after which he began to re-organise the revenue administration through the promulgation of an elaborate scheme of quota repartition, both in the Western Dakhan and the newly conquered areas where the Mughals had not yet gained full control but only levied cauâth and sardeimukhi. Marâthâ expansion to the north began to gain momentum under Ávâdji Visvânâth's son Bâdji Râo, who succeeded him in the Peshwâship in 1132/1720. This proved to be of great importance for the consolidation of the Peshwâ's power in opposition to the older Marâthâ sardârs, who were adherents of the Râdjâ of Satara but jealous of the Peshwâ's supremacy. The Peshwâ later gave out to have received sanction from the Mughâl emperor for levying tribute from the sikhs of Gujârât and Mâlîwâ. According to the Shâhâ carîta, the Peshwâ's attempts to extend Marâthâ power in Gujârât, Mâlîwâ and Hindustân were for some time opposed with success by the Pratinidhi, who proposed an expansionist policy into the Konkan and the Kanknata, to complete the conquests begun by Ávâdji. But it was the Peshwâ who received the Râdjâ's sanction to pursue the expansion to the north as the latter's delegate, and from then on the Peshwâ steadily acquired more and more power and wealth. The Râdjâ of Satara became almost entirely a figurehead already under Bâdji Râo, who promoted his own sardârs, Pawâr, Holkar and Sindhîâ, to strategic commands in the north. Bâdji Râo himself was also, up to his death in 1153/1740, incessantly campaigning: in Mâlîwâ, the Dakhan, Gujârât and in the Konkan.
Badji Rao was succeeded by his eldest son, BaladjI Badji Rao, in 1153/1740. Now the conquests of Malwa and Gujjarat were completed. And it is in BaladjI Rao that many of the Brahman families who were prominent at the turn of the 18th century date their rise. There now arose two distinct groups of sardars: on the one hand, the relations and adherents of the Râdjâ of Satara, the Bhônâle of Nâgpur [q.v.] the remainder of the Council of Eight and the Pratîni-di, on the other, the new men put forward by the Peshwâ, most important of which were Sindhiyâ and Holkar. In 1153/1174 BaladjI's claim to Malwa was recognised by an imperial farman of the maâb-sabadâr or "deputy governorship" of that province. Between 1153/1174 and 1161/1174 the same Peshwâ organised four other expeditions to the north: twice to Râджâstân, to Bihâr, Bengal and Bundelkhand, and against the Afghân Ahmad Shâh Abdali [q.v.] in Hindustân. After the death of the Marâthâ king Shâhâ in 1162/1749, BaladjI assumed power in all but name. The new king of Satara, Râmârdjâ, was left in almost complete isolation; the Râdjâ's attempts to regain control were unsuccessful, and in 1164/1751 he, in effect, renounced all sovereign power, agreeing to sanction the Peshwâ's policies unconditionally. Shâhu's widow Tarâbâr subsequently made a final attempt to subvert "the Brahman government" of the Peshwâ, but again without success. The Râdjâ, however, continued to invest each new Peshwâ with the khilat or robes of honour [see KhiLua] and similar ceremonial of state. The Peshwâ continued to travel, as the Râdjâ's "prime minister", to Satara every year in order to submit the revenue accounts.

BaladjI did not survive the catastrophic Battle of Pânipat [q.v.] in 1174/1761, in which the Marâthâs were defeated by the Afghân. His son Mâdâvâ Rao then received the investiture from the Râdjâ, who remained in confinement. Mâdâvâ Rao reigned for eleven years, a period in which he succeeded in restoring the prestige of the Brahman râdj. Cîpîvan power reached its peak under Nânâ Phadnis, the regent in the name of the child of Mâdâvâ Rao's murdered brother Nârâyân Râo. Still, the Râdjâ of Satara continued as the de jure sovereign. From 1188/1775 to 1209/1795, Nânâ Phadnis's power was supreme. Although he was almost 1,000 in 1541, close to 1,500 in 1543, and 734 in 1628. The total number of the economy), Budapest 1985, 490.) As regards number diminished rapidly, as in most administrative centres of Hungary: 122 Christian heads of families were found here in 1546, of which there remained 63 by 1590 (intermediate values: 1559-110, 1562-98, 1580-66 heads of families; cf. Gyula Kâldy-Nagy, A Budai szandzsak 1546-1590. évi összefoglalás. Demográfiai és gazdasági közösségi adatok ("Registers of the sangak of Buda in 1546-1590. Data on demography and economy"), Budapest 1985, 490.) As regards Muslims, our knowledge is limited to mercenaries, who were almost 1,000 in 1541, close to 1,500 in 1543, and 734 in 1628. The total number of the population could not have exceeded 2,500-3,000 people, although it is difficult to guess at the proportion of possible Muslim civilians.

The role of Pest as a commercial centre was significant both for local and transit trade. Its importance was enhanced by the immense floating bridge erected in 1566 when Sokollu Mustafa was governor of Buda. The náhije of Pest was the largest within the fluid of Buda, with more than 200 settlements and mezraus.
Bibliography: Ferenc Salamon, Budapest története ("The history of Budapest") i-iii, Budapest 1878-85; László Fekete, Budapest a török korban (Budapest in Turkish times"), Budapest 1944; L. Fekete, Buda és Pest under Turkish rule, in Stúdia Turco-Hungarica, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, iii, Budapest 1976.

(G. DÁVID)

PETRO VADÁN [see VARÁDIN].

PETRUS ALFONSI, Andalusian polemicist and translator (fl. A.D. 1106-ca. 1130), convert to Christianity in 1106, composed his Dialogi contra Iudaos in 1108 or 1110. Staged as a debate between the Arab Abû al-Maslî b. Ishâq b. Ismâîl b. Khâlid (i.e. Petrus) and the heretical Christian self (Peter), the Dialogi ridicule Talmudic Aggadah, showing that they contradict principles of Graeco-Arabic philosophy and science (in particular astronomy); the Dialogi became the most widely-read anti-Jewish text of the Latin Middle Ages.

In the fifth chapter of the Dialogi Alfonsi attacks Islam, following—to a large extent—the Arabic text attributed to ʻAbd al-Masîh b. Ishâq b. Ismâîl b. Khâlid (i.e. Petrus) and the heretical Jew, Abd Allah b. Salâm (q.v.) and Chabalahabar (Kaâb al-Alhâbar [q. v.]). He gives a curious description of pre-Islamic cult rituals at Mecca (based, if we may, on the Jewish sources), asserting that current Islamic practice is tainted by these pagan origins. Later Latin writers on Islam used Alfonsi’s tract extensively.

Alfonsi taught astronomy in England and France. In 1116, he produced an inept Latin adaptation of the Zijd al-Sindhind of al-Khârîzmi [q. v.]; subsequently, Adelard of Bath (probably with Alfonsi’s help) produced a somewhat better version. He later wrote an Epistolae ad Peripateticos, urging French scholars to study astronomy and arguing for the superiority of Arab texts to those of Latin authors such as Macrobius.

Alfonsi’s Disciplina clericalis is a collection of proverbs accompanied by short, illustrative fables; it is one of the earliest Latin texts to contain stories of Arabic provenance. The Disciplina was extremely popular for centuries (both in Latin and in its many vernacular translations); its fables were used by preachers as exempla, incorporated by Boccaccio into the Decameron, and in the 13th and 16th centuries in printed editions of Aesop.


J. Tolan.

PHILBY, Harry ST. John BRIDGER (1885-1960), Arabien explorer and traveller, adviser to King ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz b. Suṭûd (Ibn Suṭûd) [see Suṭûd, ʻAI.] and British convert to Islam.

Born of parents connected with planting and with official service in the Indian subcontinent, he had a conventional public school and Cambridge University education, and himself entered the Indian Civil Service in 1908. Already he showed a flair for learning Indian languages and for immersing himself in the cultures of India, until the First World War found him in ʻIrâk (1915-17), where he first acquired what became a lasting love for the Arab world and made his first trip into the interior of Arabia as part of a government mission in 1917-18 to persuade Ibn Suṭûd (Ibn Saud) to attack Ḥâ’il and its pro-Turkish rulers the Al Râḥîd [q. v.]. After the War, he remained in the Middle East and in 1920 was persuaded then to enter the newly-created kingdom of Transjordan.

But in 1924 he decided to resign from government service, disillusioned with British policy in the Middle East and its failure to recognise the new forces of Arab nationalism. In the ensuing lean years, he became involved, with little success, in business ventures in the Middle East and in pro-Arab, anti-British press polemics. He had often mentioned the potential advantages for his business activities in becoming a Muslim, and in 1930 became one at the hands of Ibn Suṭûd, though most Arabs were subsequently to consider him insincere and most Europeans to regard his Islam as a convenience rather than an act of genuine faith. It did, however, give him the entrée to Ibn Suṭûd’s court and the King’s companionship. He was now able to make his great cross-Arabian Desert journeys, including the Rubâb al-Khâlîf [q. v.] in 1932 (although he had been beaten to this by Bertram Thomas two years previously), and in 1936-7 around the southern fringes of Nadîd [q. v.] and the northern fringes of the region to the east of the Aden Protectorate, where his appearance with a Suṭûd armed party prompted British fears that his mission involved Suṭûd designs on the South Arabian shaykhdoms; a deliberate intention in various of his journeys of enlarging Suṭûd borders was in fact almost certainly a motive as well as the pure love of exploration (see J.B. Kelly, Jeux sans frontières: Philby’s travels in southern Arabia, in C.E. Bosworth et alii (eds.), The Islamic world, from classical to modern times. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis, Princeton 1989, 701-32). Philby’s journeys were nevertheless heroic ones, during which he took meticulous records of all aspects of natural phenomena, and much of this material is deposited in the Royal Geographical Society, London). Further business projects involved him with American oil companies and with the import of Ford cars. He was back in Britain during the Second World War, but returned to Arabia in 1945, and between 1950 and 1953 undertook further journeys of exploration—to Kûrast al-Faw [see AL-FA‘AW], to Midian [see MADYAN sū‘ayb] and into the south, where he gathered petroglyphs and Thamudic and South Arabian inscriptions. But the new king, ʻAbd al-ʻAzîz’s son Suṭûd, was displeased at Philby’s denunciations in his writings of the laxity of morals and habits of luxury amongst the ruling elite which newly-found oil wealth had brought; in 1955 he had to leave Saudi Arabia for Beirut; and after returning twice to al-Riyâd [q. v.] died in Beirut in 1960.

Philby’s varied public careers were vitiated by his at times immoderate language and hectoring behaviour, for he lacked the qualities of the diplomat and conciliator. His fame rests upon his many books about the peninsula and his acute observation of its geographical and scientific features. He never claimed to be a professional historian, and was careless about checking dates and consulting parallel sources in his books on Suṭûd history (see G. Rentz, Philby as a
the introduction of Islam to the island of Mindanao, however, is believed to have come not from Sulu but from Johore, with the arrival at the mouth of the Pulangi River (the present site of Cotabato) around 1515 of Sharif Muhammad Kabungsawan and a group of Samal people. (Maguindanao legends also tell of earlier visits by the foreign Muslims Sharif Awliya and Sharif Maraja, who married Awliya's daughter.) Kabungsawan, the son of an Arab father from Mecca and allegedly descended from the Prophet, and a Malaccan princess, is a powerful figure in Philippine Muslim history. He is generally credited with the spread of Islam in Mindanao, by a combination of proselytising, military conquest and diplomacy, and he provided the foundation for the Maguindanao Sultanate, though it appears to have been his great-grandson, the celebrated Kudarat, who first adopted the title of sultan. From the Cotabato area, Islam spread inland to Lanao and other parts of western and central Mindanao, from the north coast to the Gulf of Davao in the south.

In the late 15th to early 16th centuries Islam also spread from Borneo to Mindanao in the northern islands of the Philippines. Muslim leaders Rajah Sulaymān and Rajah Lakandula, both kin of the Sultan of Brunei, controlled areas around Manila and Muslim influence extended south of Manila into what is now Batangas. Thus by the late 16th century, Islam was well established in Sulu and western Mindanao and was spreading eastwards on Mindanao and to the northern islands. In the southern Philippines there were powerful sultanes and, encouraged by visits from foreign missionaries, religious institutions were growing in number and influence. Jolo was an important centre for trade, and intermarriages linked Philippine Muslims with Malay states to the west and south.

2. Islam in the colonial Philippines

When the Spanish arrived in the Philippines in 1521 they recognised among the local Muslims their old adversaries the “Moro”, and in effect resumed the crusades in Southeast Asia. Following their permanent settlement in the islands in 1565, the Spaniards reversed the spread of Islam in the north and embarked upon a series of Moro Wars against the Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao as well as in Bornéo. Spanish policy in the Philippines was to Hispanise and Christianise the native population, and the commander of the first military expedition to Mindanao and Sulu was specifically instructed to prevent the teaching of the “doctrine of Mahoma” and to destroy places in which “that accursed doctrine has been preached”. The Spaniards partially succeeded in halting the easterly spread of Islam on Mindanao and
established footholds in western Mindanao, notably at Zamboanga. In addition to religious and political objectives, Spain sought to displace Moros in local and regional trade, to stop Moro piracy against Spanish shipping, and to put an end to Moro raids against Spanish and Christianised indio settlements in Luzon and the Visayas. These objectives were pursued strongly in the 17th and 18th centuries as Dutch commercial activity in the area increased, as Jolo became a major entrepôt in the European trade with China, and as attacks on Visayan settlements increased along with the growing importance of slavery to the regional economy.

In 1637 Lamitan, the capital of Sultan Kudarat of Maguindanao, fell to Spanish forces; Jolo was captured the following year. Eight years after the fall of Lamitan, however, the Spaniards again withdrew, signing a treaty with Kudarat which recognised his sphere of influence from Zamboanga to the Gulf of Davao and eastwards to Maranao territory. Fighting broke out again in 1656 with a dghay led by Kudarat and the sultans of Sulu, Ternate and Makassar. In 1663 the Spaniards again withdrew, not returning until 1718, when another round of the Moro Wars began. Finally, with increasing European rivalry in the area, the balance of advantage shifted in favour of Spain with the introduction of steam gunboats in the mid-19th century. In 1884 Spanish authorities set up a “Government of Mindanao”, and eighteen years later the Sultan of Sulu acknowledged Spanish sovereignty. When in 1898 the Philippines were ceded by Spain to the USA under the Treaty of Paris, the Muslim areas of Sulu and Mindanao were still not fully under Spanish control, but this did not prevent their being included in the settlement, notwithstanding Muslim protests.

Under an agreement signed with the Sultan of Sulu in 1899 the occupying US army at first adopted a position of “non-interference” in the Muslim areas. This was soon abrogated, however, and replaced by policies designed to “develop, civilise and educate” the Muslims. The American administration made some attempt to accommodate aspects of Muslim social life, particularly in relation to Islamic law and education. Proponents feared an undermining of traditional authority and attempts to assimilate them into the larger, Christian, society. Resistance to American rule resulted in a series of military confrontations, culminating in the battle of Bud Bagsak on Jolo in 1913. Two years later the Sultan of Sulu surrendered his temporal authority to the US government. Under a “policy of attraction” health and education services were improved and public works programmes undertaken.

Initially administered by US army officers as the Moro Province, Mindanao and Sulu subsequently came under a separate department headed by a civilian governor and later (until 1935) under the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. With increasing Filipinisation of government, however, the special provisions granted to the Muslim areas of Mindanao and Sulu were progressively withdrawn, including, in 1936, recognition of civil titles such as sultan and datu. In response, there were several local uprisings and in a series of petitions in the 1920s and 1930s Moro leaders asked the colonial government either to incorporate Mindanao and Sulu, with special provisions, within the USA or to recognise the separate independence of a Moro Nation.

3. Islam in the independent Republic

What came to be referred to as “the Moro Problem” (though Peter Gowing suggested as a more appropriate term, “the Moros’ ‘Christian Problem’”) was inherited by the independent Philippine Republic in 1946. Moreover, heavy immigration from the northern islands, encouraged by the colonial government earlier in the century but increasing in scale after the Second World War, exacerbated the situation insofar as it created tensions between Muslim communities and immigrant settlers, especially over land ownership, and undermined the political authority of Muslim leaders. In 1954 a special committee of the Philippines Congress was created to investigate “the Moro Problem”. As a result of its report a Commission on National Integration was set up to promote “the economic, social, moral, and political advancement of the non-Christian Filipinos”, but it achieved little before being abolished in 1975. A subsequent report of a Senate Committee on National Minorities identified immigration and land grabbing as the major sources of Muslim grievances, but provided no solutions to the growing unrest.

As in earlier periods of Moro history, a feeling of grievance among Muslim communities promoted a heightened sense of Islamic identity. In the 1950s and 1960s this growing Islamic consciousness was reinforced by tendencies towards “Islamic reassertion” internationally. Within the Philippines it was reflected in a proliferation of mosques and masjids, a burgeoning of Islamic organisations, increasing contacts with overseas Muslims including missionaries, and a growing sense of resentment against the Christian-dominated government in Manila. A significant reflection of this was the formation in 1968 of the Muslim Independence Movement (MIM) under Datu Udtog Matalam. The MIM’s stated objective was to create an independent Islamic Republic of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan. The following year a group of young Muslims, recruited through the MIM, began guerrilla training in neighbouring Malaysia. This group became the nucleus of a more radical Muslim separatist group, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Elections in 1971 proved to be something of a watershed in Muslim-Christian relations in the southern Philippines. With the position of the Moro elite in traditional authority under threat from Christian immigrants, and with increasing Christian-Muslim tension, the election campaign in Mindanao was marked by a number of violent incidents. When the following year Philippine President Marcos declared martial law, the conflict in the southern Philippines was listed as a reason for such action.

In 1972 leadership of the Moro movement was assumed by Nur Misuari as chairman of the MNLF. The MNLF received assistance initially from Sabah and subsequently from Libya. Leadership of the MNLF came mostly from the young men of traditional elite families, though Misuari himself was a commoner and had been associated with the Left while at the University of the Philippines. As well as demanding restitution of Muslim lands and recognition of a separate Bangsa Moro Republic, the MNLF also called for social reform within Moro society to reduce the power of the traditional aristocracy. A second prominent Moro organisation, the élite-dominated Bangsa Moro Liberation Organization (BMLO), began with similar ethno-nationalist objectives but decided to co-operate with the Marcos government; in 1974 its leader, Rashid Lucman, was recognised by President Marcos as the “Paramount Sultan of Mindanao and Sulu”.

Over the next few years the MNLF maintained a
Map of the Philippines

Areas of Muslim concentration

(source: Gowing 1979)
state of insurgency against the Philippine government, with heavy casualties on both sides and considerable disruption of Muslim communities. Over 100,000 Philippine Muslims took refuge in Sabah. The MNLF's demands were supported by the Organization of Islamic Conference and the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Following negotiations in 1976, the "Tripoli Agreement" was signed by representatives of the MNLF and the Philippine government. The agreement contained general provision for the granting of autonomy in the Muslim areas of Mindanao and Sulu; however, as a result of decades of immigration, only five of the twenty-three provinces of Mindanao and Sulu contained Muslim majorities and disputes arose between the MNLF and the Philippines government over the terms of a proposed plebiscite on autonomy. In the event, the MNLF rejected the plebiscite, which was heavily boycotted, and further talks broke down. The government nevertheless went ahead to set up autonomous governments in the two administrative regions with substantial Muslim populations, though these were generally judged to be ineffective. As well, the Marcos government adopted a number of measures to promote Muslim interests. These included commitment to the codification of Muslim laws and the introduction of Sharia courts, establishment of a Muslim Amanah Bank, removal of restrictions on the historic barter trade between the Muslim Philippines and Borneo; creation of an Institute of Muslim Studies within the University of the Philippines, proclamations of Muslim holidays; and several economic development programmes in Mindanao-Sulu. Grants of land, jobs, and scholarships were offered to MNLF surrenderees.

Between 1977 and 1982 there were two major splits in the MNLF, the first with the formation of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a second with the breakaway of a MNLF-Reformist Group. These splits reflected personal, ideological, and ethnic divisions within the movement. There was also during the 1980s some scaling down of the armed conflict. Following the overthrow of President Marcos in the "People Power Revolution" of 1986, the incoming government of President Aquino secured a ceasefire with the MNLF and reopen negotiations with MILF. When the new constitution of 1987 made specific provision for autonomy in "Muslim Mindanao", negotiations again broke down, however, and implementation of the autonomy provisions was marked by acrimonious debate in which Muslim-Christian rivalry was strongly evident. In a subsequent plebiscite, only four of the thirteen provinces and none of the nine cities polled opted for autonomy.

Given the demographic situation of Philippine Muslims, outnumbered in all but a few parts of their traditional homeland, attempts to resolve age-old tensions through the granting of Muslim autonomy on a geographical basis are bound to run into problems. However, while inequalities persist and separatist sentiments remain strong, Philippine governments appear to be showing greater sensitivity to the demands of Philippine Muslims and many Muslims are playing important roles in national social and political affairs.


PICKTHALL, MOHAMMED MAHRINDUKE WILLIAM (1875-1936), English traveller, novelist, polemist and educationist, who became a convert to Islam at a time when British converts to Islam were much rarer than later in the 20th century, and is now best remembered for his Kur'ân translation, *The meaning of the Glorious Koran*.

Born in London, the son of an Anglican clergyman and with two step-sisters who were Anglican nuns, his boyhood and formative years were spent in rural Suffolk, from which he acquired a nostalgic view of a countryside way of life which was then passing. He was at school at Harrow as a contemporary of Winston Churchill, and after failing to enter the Army and the Levant Consular Service, lived as a country gentleman in Suffolk, a life interspersed with extensive travels in the Near East, where he became fluent in Arabic (and later, also in Turkish and Urdu). His extended stay in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria of 1894-6, with a return through Ottoman Turkey and the Balkans, inspired him with a romantic view of the Islamic East which was to determine the future course of his life. He subsequently became a fervid partisan of the Ottomans and of the Young Turk reformers [see YENÎ OTTOMANLAR], thereby ranging himself with such contemporaries as the Conservative MPs and Middle Eastern publicists Aubrey Herbert and Sir Mark Sykes in his dislike for Philhellenes and Gladstonian liberals.

All this time he had been writing novels, and after 1903 was at work on one a year about British (mainly Suffolk) settings or Near Eastern ones. The best-known of the latter was Said the Fisherman (1903) (reprinted, with an introduction on Pickthall by P. Clark, London 1986), set in Syria and Egypt during the latter half of the 19th century and which went through fourteen editions; another of these novels, *Knights of Arabiy* (1917), was set in the 11th century Yemen of the Sulayhids and Nadjâhidîs [q.v.].

The First World War, with his beloved Turkey
ranged on the side of the Central Powers, gave him a profound emotional shock. He campaigned for a separate peace with Turkey, and in 1917 announced his conversion to Islam, at once becoming a leader among the small band of the indigenous British Muslims and functioning as Acting Imam of the London mosque, then in Notting Hill. His acceptance of Islam came from an empathy which had existed for some two decades between his own naturally conservative temperament and the faith, with its attitudes of dignity and fortitude in the face of suffering and adversity and, as he saw it, its essential justice and tolerance. In 1920 he was invited by Indian Muslim colleagues to the subcontinent, and spent fifteen years there as a Muslim journalist and in Haydarabad, Deccan [q.v.], as Principal of a Muslim high school and as an adviser and publicist for the Nizam [q.v.]; he felt that in Haydarabad he was living in a society which had been itself the basis for further translations, e.g. into Portuguese (in Mozambique) and into Tagalog (for Shaykh Abd Allah al-Ansarf al-Harawi [q.v.]). In Islamic law, these terms were used for a tavern keeper, (iv) As part of proper company one derives spiritual benefit; (v) To indicate spiritual allegiance to the same spiritual mentor and therefore brother; (vi) To denote spiritual links with some khanaqah, community, etc.: as Pir Manki Sharif, Pir Taunsa Sharif, Pir Bhucri, pir after scrutiny, both of very high esteem; (vii) To indicate spiritual kinship: e.g. pir bhai, disciple of the same spiritual mentor and therefore brother; pir bahn, woman owning spiritual allegiance to the same spiritual mentor and therefore sister; pir zada, son of the pir. (viii) In sayings: pir di kis sagat m ier di kai yahan, pir has his relations with m ier, with people of the same status; pir ko na faktir ko, pahlay kanayu har ko, a low status man receiving precedence over pir and fakir; pir i man khas aitr, i etkaid i man b b art, my pir may be (worthless) like straw, but my faith in him is firm; pir to ap dar manda hayn, sho fa at kai kai nair g, the pir is himself helpless, how will he help others; pir miyan bakti, mudrdiyan banga, a gh takti cap gai banga, the pir is the goat and his disciples the fodder; barh d aen to amr, phaten to faktir, maren to pir, if they thrive they are nobles; if they die they are holy ascetics; when they die they are saints; paidi, drinking key, key, drink water after straining, select pir after scrutiny. (ix) In mythology: Pir Bhuori, pir of the eunuchs; Pir Bhuori ki karhai, food distributed while admitting a eunuch to the fold; Pir Hatailay, a mythical figure, like Shaykh Saddo, in whom woman have great faith; Pir-i Didar, a legendary saint who arranges intermixture of breeds; Pir-i Didar kai kund, offered making by women longing for the return of some relative. (x) To indicate
things old and aging: pir-i āsmān or pir-i falak, or pir-i dihkān falak, for the sky; pir-i ḵaḥaf, old man without senses; pir-data, man with a bent back; pir-i zal, an old man with gray hair; Umr-i; pir-i Sarandāt, Adam; pir-i ḵaḥān, Jacob; pir-i ḵaḥān ḵhd-ḏil, Ridāwān; pir-i fāntā, an old man about to die; pir-i fārtā, very old; pir-mard, old man; pir-i nā bāği, old man with child-like habits; pir-i ṣan ḵor pir-i ḵal, old woman. (xi) In a derogatory sense: to behave as if under the influence of some evil spirit; pir ḵanān, under the spell of some evil spirit; pir-i payghāmbar manānā, to pray, to beseech for the fulfillment of some desire; pir-i gāhīd manānā, to bless the soul of some saint through offerings, (xiii) To show cultural status: bay āp, without a pir and therefore, uncultured and uncouth (Sir Syed Ahmad, Stratiṯ-i farādīyā, Agra 1896, 37). Thus in Indo-Muslim usage, the term pir either becomes symbolic of excessive attachment with a spiritual mentor, or else it becomes surrounded by superstitious and mythological concepts or assumes a derogatory connotation and passes into proverbs and sayings.


(K.A. NIZAMI)

**PIR SADR AL-DIN,** Indian Muslim holy man, considered to be the founder of the Khodja [q.v.] Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community in India. Most of our biographical information is derived from the gīnāns (poetical compositions in Indian vernaculars), the largest number of which is ascribed to him, hence we are not on firm ground. He lived probably between the second half of the 8th/14th and the beginning of the 9th/15th centuries. The centre of his activity was around Kotri and Ucch in Sind, where he converted large numbers of Hindus from the Lohana caste and gave them the title of Khodjas (derived from Persian khudā, honorary title like “sir”) because the Lohanās were addressed by the honorary title thāḵār in Hindi. He seems to have played a key role in the communal organisation and is credited with the establishment of the first gīmāna Khānā (a congregation hall for the community) in Kotri. He is also said to have visited the Imām Ḥusayn in Persia to hand over the dawnd (tithes) collected from the Indian community. His shrine is located in Dījpur, near Ucch, but the overseers of his shrine consider themselves as Twelver Shīʿis and call the Pir Ḥādīḏi Sadr Shah.


(I. POONAWALA)

**PIR SHAMS or SHAMS AL-DIN,** Indian Muslim holy man, regarded as the second important figure after Nūr Ṣaṭgur [q.v.], whose name is traditionally associated with the commencement of Nizārī [q.v.] or Satpanth (i.e. the true path) Ismāʿīlīsm in Sind. Historically he is an obscure figure surrounded by legends. Most of our information is derived from gīnāns ascribed to him. The latter, being poetic compositions in Indian vernaculars resembling didactic and mystical poetry, are often anachronistic and legendary in nature. The dates mentioned for his activities, centred in Sind and working within a Hindu-Muslim milieu, cover a long period from the first half of the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries. The overseers of his alleged mausoleum at Multān, however, identify him with Shamsa-Ṭabriz [q.v.], the spiritual guide of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn al-Alfārī [q.v.], and a descendant of the Twelver Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm [q.v.]. The Nizārīs attributed their activities to the Shamsīs living in Ḥandābād and chiefly in Multān, on the other hand, claim to have been converted by Pir Šams and have preserved the gīnāns of the Pir in Ḥandābādi dialect.


(I. POONAWALA)

**PIR MEHMED PASHA** (?399/?1532-3), an Ottoman Grand Vizier, belonged to Amasya and was a descendant of the famous Djalāl al-Dīn al-Asṣārār and therefore traced his descent from Abū Bakr. He took up a legal career and became successively kāfī of Sofia, Silwiri and Galata, administrator of Mehmed II’s kitchen for the poor (imānī), and in the beginning of the reign of Bayezid II attained the rank of a first defterdar (bāṣt defterdar). In the reign of Selim I, he distinguished himself by his wise counsel in the Persian campaign (see J. von Hammer, GOR, ii, 412, 417 ff.), was sent in advance to Tabriz to take possession of this town in the name of the sultan, and at the beginning of the Šaḥbān 920/920 in September 1514 was appointed third wezir in place of Muṣṭafā Pasha, who had been dismissed (see GOR, ii, 420). He temporarily held the office of a kāfī-makām in Istanbul, and after the end of the Egyptian campaign was appointed Grand Vizier in place of Yūnus Pasha, who had been executed on the retreat from Egypt in 923/1517. In this capacity he took the conquest of Bagdad in 927/1521. Soon after the occupation of Rhodes, Pir Pasha fell from the sultan’s favour as a result of the slanders of the envious Ahmad Pasha, who coveted his office, and was dismissed with a pension of 200,000 aspers on 13 Šaḥbān 929/27 June 1523. His successor was Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.], a Greek from Parga. Pirī Mehmed lived another ten years and died in 939/1532-3 at Silwiri, where he was buried in the mosque founded by him. One of his sons, Mehmed Beg, had predeceased him in 932/1526 as governor of Iç-il. Pirī Mehmed Pasha created a number of charitable endowments, among them a mosque in Istanbul called after him (cf. Hafız Hüseyin, Hadīkāt al-giwašāmī, i, 308), a medrese and a public kitchen as well as what was known as a tāb-khān. While his laḳab was Pirī, he used Remzi as a maghālā for his memons and his name in documents (cf. von Hammer, Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst, ii, 327 ff., with the wrong year of death and also i, 187, under Pirī without the identity of the two being recognised, also Ləfšī, Teğkhere, 168 under Remzi).

**Bibliography:** Mehmed Thūreyyā, Sidqiyl-i ʿoṭmānī, ii, 43, more fully in ʿOṯmānīzāde Mehmed Taʿīb, Hadīkāt al-wuṣūrāt, Istanbul 1271, 22 ff., and the Ottoman chronicles of the 10th/16th century; I.A. Pirī Mehmed Pasha (Şerāfeddin)
PIRİ MEHMED PASHA — PIRİ RE'İS

Turan).—Bursali Mehmed Tahir, ^Othmanli mu^ellifleri, ii, 111 ff., deals with Plrl Mehmed Paþa a little by way of background. According to him, he wrote a small collection of poems (dîvânî) and an exposition of a part of the mevlînuwi and of the şâhidî entitled Tuﬁh-i mi'r, but both works are described by Mehmed Tahir as still in ms. (F. Babinger)

PIRÎ RE'ÎS b. Hâdîdî Mehmed, a Turkish mariner, cartographer and author (b. probably Gallipoli, date of birth unknown; d. Cairo, 961/1553-4). His uncle, Kemal Re'îs [i^.] served as a captain in the Mediterranean and of the islands of the western and southern Italy and the islands of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, molested by the Mediterranean Christians for his exploits as a corsair; it was in this earlier profession by his uncle's side that Piri Re'îs first learned the trade of seaman. Generally welcomed by their Arab fellow-Muslims to use the coasts of Tunisia and Algeria as a base, refuge and place for selling their booty, they preyed upon Christian shipping and the coasts of Spain, France, western and southern Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean. During these campaigns, which spanned much of the first half of Bayezid II's reign (sc. 886-900/1481-95), Piri Re'îs acquired an intimate knowledge of both the Mediterranean and of the "haven-finding art"—various tools aiding navigation and the expertise in using them—as it existed among his fellow-sailors of that sea. Both personal experience and assiduous gathering of sources (primarily Italian and Catalan), combined with an original creative mind, later enabled Piri Re'îs to produce a remarkable body of cartographic and hydrographic work.

The second stage in Piri Re'îs's life began in 900/1495 when the sultan summoned his uncle to serve in the Ottoman fleet. From then on until Kemal Re'îs's death (either in 916/1510 or 917/1511; for this date see S. Soucek, Piri Reis and Turkish map-making after Columbus, 164), he participated, always by his uncle's side, in various naval assignments such as conveying supplies to Mamlûk Egypt or patrolling the sea-lanes between Istanbul and various points of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, molested by the Hospitallers of Rhodes [see rodos]: Kemal Re'îs especially distinguished himself during the 1499-1502 war with Venice, an event again witnessed by Piri Re'îs, who was busy by then as a mariner, cartographer and author (see also the map produced by Columbus during the first voyage to America or describing the new continent's treasures of the Topkapi Palace: the world-wide interest it has stirred has also provoked some eccentric interpretations. The recent and ongoing interest in Piri Re'îs's world map stands in sharp contrast to the apparent indifference with which it met in the author's lifetime. Another work of his, the Kitâb-i Bahriye ("Book on seafaring"); completed in 1521, and reworked in a second version in 1526; a facsimile of one of its best manuscripts, Aya Sofya 2612, now in the Süleymaniye library, was in 1935 published by the Turkish Historical Society. For the cartographic sources: a map made by Columbus, as well as between one and four Portuguese charts, according to the author's own statements and to internal evidence. The map is torn longitudinally in such a way that what must have been its major part, including the bulk of Europe and Africa and all of Asia, is missing; how and when the mutilation occurred is unknown, but it may have happened in Cairo where Piri Re'îs had sailed with several ships of the Ottoman navy at the conclusion of Selim I's 1517 conquest of Egypt, for he states in another work, the Kitâb-i Bahriye (p. 5 in the 1935 facs. ed.; see below), that the sultan had at that point graciously accepted the map. It then lapsed into oblivion until its 1929 discovery in the Topkapı Palace library; the map's identification as a work partly based on an early but no longer extant map made by Columbus had an effect that transcended the bounds of scholarly interest, and it became an international sensation as well as a matter of pride for the young Turkish republic, especially for its founder Kemal Ataturk. Upon instructions from the president, the Turkish Historical Society published in 1935 a facsimile together with, in a separate brochure, a full transcription as well as translation of its legends into modern Turkish, German, French, English and Italian (Piri Reis haritasî; repr. in 1966; many smaller scale reproductions exist, the best in M. Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de La Ronciere, Sea charts of the early explorers: 13th to 17th century, New York 1984, pl. 28). The documentary value of the chart, which has sometimes received such inaccurate labels as "the earliest map of America" or "the lost map by Columbus in a Turkish version," is missing in its entirety, for Piri Re'îs tells us that he had used both European and Oriental sources in the construction of the map. Put in modern terms, the result must have been a work of unique kind and value. Even in its truncated state, the map is viewed as one of the prime treasures of the Topkapı Palace; the world-wide interest it has stirred has also provoked some eccentric interpretations. The recent and ongoing interest in Piri Re'îs's world map stands in sharp contrast to the apparent indifference with which it met in the author's lifetime. Another work of his, the Kitâb-i Bahriye ("Book on seafaring"); completed in 1521, and reworked in a second version in 1526; a facsimile of one of its best manuscripts, Aya Sofya 2612, now in the Süleymaniye library, was in 1935 published by the Turkish Historical Society. For the cartographic sources: a map made by Columbus during the first voyage to America or describing the new continent's treasures of the Topkapi Palace: the world-wide interest it has stirred has also provoked some eccentric interpretations. The recent and ongoing interest in Piri Re'îs's world map stands in sharp contrast to the apparent indifference with which it met in the author's lifetime. Another work of his, the Kitâb-i Bahriye ("Book on seafaring"); completed in 1521, and reworked in a second version in 1526; a facsimile of one of its best manuscripts, Aya Sofya 2612, now in the Süleymaniye library, was in 1935 published by the Turkish Historical Society. For the cartographic sources: a map made by Columbus during the first voyage to America or describing the new continent's treasures of the Topkapi Palace: the world-wide interest it has stirred has also provoked some eccentric interpretations.
and marine charts, their "portolan" label further specifies a genre created and perfected in the Mediterranean between the 13th and 17th centuries; moreover, it was a primarily Christian (Italian and Catalan) speciality, with only marginal Muslim (Arab and Turkish) participation. The Kitab-i bahriyye is an up to a point original and remarkable exception, not unlike the author's 1513 world map, for Piri Re'is again gave free rein to his genius and produced a volume of texts and charts such as none of his Christian models had ever done: a description of the entire Mediterranean embodies in itself charts of the western Mediterranean accompanied by a chart of the area described. Moreover, a long versified introduction written for the second version discusses subjects related to navigation, oceanic geography and the ongoing voyages of discovery. The first version consists of 130 chapters and charts, the second of 210. Both have a brief preface in which Piri Re'îs tells why he composed the work: to provide a handbook for his Turkish fellow sailors, and to offer a present to Sultan Süleyman on the occasion of his accession. This preface in prose is then followed by the versified introduction in the second recension (pp. 7-85), and by the main body of the text in prose with charts (86-848); the second version ends in a versified epilogue (849-55), in which the author tells how in 1524 the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa [q. v.] had encouraged him to produce a more polished version of the work and thus worthy of the august recipient. Neither recension's autographs are known to have survived, but copies of both (23 and 10, respectively, plus several adaptations and modifications; a list of the known manuscripts compiled by T. Goodrich can be found in *The history of cartography*, iii/1, 290-1) have survived and mostly carry on either original's structure, form and function. Those of the first version are less polished but meant as manuals for sailors; those of the second are often calligraphed, and their lavishly coloured charts pertain to the art of miniature illustration and were clearly produced not for use at sea but as bibliophile artifacts for wealthy or important customers. Especially striking are elaborate sketches of many port cities, including topographic views of Istanbul, Venice and Cairo (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, ms. 658, and its facsimile edition 660, respectively; the best examples). Despite all these additional documentary and artistic features, however, the second version does not quite supersede the first; in fact, one of the special assets of Piri Re'îs's portolan—personal and topical reminiscences from the Turkish corsairs' main base, eastern Algeria and Tunisia—exists in the second version only in an abridged form. Moreover, this truncation may have been performed not by Piri Re'îs himself but by one Seyyid Murad or Murâdî, the editor of Khayr al-Din Barbarossa's [q. v.] *Qezelvâzî*, who claims to have ghost-written also the second version of the Kitab-i bahriyye (see H. Yurdavidin, Kitab-i bahriyye' nin telfi meslesi, in *AUDTCP* x, 1952, 143-6).

In 935/1528-9 Piri Re'îs produced his last known work, another map of the world of which again only a fragment has probably survived (Topkapı Palace library, Hazine 824; parchment, 69 x 70 cm; see colour reproduction in *The history of cartography*, iii/1, pl. 21). It covers the north-western part of the Atlantic and the New World from Venezuela to Newfoundland and the southern tip of Greenland. This map, too, is signed by the author, and combines the artificial qualities of a "presentation copy" with those of a valuable document. The quality of this fragment suggests that in its original state, the map may have been another brilliant example of the subsequently stifled attempt by Muslim cartography to join Renaissance Europe's exploration of the world. Aside from writing and cartographical work between 1513 and 1529, all we know of Piri Re'îs during this period is that he may have on occasion accompanied Khayr al-Din Barbarossa to North Africa, and that he must have remained active as a pilot in the Empire's home waters, as his assignment to steer İbrahim Paşa's ship to Egypt (1524) suggests. After 1529, however, all trace of him disappears until he re-emerges in 1547 as commander of the Ottoman fleet based at Suez. In this capacity, Piri Re'îs carried out the reconquest of Aden (1549); but his luck turned in 1552 when reports of the approach of an enemy relief fleet made him raise the siege of Portuguese-held Hormuz [q. v.] and withdraw to Başra; worse still, his subsequent decision to leave the bulk of his ships there and return with three vessels (one of which was lost en route) to Suez led to a death sentence by the government which was carried out at Cairo (some Orhonlu, *Hıntı kapınlığı ve Piri Reis*, in *Belleten*, xxxiv (1970), 234-54). This bizarre end of the great cartographer does not seem to have been questioned by Ottoman observers, but it has puzzled modern historians; some have wondered if two namesakes are not being confused (the age factor for example: by 1553 the cartographer would probably have been an octogenarian). A more likely explanation is the fact that the Ottoman elite, with the exception of İbrahim Paşa, failed to grasp the value of his cartographic and hydrographic work, and that, personally, Piri Re'îs never managed to penetrate the otherwise broad spectrum of that elite and thus receive the totally different treatment reserved for its members (as exemplified by the case of Khâdîm Süleyman Paşa [q. v.], who in 1538 failed before Dju much as Piri Re'îs did before Hormuz but instead of being executed became Grand Vizier). [See also SELMAN RE'IS, SEYYİD SÂLIH RE'İS, TA'RİH-İ HIND-İ CHUBRİ.]

**Bibliography:** Given in the article, and S. Soucek, *Islamic charting in the Mediterranean*, in *The history of cartography*, Chicago 1992, ii/1, 263-92 (see also this volume's bibliographical index, 521-43); idem, *Piri Reis and Turkish mapmaking after Columbus*, London 1992, 162-75; idem, review article discussing the literature on Piri Re'îs, in *JAOS* x (forthcoming). (S. SOUCEK)

**PİRİ-ZÂDE MEHMET ŞÂHÎ EFENDÎ (1085-1162/1674-1749), Ottoman Şerif-ı-İslâm [q. v.] in Istanbul and the pioneer translator into Turkish of Ibn Khaldûn**

Ibn Khâdîmîn *Mukaddimâ* was quite early known in Ottoman Turkey, being cited by e.g. Mâhâmid b. Ahmed Hâfiz al-Dîn (d. 1550/1555) and by HâÆîdji Khalîfî in his *Ka'bîl az-zumân*. But during the years 1318-43/1725-30 Piri-zade translated the *Mukaddimâ* from the beginning to the end of the fifth chapter, i.e. about two-thirds of the whole, and this was lithographed at Cairo in 1275/1859, with Ahmed Djewdet Paşa [q. v.] shortly afterwards translating the final, sixth chapter. Piri-zade's translation circulated in manuscript, and thus helped considerably in making Ibn Khâdîmî a familiar figure in 18th and 19th century Turkey.

PIRLEPE

PIRLEPE, PRILEP, a town of more than 40,000 inhabitants situated on the northern edge of the fertile Pelagonian Plain at the foot of the Babuna Mountains in the southern part of the former Yugoslav Macedonia. In the Middle Ages, Prilep was the capital of a Slav principality. In Ottoman times (1395-1912) it was the centre of an extensive kadište stretching from the modern Greek border in the south (Nidze and Kajmakcalan Mountains, 2521 m/8,268 ft) and the Solunskia Glava (the highest mountain of Macedonia, 2540 m/8,331 ft) in the north, an area which in 1900 contained 141 villages. Especially in late Ottoman times, Prilep was the commercial metropolis of northern Macedonia. It was also an Islamic centre of regional importance.

Prilep is first mentioned in the edicts of the Byzantine emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer (1014), but must be much older. From the early 11th century till 1201, Prilep was in Byzantine hands; from 1201 till 1246 it was included in the Second Bulgarian Empire; then Byzantine again till 1334, when the troops of the Serbian king (later Tsar) Dusan conquered it and included it in the short-lived Serbian empire. After Dusan's death, it was included in the principality of Vukasin, which in 1335 contained 141 villages. Especially in late Ottoman times, Prilep was the commercial metropolis of northern Macedonia. It was also an Islamic centre of regional importance.

It is clear that during the rule of Mehemmed the Conqueror, the town of Prilep received an important group of Muslim Turkish settlers, mostly craftsmen, as the registers show (tanners, coppersmiths, tailors, weavers, etc.). The link between the arrival of this group and the construction of a large mosque in 1476-7 is evident. At first, the settlers developed along natural patterns, but after the mid-16th century, when the Muslim community grew, especially through the conversion and linguistic assimilation of a part of the local Christians. The early defter also show that the villages on the plain, which in the late Ottoman period were inhabited by Albanian Muslims (Aldanci, Belušina, Borino, Crnilše, Desovo, Drenovo, Gorno Zitoše, Norovo, Sačevo and Vrboec) were still almost entirely Slavic and completely Christian, only a few incidental Albanian households being registered. The later, entirely Slav Muslim villages (Pomak/Torbeš) of Debrelje, Lažani and Petralevo, were also entirely Christian. The nine Muslim Turkish villages which the kadaš was to have later did not exist in 1445 and 1455. Ali Obasi (Alinci), Dedebalci and Šeleverci are mentioned as places where a few Yürük families lived, serving in the army in time of war. Dedebalci were also the no-longer-existing hamlet of Timur existed already in the time of Murad II. The same defter also mentions groups of Christian ekkëndjës, serving in the Ottoman army in time of war and enjoying important tax facilities. The important monasteries of the Archangels of Prilep and that of Treskavac, 10 km/6 miles from the town, a Byzantine imperial foundation, were the property (mülki) of the Metropolitan of Prilep, David.

In the second half of the 16th century, almost the entire nahiye of Moriovo, constituting the mountainous south of the kadaš of Prilep, was transformed from khaş to waźf property of the Sulejmáníye complex in Istanbul. The waźfikası of this largest of all Ottoman socio-religious foundations, written between 1558 and 1566, does not yet mention these villages among the waźf property of the foundation. They must have been added later, most probably towards the end of the 16th century, when the wave of inflation caused financial difficulties. The Düzce Defter F 16 A, a.e. 60 A, in the Sofia National Library, a newly-made tabrır from the year 1023/1614, mentions 28 villages and the number of their households, from which Düzce was part of the waźf, together with all other taxes. Four of these villages were situated outside the nahiye of Moriovo, four others no longer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of registration</th>
<th>Total households</th>
<th>Approximate total population</th>
<th>Percentage of Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1445</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1,500 to 1,600</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1455</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>1,380 to 1,420</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1478</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>2,200 to 2,300</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1528</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>3,000 to 3,200</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1544</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>3,000 to 3,200</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>2,700 to 2,900</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>(ca. 600)</td>
<td>(ca. 550)</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>24,540</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
exist, and 20 of them survive to the present day. The fact that the Moriovo ndhiye was part of this important
wakf
time of the 17th and 18th centuries. When
many other villages wholly or partly converted to
Islam to escape fiscal and other pressures, the entire
Moriovo remained Christian and some of its villages
grew from a few dozen households into the largest of the entire
kada. This little-known phenomenon finds parallels in the clusters of
wakf
central Greece (wakf of the Wâlide Sultan Kösem Mâhpeyker) and in Bulgaria (Plevna, wakf of
Mihâlbolgolu 3 Ali Bey) and elsewhere.
In the first quarter of the 16th century, six more
Muslim Turkish villages came into being in the plain
south of the town: Budaklar (now called Budjakovo), Büyük Oba (Golemo Kojnari), Elekler (Erekovci), Kanatlarci, Kuçûk Oba (Malo Kojnari) and Musa Oba (Musinci). Their names and notes in the
defters
tell us that they were Yârûk villages. Their migration to Macedonia must be seen in connection with the
persecution of the Kizilbash 3 Alewi groups in Anatolia under Selim I. In the important village of Kanatlarci
there was since a while long back a large Bektashî
tekke, which still exists today, being together with the
one in Kırçova/Kitçevo, the only tekkes of this order surviving in Slav Macedonia.
Ewliyâ Çelebi, who visited Prilep in 1071/1660-1, describes it as a town of 1,000 to 1,100 houses, il-
ustrating the stagnation of the 18th century. Prilep's
great time was to come in the 19th century, when the
population almost quintupled, the Macedonian Chris-
tians growing at a much faster rate than the Muslims.
In this time, Prilep became the commercial metropolis
of inland Macedonia. A disastrous fire of 1273/1856-7
could not stop this expansion. In 1861 von Hahn
noted a "richly-stored, newly-built bazaar". In these
years the entire town centre was rebuilt on a regular
chess board plan. A monumental Clock Tower was
added and the old mosque from 1476-7 was restored
and doubled in size by a huge annex.
At the end of the 19th century, the town had more
than 24,000 inhabitants, 16,700 being Macedonian
Christians, 6,200 Muslim Turks and the remainder
Gypsies. Sâmi Bey in his Kâmûs al-âtâm, ii, Istanbul
1316/1898-9, describes Prilep as having ten mosques,
three tekkes, five medreses, two hamâms, a Rûghidiye
school, an Ibûlîddeve school, seven Muslim primary
schools, six Christian primary schools and two chur-
ches. He also mentions the famous Prilep Fair in
August-September. The greater part of the populati-
on was, according to Sâmi Bey (but this is an incor-
rect source), Muslim. The Muslims spoke Ottoman
Turkish and Albanian, the Christians spoke
Bulgarian and Rumanian.
For the composition of the population of the district
of Prilep in the late Ottoman period, we have the data
from the Nûfûs Defters of 1884 and 1890, the numbers
of the Sânâmê of 1305/1888, and Kânçev's detailed
and reliable numbers. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nûfûs Defter</th>
<th>Sânâmê 1888</th>
<th>Nûfûs Defter</th>
<th>Kânçev c. 1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>29,041</td>
<td>50,916</td>
<td>57,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>30,271</td>
<td>13,342</td>
<td>13,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians/Macedonian Christians</td>
<td>44,759</td>
<td>50,916</td>
<td>57,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>13,753</td>
<td>13,342</td>
<td>13,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlachs</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsies</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td>1,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>59,974</td>
<td>66,420</td>
<td>73,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Muslims</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that the numbers of the Sânâmê, in-
tended for public use, are gross distortions, of a kind
known also from elsewhere [see ogâgl]. The real state
of affairs is reflected in the numbers of mosques and
churches in the 141 villages of the kada of Prilepe as
given by Sâmi Bey on the basis of the Sânâmê: 34 mos-
ques, in the 18 villages with Muslim inhabitants and
the town together, and 101 churches in the 122 Chris-

The population of the kada of Prilepe according to various late 19th century sources
tian villages. The proportion of Muslims to Christians was 20% to 80%, that of mosques and churches 25% to 75%, or almost the same.

During the First Balkan War, Prilep was taken by the Serbian Army in 1912. Town and district remained part of Serbia, later Yugoslavia, till 1992, although interrupted by harsh Bulgarian occupations during both World Wars. The population of the town changed considerably through the emigration of a large part of the Muslim citizens to Turkey in the 1950s. In the post-war years, the town, which had stagnated because of war-time shortages in the trade routes and economic system, was "modernised", in which process most of the Ottoman buildings disappeared. In 1990 the old mosque of 1476 was still standing, together with the Clock Tower from 1280/1863-4 and one wall of the monumental Kuršun ğahan of Kodja Arslan Pasha from the 17th century.

In the villages of the former kada, the changes were less drastic. The greater part of the Pomak [q. v.] and Albanian Muslim populations remained where it was, although both communities grew, but slowly, due to emigration. The Turkish population of the former Yürük villages is also still present and saw a slow emigration. The Turkish population of the former

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historical tradition of Persia. This tradition was essen-

tially a due or tax paid on a regular basis and as an

ad hoc

 levy paid by rulers on provinces and governors, and an ad hoc impost made by governors and officials in positions of power on the population under their control. The offering of presents to rulers and governors was known from early times (cf. Abu '1-Fadl Bayhaki, Tahrir al-Turk, ed. A.A. Nayfakh, Maqadd 1350/1923-4, 159-60; A. Nikolovski, D. Cornakov, Schulze-Jena, von Belgrad nach Saloniki, Reise durch die Türkei 1315/1897, 570-2; J.G. von Hahn, Reise nach Belgrad nach Saloniki, Vienna 1861, 110; V. Kančev, Makedonija, etnografija i statistika, Sofia 1900 [repr. in Izbrani proizvedenija, Sofia 1970, 544-8] (generally accepted to be the most reliable population numbers on late Ottoman Macedonia); L. Schulze-Jena, Makedonien, Landschafts- und Kulturbilder, Jena 1927 [information collected in 1916-18 and 1923-4], 159-60; A. Nikolovski, D. Cornakov, K. Balabanov, The cultural monuments of Macedonia, Skopje 1961, 157-79; Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, vi, Zagreb 1965, 616-17; Sv. Radojičić, Jedna slika crkve iz druge polovine XV veka, in Zbornik za Likovne znanosti, xiv (Belgrade 1972), 5-6; idem, Some of the essential characteristics of the origin and development of medieval Prilep, in Balkancultura, vi (Prilep 1977), 29-35; M. Kiel, Some little-known monuments of Ottoman Turkish architecture in the Macedonian province: Štip, Kumanovo, Prilep, Strumitsa, in Günay-Dogu Ayrusa Arastırmaları Dergisi, 6-7 (Istanbul 1978), 153-78 (updated repr. in Kiel, Studies on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans, Variorum, London 1990); A. Stojanovski, Gradovi na Makedonija od kra-

juz na XIV do XVII vek, Skopje 1950; Eliza Maneva, Srednovekovna naselba, crkva i nekropola Sv. Dimitrija, Prilop-
Holders of tuyuls and soyurghah, unless given immunity, were subject to the payment of pishkash, as also were the leaders of dhimmī communities (cf. documents in A.D. Papazyan, Persidskie dokumenty Matenadaran. 1. Uakzi, vlozpuh vtoroi (XV-XVI vv.), Erivan 1956 and idem, Persidskie dokumenty Matenadaran. 2. Uakzi, vlozpuh vtoroi (1601-1650), and H. Busse, Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiewesen, Cairo 1959, 212-13). As in the case of other taxes and funds, drafts were sometimes drawn on pishkash and collected locally. The Dastār ad-mulūk of Mirzā Raḥf (Muḥammad Tādż Dā mbox{rāmī]) is extolled by, for example, Mīrzm Dā Ṣafwān, Tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mirzā Shafwān, in Tehran University, Rev. de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, xv/5-6 [1968], xvi/1-6 [1968-9] and the Tadhkirat ad-mulūk (Persian text in facsimile, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943) record late Safawī practice and also the levy of commissions and fees on pishkash made for various officials. Occasions for the exaction of ad hoc pishkash were numerous. They included conquest of a town or district, the circumcision of princes, royal marriages, royal "progresses" and the progress of governors through their provinces. If the Shah visited one of his subjects, his host was expected to give him a present in return (R. du Mans, Stat de la Perse en 1660, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1890, 33). The grant of immunity from pishkash is attested in a number of documents (cf. Sayyid Hossein Modarresi Tabataba'i, op. cit., and Papazyan, op. cit.) and farmānās (cf. a farmān of Shāh Tahmāsp, dated 932/1526, engraved at the entrance of the Amir Ṣaḥib al-Dīn mosque in Kashān (Abd al-Husayn Jimad al-Dīn), whose significance appears to be connected with the Arabic dikhr as the palace vestibule where the ruler appeared for public audience, as at 'Amman [q.e.]). It draws on the images of pre-Islamic wonders, particularly on the great Sāsānids Tāk-i Kīsrā [q.e.] at Ctesiphon (3rd century A.D.), as extolled by, for example, al-Buṭṭūrī [q.e.] and the Bahī Djayrīn became identified (see Soucek, op. cit. in Bibl.), and ultimately on Solomon's buildings, with which the Bahī Djayrīn was associated (cf. A.K.S. Lambton, Jahrbuch für Iranistik 2 (1953), xxvii, cols. 316-19.

(C. E. Bosworth)

PISHTAK (p.), literally, "the arch in front", hence the portal of an important building, the term being appropriate to the advancing of the structure, at least in its developed form, forward from the plane of the façade: it is formally typified by this projection, and the articulation of receding planes to the entrance within. Though initially used throughout the Middle East and Hindūstān, the portal came to be most typical of Perso-Indian architecture. The Persian concept appears to be connected with the Arabic dikhr as the palace vestibule where the ruler appeared for public audience, as at 'Amman [q.e.]. It draws on the images of pre-Islamic wonders, particularly on the great Sāsānids Tāk-i Kīsrā [q.e.] at Ctesiphon (3rd century A.D.), as extolled by, for example, al-Buṭṭūrī [q.e.] and the Bahī Djayrīn became identified (see Soucek, op. cit. in Bibl.), and ultimately on Solomon's buildings, with which the Bahī Djayrīn was associated (cf. A.K.S. Lambton, Jahrbuch für Iranistik 2 (1953), xxvii, cols. 316-19.)

Bibliography: See also BSOAS, xxviii, cols. 316-19. (C. E. Bosworth).
was that at Hatra; it formerly had an arced archivol. In niches at the palace at Buhāpur (A.D. 260) the arch is framed by key-pattern friezes within the flanking pilasters. The gateway of the 6th century Sāsānīd palace at Dāmghān, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, incorporates two concentric arches recessed one well within the other. The roughly contemporary rock-hewn iwdān of the Tāk-i Bustān near Kirmāngāh incorporate stucco angels in the span-drels and a garlanded archivol. A façade shown on the post-Sāsānīd Fortress Plate in the Hermitage, which as a type has features in common with the Parthian shrine at Taḥkī-Sulaymān, already shows the arched door set in a clearly defined rec-tangular frame, of which the upper panel ends in a cresting different from that on the flanking walls. The pre-Islamic prototypes thus occur in both sacred and palace buildings. This dual use was to continue in Muslim buildings.

Cresswell (op. cit. in Bibl., 1958, 197) identified the iwdān arch on the south side of the Court of Honour at al-Ukhayyār (ca. 140-60/760-80 [314]) as the first example of the pishtāk, but it has fallen, and the reconstruction of a rectangular frame is conjectural; it does, however, show the taller arch as the inevitable example of the liwdn. Pre-Islamic prototypes thus occur in both sacred and non-sacred contexts. The roughly comparable, with a frame rising from above the crowns of the lateral arcades, much as in the ensemble of the Masjīdi-i Djamī at Nā'īn (ca. 340/950). In the Great Mosque at Sāmarrā (234-7/848-52), the complete format can already be recognised in the mibrāb, with its tall, recessed rectangular frame, two concentric pointed arches supported on paired angle shafts of rose marble on each side, and mosaic spandrels. At Córdoba, the Bāb al-Wuzara'ī (Puerta de San Esteban) of 241/855-6 has a horseshoe arch recessed close within a rec-tangular frame (afīs) set above the level of the door lintel, a treatment which persists in the Maghrib: there are traces of flanking elements on either side in the flush wall. The full expression of this raised framing, with a cresting of five intersecting arches above, survives in a side door built by al-Ḥakām II in ca. 364/975. In the tomb of the Sāmānīs at Bukhārā (pre-391/903) the portal still retains the two-storied wings, whose original arrangement of contiguous arches dates from an earlier era. The main arch derived from Roman practice, as can be seen in the projecting portal of the great mosque at Madīyā (308/920-1) [314], whence it appears to have been brought to Fāṭimid Egypt, in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim (393/1003) and the Mosque of al-Ākmar (519/1125) at Cairo; the latter has a semidomed archway with radial ribs, flanked by similar superimposed niches with angle shafts, and, for the first time, square-framed mukarnās hoods over the lower pair. The absence of minarets in these mosques is due to the connection between the portal itself and the call to prayer in Fāṭimid Egypt. The Aκmar front is angled so as to adjust the line of a pre-existing street to the kibāa-orientated interior. The derivation may have proceeded separately in Persia.

The 18 m outer arch of the Ribāt-i Malīk on the Bukhārā-Samarkand road (pre-1078), standing 6 m higher than the walls, is framed by a broad architrave of contiguous stars in relief, housing a smaller outer arch within a plain outlined frame for contrast. That of Sanjār's Ribāt-i Șaraf (508/1114-15 [1958]) on the Marw-Nīshāpur road is framed by a Kūfī inscription in deep relief contrasted with smooth mouldings, around a similar four-centred arch and diplayed spandrels; in the comparable inner portal the inscription rises from piers indented with tall arched niches on either side. By the early 6th/12th century the sanctu-ary iwdān of the Masjīdi-i Djamī at Ǐsfāḥān probably had a pishtāk rising more than twice the height of the two-storied wings on either side, whose original form appears to have incorporated lateral frames of arched panels set one over the other, and a pronounced archivol; the north entrance was built in 515/1121, and, according to Māfarroḵī, was flanked by paired minarets. The Salājūk format of a four-centred arch flanked by superimposed niches is established clearly but simply in the iwdān of the Masjīdi-i Djamī at Ǐsfāḥān proba-bly had a pishtāk rising more than twice the height of the two-storied wings on either side, whose original form appears to have incorporated lateral frames of arched panels set one over the other, and a pronounced archivol; the north entrance was built in 515/1121, and, according to Māfarroḵī, was flanked by paired minarets. 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This page discusses the architectural elements of Islamic architecture, focusing on the use of arched stone in medieval and later works. It mentions the development of the pishtak, a triangular profile of successive arcs, and its various applications in Islamic architecture, such as in the Great Mosque of 'Ali Shahr Na♀ā in Masqhad.

The text also highlights the use of arched stone in structures like the Ribāt al-Sharaf front, which was to be emulated in the deeply-carved screen of the Masqдждд KuWhatsApp downloadut-al-Islām (599/1199) at Dihlī, particularly in the Lodī and Tughlukid mosques. It notes the use of arched stone in the monumental entrances and domes of Tughlukid mosques, with a description of the Masqдждд-i Djami at Ashtardjan (715/1315) and the Buland Darwaza at Fathpur (765/1364), twice its width in height, with four tiers of grouped openings. The text concludes by discussing the role of arched stone in the architecture of Islamic India, with a focus on the Great Mosque of Baybars (667/1269) in its massive domed entrances and stone slabs in the entrances, to be copied by Ṭāmūr in his Masqдждд-i Djам-.
housing a hemi-octagonal recess with a squinch-netted semidome above. Each splayed face and the three in-
the structures in cartouches on the architrave celebrate prayer as a gateway to paradise. The pishtak ac-
tains a new independence in the Nil Kanth belvedere at Mândû (982/1574-5), where three are
grouped to surround a courtyard with a cascade. In Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the gateway (1022/1615) has
the arched format of Ağmûr, but is flanked by wings housing two superimposed arches of the same depth.
The inlay is the first to include floral motifs. Above each bevelled corner stands a tall marble minaret, still reeded at the base. The rise of the pishtak inherently tended to obscure the dome of a makûra behind it, as evident at Fathpur Sikrî [see MUGHALS, 7, pl. xx, 2]. A solution to the problem was found in the little Nagina Masjid (ca. 1650) in the Agra Fort, where the newly popular Bangâli curve was used to raise the chadjdja line over the centre bay. Other devices were tried in smaller mosques [see MASJID, vol. VI, at 697-8]. In the major metropolitan mosques at Agra (1058/1648), Dihlî (1060-6/1650-6), and Lâhawr (1084/1673-4), however, the pishtak was retained, with a relatively wide arch surrounded by an unpunctuated architrave, framed by angle shafts enlarged to slender, lanteroned minarets, and a single entry arch within [see MUGHALS, 7, pls. xxxi-xxxii]. Palace pavilions [see MAHALL] generally had straight, uninterrupted eaves, and the function of the pishtak at court was restricted to entrance gates, often with a raised gallery for the musicians [see MUGHALS, 7, pls. xxiv, 2 and xxviii, 2].

Bibliography: For parallel material, see BÄR (some parts of sequence now outdated). For the image of Ctesiphon, see Bubâru, tr. G.E. von Grunebaum, in Kritik und Dichtkunst, Grunebaum, in Architekturbeschreibungen arabischer Autoren des 9.-14. Jahrhunderts, in Forschungsforum ii ( Orientalistik), Bamberg 1990, 56-63, and P. Soucek, The temple of Salomon in Islamic legend and art, in J. Gutmann (ed.), The temple of Solomon, 1976. The legend of the cabled moulding is cited in P. Lely, The Timurid architecture of Persia, in Persico-Latinum, in J. von Hammer, in Die Piktogramme im 13. Jahrhundert, Vienna 1969. For India, see the bibliographies under DIHLI, HIND, MASDjid, and MUGHALS, and E. Andrews, PIST (e.), a kind of food compounded of the liver of gazelles and other small game, etc. A daily portion of the size of a pistachio (pista) is taken by those deriwahs and others who undertake long fasts, e.g. the tilî or forty-day fast, and is sufficient to maintain life.

Bibliography: Vullers, Lexicon Persico-Latinum, s.v. pist, tilî. (R. Lely)

PIYALE PASJA, Ottoman Grand Admiral, came according to St. Gerlach, Tage-Buch (Frankfurt a/M. 1674, 448), from Tolna in Hungary and is said to have been the son of a shoemaker, probably of Croat origin. Almost all contemporary records mention his Croat blood (cf. the third series of the Relationi degli ambasciatori Venezi al Senato, ed. E. Alberi, Florence 1844-5, and esp. iii/2, 243: 'dalla nazione croata, vicino ai confini d'Ungheria; 357: 'dalla nazione croato; iii/3, 294: 'dalla nazione unghera; 418). Following the custom of the time, his father was later given the name of 'Abd al-Rahmân and described as a Muslim (cf. F. Babiner, in Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, 35, n. 1). Piyale came in early youth as a page into the Serai in Istanbul and left it as kapudan bashi [see KAPUDAN]. The year 961/1554 saw him appointed Grand Admiral (kapudan pasja [q.v.]) with the rank of a sandjakbey, and four years later he was given the status of a beşerkey (J. von Hammer, GOR, iii, 406). He succeeded Sinân Pasja, brother of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasja [q.v.], in the office which he had held from 955-61/1548-54. When after his capture of Djerba and other heroic achievements at sea he thought he might claim the rank of vezir with three horse-tails, Sultan Süleyman, thinking it too soon for this promotion and regarding it as endangering the prestige of the vizierate (see Hâdîdî Khalîfî, Tuhfat al-kibrî, first edition, fol. 36, and GOR, iii, 406), managed to talk him down to his grand-daughter, Fatmah, the Beautiful, of the Holy Land, London 1935, 41.


Illustrations of Nâ'in, Ribât-i Sharaf, Ardîstân, Zawar, and Zawar, Zawar, and other places in Persia, specifically with the use of two in number, before Valona in Albania in order to watch the enemy fleets there which were preparing an enterprise against Djerba and Tripoli. The 31 July 1560 saw his greatest exploit at sea, namely, the capture of Djerba, which had shortly before been taken by the Spaniards; this he did with 120 ships setting out from Modon. On 27 September 1560, he held his triumphal entry into Istanbul, to which he had sent in advance the news of his victory.
Iṣḥān, Masjīd-i Ẓāh, entry ʿivān (N) from inside, 1020-5/1611-6.
Konya, İnce Minareli Medrese, main portal, ca. 656-78/1258-79.
Konya, Büyük Karatay Medresesi, main entrance, 649/1251.
Sivas, Cüveyni Dar ül-hadisi (Çifte Minareli Medrese), 670/1271.
Sivas, Buruciye Medrese, 670/1271.
Shāh-i Maghād, Ghardjistan.
Warāmūn, Masjid-i Dājmī, 726/1326.
by a galley (see GOR, iii, 421 ff.). The Grand Admiral did not take to sea again till four years later when, in August 1564, he took the little rocky island of Petőn de Vélez de la Gomera from the Spaniards in order to prepare for the conquest of Malta, which the sultan’s favourite daughter Mihrimah [see RÜSTEM PASHA] was conducting with all her resources. This time, however, fortune no longer favoured him, for the siege of Malta in June-July 1565 failed against the heroic courage of the Christian defenders, who performed miracles of bravery and inflicted heavy losses on the Ottomans. During the Hungarian campaign of Süleyman in the spring of 973/1566, Piyâle Pasha was placed in charge of the harbour and arsenal of Istanbul (see GOR, iii, 438), after previously undertaking a successful raid on Chios and the Apulian coast (ibid., iii, 506 ff.), in which the island of Chios and its harbour passed into his hands (Easter Sunday 1566).

Under Selim II, his father-in-law, he was disgraced and deprived of office of Grand Admiral because, it was alleged, he had kept the greater part of the booty of Chios for himself (according to the report of the embassy of Albrecht de Wijs of May 1568, in von Hammer, GOR, iii, 782), and replaced by Mu‘üeddîhin-zade ‘Ali Pasha. He at once endeavoured to regain the imperial favour by new exploits at sea. In Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 971/April 1570, he set sail with 75 galleys and 30 galleasses, all of them returning to Istanbul, which he captured and next took part in the conquest of Cyprus. On 20 January 1578—according to Ottoman sources on 12 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 985/21 January 1578—he died in Istanbul, according to Stephan Gerlach (cf. his Tage-Buch, 448). His vast estates passed in part to the imperial treasury and in part to his widow and children. His widow later married the third vezir Mehmed Pasha and his second son became sandjak bey of Kha (Cilicia) and a sandjak bey of Dalmatia) in 992/1584 (cf. the Italian record quoted in von Hammer, GOR, iv, 104, n. 1: La Sulitana fu mogiite di Piale ora di Mohammmedbassa terzo vezir, ha ottenuto dal Sign. il Sangiaco di Cissa per il secondo suo figlio con Piale). Piyâle Pasha was buried in Istanbul in the Kasim Pasha quarter in the mosque founded by him (cf. Hafiz Huseyn Aýwasarayi, Hadiat al-qâlidamîn, ii, 255 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to works quoted in the text, see the histories of Zinkeisen and Íorga, and Râmiz Pasha-zade Mehmed Efendi, Khwariz-yi Kapudanîn-i Deryâ, Istanbul 1285; also Mehmed Thüreyyâ, Sîqilî-i sîqîmânî, ii, 41-2; Jurien de la Gravière, Les corsoires barbaresques et la marine de Soliman le Grand, Paris 1887; IA, art. Piyâle Pasa (Serdifedin Turan).
In the 1480s, these two places, and 20 uninhabited sites (mezraty, were acquired as mulk property by Mihâl-oglu Gâzi-‘Ali Bey, who subsequently brought together several hundred Bulgarian Christian and Muslim Turkish settlers, with whom he founded 20 villages and the town of Plewna, built in the depression below the ruined castle, at the site of Plewnye-yi Zîr. The new town developed around the socio-religious buildings provided by ‘Ali Bey, among which were many shops. In the 957/1550, the town suffered much damage when a flood swept away the houses and shops of the lower depression below the ruined castle, at the site of Pleven, which a Bulgarian extract remains (Trifonov, K6sk, no. 1457, fol. 359-60). The settlers of the town were attracted by freedom from the ‘award and tekâtîf taxes. The Christians of the town and the villages paid only half the dîjizye. ‘Ali Bey had also invited Spanish Jews to his new town, who came by way of Selanik and Sofia (1516: 69 families). In 910/1505 an important addition, Bâlp, was made to the wakf, of which a Bulgarian extract remains (Trifonov, Grad Pleven, 40-1). ‘Ali Bey died in 913/1507-8 and was buried in a tahrîbeh behind his mosque. His life as a warrior of Islam was sung by the poet Süzî Celebi of Prizren. His sons and grandsons continued his policy of promoting the town, adding numerous fountains and paving for the streets (kulaîtrîm). In 981/1573-4, Süleymân Bey completed the Kûrgbünh Dîjîmî, a monumental, domed mosque in the best classical Ottoman style (good photograph by Trifonov, at 43). Khâdir Bey added a second medrese, where the poet Daîsî worked as madderris. Together with the great medrese of ‘Ali Bey, this made Plewna an important provincial centre of Islamic learning. Besides these buildings, the 957/1550 tâbrîr mentions five smaller mosques. The 987/1579 tâbrîr mentions a mosque of Khaqânî Sultan, the daughter of ‘Ali Bey’s successor Mehmed, and the new Friday mosque of Süleyman Bey, son of Hasan Bey b. ‘Ali, and a number of mezrûds. When in 952/1562 the Ottomans took Budâiîn (pest), a part of the Jews of that city was invited to settle in Plewna (according to the 957/1550 tâbrîr, T.D. 382, pp. 685-6, 41 families). The same source also mentions 62 households of Jews from Germany, of which seven were headed by widows, and 84 households (15 headed by widows) of Jews from the Latin lands (Vahidîyâtî-i Frenk). In the 1570s, these Jewish groups rose to over 200 households, making Plewna one of the largest Jewish centres of the Balkans. Throughout the centuries, Plewna remained a predominantly Muslim town, which in the course of time absorbed and turkified a part of the local Bulgarian population (in 1550, 20% of the Plewna Muslims were of convert origin). A survey of its demographic development, based on the Ottoman tâbrîrs, a mezrûd ‘award defter, dîjizye defters, is a gross exaggeration. The imdret of Qhâizî, was still in full operation. Ewliya noted that especially in the prosperous 10th/16th century, the Christian wakf villages around Plewna, and the monasteries of St George near the town and Sadovec outside it, developed an important scribal activity, writing Bibles and church books for the Bulgarian Orthodox churches of northern Bulgaria (survey of preserved copies by Trifonov, 53-6). Of great importance was the literary production of the Plewna Jews, of whom Joseph ben Ephraim Karo, who came from Spain and worked as Hâdâm in the Plewna synagogue, should be mentioned.

In 1659 the town was visited by the Bulgarian Catholic archbishop Philipp Stanislavov (ed. Hermanzicz, 1887), who mentions as its inhabitants 500 Orthodox Bulgarians, having two churches, and no less than 5,000 Turks with seven mosques. Three years later, Ewliya Çelebi visited the town (Spahot-nâmê, vi, 1890-9 164-5; more detailed in the autograph, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Revan Köşk, no. 1457, fol. 59n), who recalls the Wallachian legend of 1659/1562; but most of his ‘history’ is purely legendary or, at best, full of misidentifications of historical persons. In his time, Plewna consisted of “2,000 houses” , which is a gross exaggeration. The ‘ Kimi-yi Wildyet-i Tuna and the first Bulgarian censuses, is given in the following Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1479</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1516</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>2,580</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>5,915</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>6,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>6,690</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7,425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries, the town apparently declined, a process which, in addition to internal reasons, was triggered off by the sack and the destruction of the town by the Rumanians under Michael the Brave in 1064/1596, who also carried off thousands of the inhabitants of the wakf villages and forcibly settled them in Wallachia. After the invasion, the treasures of the medieval castle were taken down and the stones used for the construction of a large new khân bedesten.

In 1659 the town was visited by the Bulgarian Catholic archbishop Philipp Stanislavov (ed. Hermanzicz, 1887), who mentions as its inhabitants 500 Orthodox Bulgarians, having two churches, and no less than 5,000 Turks with seven mosques. Three years later, Ewliya Çelebi visited the town (Spahot-nâmê, vi, 1890-9 164-5; more detailed in the autograph, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Revan Köşk, no. 1457, fol. 59n), who recalls the Wallachian legend of 1064/1596; but most of his ‘history’ is purely legendary or, at best, full of misidentifications of historical persons. In his time, Plewna consisted of “2,000 houses” , which is a gross exaggeration. The ‘Kimâ-yi Wildyet-i Tuna and the first Bulgarian censuses, is given in the following Table:
quarters of the town. According to the muqattā‘ awārid defter of 1164/1751 (BBA, Kepeci, Mevkufat, ... Pleven, putevoditel, Sofia 1977; Mihaila Stajnova, Osmanskite biblioteki v balgarskite zemi, Sofia 1982, 150-4; Ent-

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much bigger families, the number of Bulgarians in the town also grew in a natural way, eroding the percentage of Muslims ever faster. In the decades before World War I, most of the Ottoman buildings of the town were demolished. A huge Russian neo-

Byzantine mausoleum came to occupy the site of the mosque, medrese and 'imaret of Ghazi Ali Bey. The mosque of Süleyman Beg was still standing in 1931, but was then replaced by the Military Club. On the site of the great Kerwânsaray, the new building of the provincial administration was erected. Great tree-

tiled boulvards and roads then replaced the old Turkish quarters. A name like “Tekiiskija Bair” still keeps the memory of the great zaı̀ye of ‘Ali Bey. The bones of the Russian and Rumanian soldiers of “77” were partly placed in the huge mausoleum, partly in large war cemeteries, the Rumanians having their own one, New Grivitsa, where they had fallen in the curious fights around the Grivitsa Redoubt. The village of Grivitsa had been until the end of the Ot-

toman period one of the major possessions of the waqf of Ghazi ‘Ali Bey. The skeletons of the tens of thousands of Ottoman soldiers, however, were dug up and sold to a British firm to be turned into fertiliser used for English agriculture. A part of the earthworks and trenches of ‘Othmân Pasha was maintained as a memorial and can still be seen. In the 1970s, an enor-

mous memorial building, with a magnificent panorama of the battlefield, was constructed, one more beautiful even than that commemorating the Battle of Borodino (1812) near Moscow.

Ghazi ‘Othmân Pasha’s defences around Plewna left a deep imprint on subsequent Western fortification, the Plewna profile and concept of defence being used in the newer works around Verdun, the principal fortress of France, as well as in the “Position Amster-

dam” and in the forts of Chatham (Twydale Redoubt).

After World War II, the city of Pleven, which already before the war had a considerable amount of industry (textiles, canned food, chocolate and metalwork) shot up to become one of the largest in-

dustrial centres of northern Bulgaria, with a present population of over 100,000. Until the early 1970s, only one miserable wooden mosque was still standing in Pleven, much to the dismay of the Bulgarian Muslim community. Disregarding the earthworks of 1877, not a single Ottoman building remains to testify to the long Islamic past of the town, a situation exemplary for the fate of Islamic culture in south-eastern Europe after the end of Islamic rule.


count); I. Penkov, Pleven, Sofia 1962; Şerafettin Turan, IA, art. Pleven; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, IA, art. Mihâloğlu; Tsv. and G. Todorova, Pleven, putevoditel, Sofia 1977; Mihaila Stajnova, Osmanskite biblioteki v bulgarskite semy, Sofia 1980, 150-4; Ent-
“Torbeši” is very little known in detail. In any case, the adoption of Islam did not take place everywhere at once but was gradual and at different periods. A beginning was made immediately after the battle of Marica (1371) and after the fall of Trebizond (1393). many Serbs and Bulgars at this time, and especially, as Jireček thought, the nobles and the Bogomils among these, adopted Islam. After these first conversions under Bayazid II, considerable numbers of converts were made according to native tradition in the reign of Selim I (1512-20); for this purpose he is said to have sent his “favourite Sinan Paša” into the territory of the Balkan mountains. The highlands of Cepino (in the Rhodopes) were converted, according to local histories, in the beginning of the 17th century; according to Jireček (Furstenthum, 104), however, not until the middle, in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-87); the Grand Vizier Mehmed Koprulu is said to have taken a leading part in the work. The conversion to Islam of the Danube territory (Loveč, etc.) is put in this period. Towards the end of this century (sc. the 17th), further conversions took place among the Serbs in the Debar region. In some districts Islam only gained a footing on a large scale in the course of the 18th century and sometimes not till the beginning of the 19th (e.g. in Gora, south of Prizren).

Until the early 20th century, one was very often inclined to believe that these conversions to Islam were made under compulsion, even by force of arms, but subsequently the view began to prevail that the authorities never took any direct steps to proselytise their Christian subjects; conversion was on the contrary voluntary and for quite different reasons except in a few exceptional cases (cf. e.g. H. Vasištev, Muslimani..., esp. 53-61).

Towards the end of the 19th century, when the process of conversion had ceased for decades everywhere, the great majority of the Slav Muslims (Bulgarian and Serb) were to be found in the Rhodopes and the mountains of eastern Macedonia and in groups of considerable size up and down Macedonia as far as the Albanian frontier, a wide area which stretched in the north from Plovdiv (Philippopolis) to Salonika in the south and in the east from the central course of the Arda over the Vardar and even beyond the Crni Drim, i.e. from the borders of the Vardar basin to Gottuv and Prizren to the west. At that time only a small part of this territory, which was interspersed with Christian areas, belonged to the principality of Bulgaria; the greater part was still Turkish, and only after the Balkan War passed to Serbia or after the First World War to the former Yugoslavia. In addition to the main body of Muslim Bulgars in the Rhodopes mountains, there were at the same time also sporadic groups north of the Balkan range in the Danube territory, in the circles of Loveč, Plevne (Plevna) and Orechovo (Rahovo).

Since then, however, the frontiers of the “Pomaks” have receded considerably. During the siege of Plevna almost all the Bulgarian Muslims fled from the Danube districts to Macedonia; although they returned in 1880, they soon afterwards migrated into Turkey. After the union of eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria and the establishment of the “Bulgarian and Serb” s there was a considerable scale, and it was carried out by force and constraint (Ischirkoff, ii, 15). In 1933, Iv. Lekov (see Bibli.) explained the name Pomak from the verb *pomoci* “to help” and means helper (pomagat), i.e. auxiliary troops of the Turks, was first given by F. Kanitx (Donau-Bulgarern und der Balkan, ii, Leipzig 1882, 182), but was soon afterwards (1891) declared by Jireček (see Bibli.) to be illegitimate. Another equally improbable etymology is that which explains Pomak by the Bulgarian word *mâk* = “torment, force”, and justifies this explanation by saying that the conversion of the Bulgarians to Islam on a considerable scale was carried out by force and constraint (Ischirkoff, ii, 15). In 1933, Iv. Lekov (see Bibli.) explained the name Pomak from *poturnjak* (lit. “one made a Turk”). Whether the word *dâmak*, which in Turkish means “rub, beat, cudgel”, in Uyghur “Muslim” and in South Russia “pedlar” (cf. Barthold, Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale, Paris 1945, 73-4), is in any way connected with Pomak, or has been influenced by the Bulgarian *poturnjak* or confused with it, still has to be investigated.

1. History of the Pomaks from their origin to the Second World War.

The history of the conversion of the “Pomaks” and
Bulgaria Jireček estimated (1891) their number at most 28,000 souls, and before the Balkan War there were within the old frontiers of Bulgaria (according to official statistics of 1910) 21,143 (0.49% of the population). In the lands acquired in the Balkan War in Southern Bulgaria there were, however, many more Pomaks, mainly in the regions of the rivers Arda, Mesta and Struma, so that the official census of 1920 makes their number 88,399 (1.82% of the whole population). A somewhat higher figure was given by the Bulgarspeaking Muslims of Macedonia (cf. H. Vasiljevic (Muslims in Southern Serbia) in Kustendil 1931, according to Camalovic (see Bibli.)

A century or so ago, the songs and ballads of the "Pomaks" were the subject of much dispute. A Bosnian ex-cleric, Stefan Verković (1827-93), an antique dealer in Seres, published under the title of Veda Slavena (i.e. the "Veda of the Slavs"), Belgrade 1874, vol. i a collection of songs which were alleged to have been collected mainly among Pomaks and which celebrated "pre-Christian and pre-historic" subjects (chiefly the immigration into Serbia of the Indians of the Veda, the discovery of corn, wine, of writing and legends of gods with Indian names, of Orpheus, etc.). A. Chodzko, A. Dozon (Chansons populaires bulgares inédites, Paris 1875; cf. also Revue de littérature comparee, xiv [1934], 155 ff.) and L. Geitler (Poetische tradice Thrátki a Bulharu, Prague 1878) also strongly supported belief in this "Veda"; it was even assumed that the Pomaks were descended from the ancient Thracians, who had been influenced first by Slav culture and then by Islam.

But of ballads on such subjects neither the Muslim nor the Christian Bulgars knew anything, and Jireček, who investigated the question on the spot, repeatedly described this "Slav Veda" as the fabrication of some Bulgarian teachers (Fürstenthum, 107).

We now know that Verković's chief collaborator was the Macedonian teacher Iv. Gologanov (cf. Pentscho Slawejkoff, Bulgarische Volkslieder, Leipzig 1919, 15). In view of this fact it seems strange that their religious substance and language were sometimes careless handed over to the Turks. Moreover, some statistics were not completely free from chauvinistic and political bias. The European estimates, finally, were based on approximations or were quite arbitrary.

Bulgaria Musulmans in particular occasionally (esp. in 1876-8) fought alongside the Turks against the Christian Bulgars may be ascribed to the fact that, as a result of their low cultural level, they made no clear distinction between nation and religion and that their Christian fellow-countrymen treated them as Turks and not as kinsmen. These mistakes were repeated in the Balkan War, when the victorious Bulgarspeaking Muslims and the Transylvanians were led so far as to convert the Pomaks in the Rhodopes and other districts to Christianity, mainly by pressure and force of arms. But on the conclusion of peace, they returned to Islam again. This was frankly admitted by the Bulgarian geographer Iširko (Iširkoff) and the Bulgarian writer Iv. Karaivanov (in his Bulgar periodical National Education, Kustendil 1931, according to Camalovic (see Bibli.)

The number of Pomaks (in reality of Muslim Slavs) in Macedonia was, according to S. Verkovic (1889; see Bibli.) 144,051 men.

As regards the number of Serbian-speaking Muslims in Southern Serbia, they were estimated by H. Vasiljevic (Muslims in Southern Serbia) in Furstenthum Bulgarien, 305, namely that their religion these Muslim Slavs were sometimes carelessly counted with the Turks. Moreover, some statistics were not completely free from chauvinistic and political bias. The European estimates, finally, were based on approximations or were quite arbitrary.

In spite of the fact that the Pomaks and Torbeši are occasionally included among the Turks and in spite of the fact that they sometimes call themselves Turks, they are nevertheless the purest stratum of the old Bulgarian or Serbian population, as the case may be, who have preserved their Slav type and Slav language (especially archaic words) very well, sometimes even better—as a result of their being cut off from the Christians and their isolation in outlying districts—than their Christian kinsmen, who have been constantly exposed to admixture from other ethnic elements. They have a firm feeling of assimilation for the Turks, whose language they do not understand. It is only in the towns that we find that in course of time some of these Slavs have adopted the Turkish language. What bound them to the Ottomans was not language, but principally a common religion, with its prescriptions and customs (e.g. the veilig of women), which along with Turkish rule naturally imposed upon them many Arabic and Turkish words. In spite of this, there have survived among them many pre-Islamic customs and reminiscences of Christianity (observation of certain Christian festivals, etc.).

That the Bulgar Musulmans in particular occasionally (esp. in 1876-8) fought alongside the Turks against the Christian Bulgars may be ascribed to the fact that, as a result of their low cultural level, they made no clear distinction between nation and religion and that their Christian fellow-countrymen treated them as Turks and not as kinsmen. These mistakes were repeated in the Balkan War, when the victorious Bulgarspeaking Muslims and the Transylvanians were led so far as to convert the Pomaks in the Rhodopes and other districts to Christianity, mainly by pressure and force of arms. But on the conclusion of peace, they returned to Islam again. This was frankly admitted by the Bulgarian geographer Iširko (Iširkoff) and the Bulgarian writer Iv. Karaivanov (in his Bulgar periodical National Education, Kustendil 1931, according to Camalovic (see Bibli.)
"Muslim Bulgar" settlements are specially marked; J. Cvijic, Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Macedonije i Sjeverne Srbije, Belgrade 1906, 1915. VI. R. Djordjević, U Srednjem Rodopima, pitomice bjelede ot Plovdiva do Čepelara, in Nova istra, Year 8 (Belgrade 1906), 172-6, 198-205 (interesting description of a Serbian journey in the year 1905 on the life and customs of the Pomaks); M. Gavrilović, in Grande Encyclopédie, s. v.; A. Ischikoff, Bulgarsen, Land und Leute, ii, Leipzig 1917, 14-17; J. Hadži Vasićević, Muslimani nase krv u Južnoj Srbiji, Belgrade 1924; idem, Škole i štari i uradna, Belgrade 1929, 35, 244-5, 251; S. Čemalović, Muslimani u Burgaskoj, in Garet, Year 8 (Sarajevo 1932), 345-5, 364-5, 375-6 (also in La Nation Arabe for 1932, nos. 10-12); A. Bonamy, Les musulmans de Pologne, Roumanie et Bulgarie, in REI (1932) (deals with the Pomaks (p. 88) very superficially); Iv. Lekov, Kâm zdrobi za imeto pomak (On the question of the name "Pomak"), in Snorn polucelovana Bugarija, Sofia 1933, 38-100 (cf. Bibliographie Geographique Internationale, Paris 1933, 317, which also quotes a short article by G. Ivanov on the history of the Loveć-Pomaks (Za minaloto na lovčenski pomaci), appeared in Loveć i Lovćensko, v, Sofia 1933); Annuaire statistique du royaume de Bulgarie, Sofia 1934, 23, 25, 28.

(E. Bajraktarević)

The preceding article skillfully brings together what was known of the Pomaks on the eve of the Second World War. One can, however, add to the bibliography for that period certain items not noted there or which have appeared since 1935, such as: L. Miletić, Lovčenski Pomaci, in Bălgarski Pregled, v/5 (Sofia 1939), 67-78; St. Stîtkov, Pomacite in trije bălgarski oblasti: Trakija, Macedonija i Mizia, Plovdiv 1914 (cf. a notice on this work, Les Bulgares mohomendans des Rhodopes et les traces du christianisme dans leur vie, in En terre d'Islam, vi/5 [Nov.-Dec. 1931], 387-8); idem, Bălgaro-mohomendani (Pomaci). Istoriisko-zemepisni i narodoušen pregled i obraz, Plovdiv 1936 (cf. an especially useful review by M.S. Filipović, in Pregled, xi/166 [Sarajevo, Oct. 1937], 673-9; Ahmet Čeçev Eren, Pomaklar, in IA, ix, 572-6; idem, Pomaklara dair, in Türk Kâltürü, i/4 (Ankara 1963), 37-41; Ch. Vakarelski, Alitirelmenche Elementa in Bulgarien Kultur der Bălgaro-mohomendani, in Zeitschr. für Balkanologie, iv (Berlin 1966), 149-72; N. Kaufmann, Pesni na Bălgarite mohomendani ot Rodopi, in Rodopski Zbornik, ii (Sofia 1969), 41-130; B. Lory, Une communauté musulmane oubliée: les Pomaks de Loveć, in Turcica, xix (1987), 95-116.

In regard to the thorny problem of the Islamisation of the Pomaks, see the viewpoint of St. Dimitrov, Demografsko otnosenje i pronikvaneto na islama v zapadnite Rodopi i dolinata na Mesta prez XV-XVI v., in Rodopski Zbornik, i (1965), 165-84.

2. The Pomaks during the Second World War.

Being one of the Axis Powers, Fascist-controlled Bulgaria was awarded by Hitler, on the one hand, the southern territories of contemporary Serbia (or Old Serbia, Sava Srbija or Južna Srbija) and on the other, western Thrace (belonging to Greece), which meant that, from 1941 to 1944, the Pomaks of the Balkans found themselves united within one state. Our knowledge of their situation at that time varies from region to region, but everywhere it was extremely bad: social and economic deprivation, a deplorable health position and continual discrimination on the part of the authorities, religious and cultural oppression, driving the Pomaks towards a "religious fanaticism", according to the expression used by Bulgarian authors themselves.

On the Bulgarian occupation of south Serbia (which in 1944 became part of Yugoslavian Macedonia), see the collective work (from a pro-Macedonian, extremely anti-Bulgarian viewpoint) called Denacionalizatorska dejnost na burgarskite kulturno-prostetni institucii vo Makedonija (Skopje i Bitolsko okupaciona oblast 1941-1944), Skopje 1974.

On the Pomaks of Bulgaria proper, see V. Božinov, Bălgarii mohomendani prez Vizorata svetovna vojna (1939-1944), Skopje 1975, 19-99; idem, Is mohomendi Bălgarii mohomendani vo Rodopite, Sofia 1958, 137-44; idem, Bălgarii mohomendani i vânzărirea borba sreltu falsizma, in ibid., 144-51, where some further references can be found. (It should be mentioned in passing that a law is said to have been passed on 8 July 1942 concerning the compulsory Bulgarianisation of names borne by the Pomaks, and that 60,000 of them had to change their names at this time.) On the participation of some Pomaks in the anti-Fascist struggle at the side of the "partisans" (i.e. Bulgarian Communities) towards the end of 1944, see Is minaloto..., 148-51; Jv. Memišev, Uzgaboteto na bălgarske Turci protiv kapitalizma i falsizma 1919-1949, Sofia 1977.

As for the Pomaks of Greek Western Thrace (the southern part of the Rhodope Mountains) at this time, we possess a piece of evidence (rapid and incomplete, it is true, but completely first-hand) from the Orthodox Bulgarian Patriarchate Kiril, who visited these regions in 1943-4: Kiril, patriarh bălgarski, Bălgarmohomendanski seltiva vo Južni Rodopi (Kantyitsko i Gjumyrdzitamento) toponimni, etnografski i istoritsko iszvedvane, Sofia 1960. This contains much information on the daily life of this people (especially on the ethnographic level), but also on the general atmosphere in these isolated mountain villages. The local Pomaks were often hostile to their visitor; they spoke Bulgarian and knew no Turkish whatsoever; their womenfolk were only very rarely veiled; polygamy was unknown; divorce was very rare; but the villages adjacent to the plain were, more and more, becoming slowly Turkicised. On the religious and cultural level should be noted the survival of certain Christian customs, the fact that the dead were buried in the orientation of Mecca and the existence of mosques in the villages (but only one tekke is mentioned, in the district of Sahin, whilst the medresen were all in ruins).

3. The Pomaks from the end of the Second World War to the present time.

Since 1945, the history of the Pomaks in the Balkans can be followed in two countries only, Bulgaria and Greece, in the light of the fact that, the Communist Yugoslavian authorities having set up a "Socialist Federal Republic of Macedonia", all the Slavonic-speaking Muslims of the region became ipso facto the Muslim Macedonians. There are, moreover, relatively few works on this group of Muslims of former Yugoslavia. See e.g. J.F. Trifunski, Za torhelite vo porecieto na Markovo Reka, in Godišten Zbornik (Fil. Fak.), iv/1 (Skopje 1951), 3-11; D.Hr. Konstantinov, Macedonci musulmani, in Prirozi, Društvo za nauka i umjetnost, v (Bitola 1970), 139-44; and above all, N. Limanovski, Etno-soziale karakteristike islamizezanih Makedonaca, Belgrade 1991 (unpubl. thesis); and then, in a much wider perspective, A. Popovic, L'Islam balkanique. Les musulmans du sud-est européen dans la période post-ostrmame, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986; idem, Les musulmans yougoslaves (1945-1969). Médiatres et métaphores, Lausanne 1990. One can nevertheless wonder whether the present dissolution of the Com-
mnist countries into ethnic and regional groups may not bring about the re-appearance some day of the former entities of this land, such as the Pontic Turks or the Gorani (Slavonic-speaking Muslims of Skopska Crna Gora) alone speak amongst these diverse groups, the Gorani ("nationalistic-speakers") alone may seem to display a certain cohesiveness, through the medium of a handful of spokesmen, notably vis-a-vis the Turkish and Albanian Muslims of Macedonia.

In the Pomaks of Bulgaria (peasants and shepherds of the Rhodopes and the region of Razlog and a few other places, numbering from 150,000 to 200,000 persons) continued to endure an extremely difficult situation, within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression—within a climate of permanent hostility from the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now considerably suppressed and not allowed to have any public expression.

Meanwhile, they are considered in Bulgaria (and they are still taken into consideration) rather as "lost children" of the nation. Their religiosity (which is, in fact, little more than a sort of "popular Islam") has had to suffer since 1945 the ravages of time (notably under the continual attacks of Soviet-style "scientific atheism"). Official Bulgarian publications on the local Pomaks (since 1945) are somewhat condescending. They set forth unanimously their very backward cultural state in relationship to the rest of the Orthodox Bulgarian population, but strongly insist that they are indigenous Bulgarians which various forces and "malevolent" tendencies have tried, on many occasions, either to assimilate to the Turks or to separate from their ethnic brothers and homeland. See e.g. P. Marinov, Iz miragleda na sredno rodopskite Balgari-mohamedani, in Balgarski narod, ill/1, Sofia 1947; N. Vrančev, Balgari mohamedani (Pomaci), Sofia 1948; V. Božinov, Balgari mohamedani pri narodnata vlast, in Iz minuloto..., 151-6; K. Vasiliev, Rodopi, Rodopi, Sofia 1961; Nevertheless, Balgari mohamedani-naradzhalna chast ot balgarskija narod (preporučitelna bibliografija), Blagoevgrad 1971 (with a lengthy bibliography); C. Monov, Prikazatelno delo sred Balgariite s mohamedanska uvaara v rodopskija krajo prez godite na narodnata vlast (1944-1968), in Rodopski Zbornik, ill (1972), 9-51; A. Prozorovski, Bist i kultura na rodopskite Balgari, Sofia 1974; P. Petrov, Razprostranenieto na isl- vampam v Rodopite, in Rodopite v bulgarska istorija, Veliko Tarnovo 1974, 62-86; K. Kanev, Srednorođopski (svdavni) narod i obicaja, in Rodopi, 1974/10, 22-6; idem, Srednorođopski obicaja, in Rodopi, 1974/11, 22-4; etc. For a diametrically opposed view, amongst numerous publications of this type, see Rodopodaraki son Turk katidmimn if yiizu, Istanbul 1972.

The feeling that forcible (and all other means) assimilation of the Pomaks by the Bulgarian Communist authorities increased to a brutal pitch after 1979 (see e.g. K. Yanatchkov, Entrez le croissant et le manteau: les musulmanes bulgares, in L'Alternative [Paris, Jan.-Feb. 1980] 22-3), culminating dramatically in the events of February-March 1985. From this date onwards, the Western press began to speak on numerous occasions of several dozen (even, of several hundred) deaths: murders committed in the course of the Bulgarianisation of names campaign (first amongst the Pomaks, then amongst the Turks of Bulgaria), an action which involved not only the change of names of living persons but also (by means of the civil govern- ment registers and the gravestones in cemeteries) those of parents and ancestors. The fall from power of Communism stopped this barbarous policy, and the governments formed after this time have made numerous acts of appeasement and goodwill towards the local Pomaks, especially since the necessity of a coalition (probably tactical and ephemeral) with the political Party of the Bulgarian Turks.

We are relatively well informed about the life of the Pomaks of Greece (around 25,000 to 30,000 persons, and living in the Rhodopes, along the Bulgarian frontier) during this period. These form an exclusively village society, apart from those settled in the towns and settlements of Western Thrace, where they are undergoing a slow Turkification process because of the presence there of a Turkish community, much better organised and three or four times as numerous. It is very much an introspective community, living in a mountain region to which access (since it is a military zone) was forbidden until very recent times to Greeks and foreigners alike and only to be entered with a special permit, difficult to get. The cultural level of this population seems to have remained fairly modest, and in any case we do not have (as is the case for the Pomaks of Bulgaria) any written eye-witness information. What we know at present of it rests on several works which are mainly of an ethnographical and sociological nature. See e.g. B. Vernier, Rapports de parenté et rapports de domination ... Représentation mythique du monde et domination masculine chez les Pomaques, diss. Paris, EHES 1972 unpubl. (a brief analysis of it in Popovic, L'Islam balkanique, 169-70); E. Arvanitou, Turcs et Pomaks en Grèce du Nord (Thrace Occidentale). Une minorité religieuse ou deux minorités nationales, sous une administration hellénique chrétienne, diss. Univ. de Paris VII, unpubl.; F. de Jong, Names, religious denomination and ethnicity of settlements in Western Thrace, Leiden 1980; E. Sarides, An ethnic-religious minority between Scylla and Charybdis. The Pomaks in Greece, in La transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman périphérique. Lettre d'information, 5 (April 1986), 17-25; idem, Ethnische Minderheit und zwischenstaatliche Streitobjekt. Die Pomaken des Thrakischen Nordostens, Berlin 1987. As for the official attitude of the Greek authorities (and of some local authors), this is disconcerting. It is currently maintained that this is a Greek population (or else the descendants of ancient Thracian tribes) completely separate from the Bulgarian Pomaks, a population which was allegedly first of all Bulgarianised, and then Islamised, some time later. See e.g. N. Xirotiris, Personal remarks on the distribution of the frequencies of blood groups amongst the Pomaks [in Greek], Salonica 1971; Ph. Triarkhis, The Rhodope administrative district yesterday and today [in Greek], Salonica 1974; Pan. Photias The Pomaks of Western Thrace (a small contribution to a great subject) [in Greek], Komotini 1976; and finally, three works, also in Greek, recently have appeared: P. Hidrogloou, The Greek Pomaks and their relations with Turkey, Athens 1989; Y. Mavroglou, The Pomaks or Rodopeoi, Athens 1990; and P. Mylonas, The Pomaks of Thrace, Athens 1990, on which one can find a lucid analysis by M. Anastasiadou, Trois livres sur les Pomaks de Grèce, in La transmission du savoir ... Lettre d'information, xi (March 1991), 64-6, who writes specifically, "The feeling which one gets from reading these three works is that the Greek state is not only resolved to begin a new process of assimilating the Pomaks—until now con-
demned to isolation—but above all wishes to prevent at any price the Pomaks from drawing closer to the 'Turks of Western Thrace'. There is, moreover, no doubt that the fall of the Communist régime in Bulgaria will have as a result the opening-up of this region of Greece and, as a result, the end of the isolation of the local Pomaks.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Popovic)

PONDOK [see Pesantren].

PONTIANAK, the name of a part of the former Dutch residency 'Wester-Afdeeling' of Borneo, also of the sultanate in the delta of the river Kapuas and of its capital; these are now in the Kalimantan [p. v. in Suppl.] region of the republic of Indonesia [p. v.].

As a Dutch province Pontianak included the districts of Pontianak, Kubu, Landak, Sanggau, Sekadau, Tajan and Meliau. The administration was in the hands of an assistant-resident whose head-quarters were in Pontianak where the Resident of the 'Wester-Afdeeling' also lived. The Dutch settlement is on the left bank of the Kapuas, where also is the Chinese commercial quarter. The Malay town lies opposite on the right bank.

The sultanate of Pontianak with its capital of the same name was independent under the suzerainty of the Netherlands and was 4,545 km² in area. In 1930 the population consisted of 100,000 Malays and Dayaks, 562 Europeans, 26,425 Chinese and 2,378 other Orientals. The term Malays includes all native Muslims, among them many descendants of Arabs, Javanese, Buginese, and Dayaks converted to Islam. The Dayaks in the interior are still heathen. Roman Catholic missions are at work among the latter and the Chinese. The very mixed population is explained by the origin and development of Pontianak.

The town was founded in 1772 by the Sharif Abd al-Rahmān, a son of the Sharīf Husayn b. ʿĀhmad al-Kadrī, an Arab who settled in Matan in 1735 and who in 1771 died in Mampawa as vizier, revered for his piety. In 1742 Abd al-Rahmān was born, the son of a Dayak concubine, and very early distinguished himself by his spirit of enterprise. He attempted to gain the ruling power, successively in Mampawa, Palahubu and Bandjarmasin, from which he had to retire with his band of pirates, although the sultan had been his patron, after he had taken several European and native ships. By this time, he had married a princess of Mampawa and Bandjarmasin and possessed great wealth. On his return to Mampawa, his father had just died. As he met with no success here, he decided to found a town of his own with a number of other fortune-seekers. An uninhabited area at the mouth of the junction of the Landak with the Kapuas, notorious as a dangerous haunt of evil spirits, seemed to him suitable. After the spirits had been driven away by hours of cannon fire, he was the first to spring ashore, had the forest cut down and built rude dwellings there for himself and his followers.

The favourable position of the site and the protection which trade enjoyed there soon attracted Buginese, Chinese and Javanese merchants to it so that Pontianak developed rapidly and Sharīf ʿAbd al-Rahmān was able by his foresight and energy to hold his own against the neighbouring kingdoms of Matan, Sukadana, Mampawa and Sanggau.

He appointed chiefs over each of the different groups of people and regulated trade by reasonable tariffs. He was able to impress representatives of the Dutch East Indian Co. in Batavia to such an extent that they gave him the kingdoms of Pontianak and Sanggau as fiefs after the company had bought off the claims of Banten to Western Borneo. As early as 1772, the Buginese prince Radja Hadjdji had given him the title of sultan. After his death in 1808, his son Sharīf Kāsim succeeded him. He was the first to change the Arab ceremonial at the court for more modern ways.

According to the treaty concluded with the Dutch Indies government in 1855, the sultan received a fixed income from them while they administered justice and policed the country. The relationship to the Dutch Indies government was defined in a long agreement of 1912, which also solved the administration of justice and the taxes. From the local treasury, then constituted, the sultan received 6,800 guilders a month; he also received 50% of the excise on agriculture and mines.

In keeping with the nature of its origin, Pontianak is predominantly Muslim in character and a relatively large number take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca. For these pilgrims, who are known as Qāwās Funţiana, the sultan, when he performed the pilgrimage in the 1880s, founded several wadî houses in the holy city.

The main support of the whole population is agriculture and along with it trade in the products of the jungle. The exports are copra, pepper, gambir, sago, rubber and roton, especially to Singapore and Java. Rice, clothing and other articles required by the Europeans and the more prosperous Chinese and Arabs are imported. The import and export trade is mainly in the hands of the Chinese. They live together in the Chinese quarter in the European half of Pontianak on the left bank where also the other foreign Orientals have setted. This is therefore the centre of trade and commerce in the valley of the Kapuas.

In the swampy lands of Pontianak, intercourse with the outer world is almost exclusively by water. Only in the 1920s and 1930s were motor-roads laid over the higher ground from Pontianak to Mampawa and Sambas, to Sungei Kakap and from Mandor to Landak.


(A.W. Nieuwenhuis)

POONA [see Pūṇa].

PORPHYRY [see furfūryûs].

PORT SA'ID (a. Būr Sa'id), a seaport on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt at the northern extremity of the Suez Canal and on its western bank (lat. 31° 16' N., long. 32° 19' E.). It is connected with Cairo, 233 km/145 miles away, by a standard-gauge railway constructed in 1904 via Zagázig and Ismā'īliyya, and also with Damietta and Alexandria. After the construction of the Suez Canal, it became the second seaport of Egypt after Alexandria, and is now the chief-lieu of a governorate (muḥāfaza) of the same name. The population of the governorate (1986 estimate) was 382,000 and of the town itself 374,000.

Port Sa'id was founded in 1859, as soon as the Suez Canal was decided, during the reign of Sa'id Pāsha [g.a.], Viceroy of Egypt and was named after him. Except for the strip of sand which, varying in width between 200 and 300 yards, separates Lake Manzala from the Mediterranean, the site of the present town was under the water. This site was selected by a party of engineers under Laroche and de Lesseps, not on account of being the nearest point across the isthmus to Suez, but because the depth of the water there corresponded most favourably to the requirements of the projected canal. As soon as work was started on the
Canal, five wooden houses were constructed above the water, supported on massive piles and equipped with a bakery and a water-distillery for the use of the pioneers. A year later, dredgers began to deepen the water. The Khedive Isma'il ordered four lighthouses to be erected at the expense of the Egyptian Government at Rosetta, Burullus, Burдж al-I'zba near Damietta, and Port Sa'id. The latter one was 174 ft. high and its beam distant from those of the other three and visible at a distance of 20 miles. It lay at the base of the western mole which, at its seaward extremity, carried a colossal statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps by E. Pernot, unveiled in 1899.

In 1956 the Egyptian President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser (Nasser) nationalised the Suez Canal. In the ensuing war of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt during late October-early November 1956, Port Sa'id was severely damaged by air attacks and during the British and French landings, with the statue of de Lesseps, amongst other things, being destroyed. After the war, the damages were repaired and the Canal re-opened, but during the Six Days' War of June 1967 Israeli forces advanced to the eastern bank of the Canal and occupied the territory of western Sinai up to that bank. The Canal remained closed for several years. But after the Camp David Accords of 1978 and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979, the use of the Canal revived and the revenue from transit dues has become a significant part of Egypt's income, with Port Sa'id returning to something of its former prosperity.

**Bibliography:** The chief contemporary source is 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, al-Khitat al-Taufikiyah, 20 vols., Cairo (Bulâk) 1305-6. See also 1. publications on the Suez Canal and its history; 2. the annual Takwims, Annuaire statistiques and the Trade Returns issued by the Egyptian Government and the Suez Canal Company; 3. guides to Egypt such as Baedeker's, Murray's (ed. Mary Briddrick) and Cook's (ed. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge).

(A.S. Atyia*)

**POSTA** (Ital. *posta*), borrowed into Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in the 19th century in the forms *plibista*, *plibista* to designate the new conception of European-style postal services in the Near East. In more recent times, it has been replaced at the formal level by *barid* [q.v.], a revival of the mediaeval Arabic term for the state courier and intelligence services, but *bista*/*bista* and *bista*/*pastarnak* "postman" continue in use in the Arab Levant at the informal level, and *posta* remains the standard term in Modern Turkish. In modern Persian also *post*, from the French *poste*, is used.

(E. D.)

**POSTA,** postage stamps. Postage stamps (Ar. طوابع [barid]; Pers. *hamzāb*; Tk. *pu*) are a Western innovation. The world's first postage stamp—the "penny black"—bearing the portrait of young Queen Victoria—was issued by Great Britain in 1840. There exists an evident connection between the spread of the "postage stamp revolution" and European overseas expansion. Besides Great Britain, other European countries, above all France, but also Austria, Germany, Italy and Spain were responsible for the founding of postal services and the diffusion of stamps in North Africa and the Middle East. Foreign post offices of these countries were opened e.g. in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Morocco, Libya, and Egypt. They issued the stamps of their countries, and as a result the dispatching point of these stamps is only to be identified by the postal cancellations. Later, overprints were added. Here, as in other cases, the foreign post offices cut into revenues that would otherwise have gone to the national post office. The first Middle Eastern countries which joined the parade of stamp-issuing states were: India (1854 with a portrait of Queen Victoria on the issued stamp, after long trials of the East India Company for two years); the Ottoman Empire (1863); Egypt (1866); Persia (1868); and Afghanistan (1871). The first three of them opened post offices in their "satellite states" using the same practice as the European countries.

Despite the more than one hundred year-old history of stamps in North Africa and the Middle East, "Islamic philately" has not received much attention until recently. This intensified interest is mainly to be explained by the fact that, since the 1960s and the 1970s, the themes on stamps have been diversified and several Islamic countries have begun to use postage stamps as instruments of propaganda. Philately is considered as an ancillary historical and socio-scientific discipline, although its skilled use as such is rarely revealed. Unlike its honoured sister disciplines philately cannot of course provide information on dark periods where written evidence is scarce or unavailable. But it can be of additional value for the analysis of official viewpoints and of cultural and political history; stamps are excellent primary sources for the symbolic messages which governments seek to convey to their citizens and to the world. The same is true of banknotes, because "both are a monopoly—i.e. a sovereign attribute of the state as
well as an efficient iconographic propaganda vehicle thereof. They can tell us something about the ideological hegemony of the state, the one for which it attempts to ensure ideological hegemony" (Sivan 1987, 21). For modern times, the symbolism of stamps is more useful for the historian than that of coins because stamps are more varied and less conservative.

Which types of historical evidence are to be found on stamps in detail? Stamps can be studied from the beginning and the end of the series. Under the latter we understand the stamps as "objects of economic interest" (cf. Hazard 1959/1980, 200 ff.), made up of paper, ink, glue, etc., marked by inscriptions, overprints and denominations. An enquiry into the quantity and quality of these components (kind of paper, method of printing, perforation, watermark, overprint types and settings, etc.) is not merely of limited interest for the collector or the historian of printing technology and paper manufacturing; an investigation of these aspects can give indications concerning the political and economic situation of the issuing country. A large quantity of new issues has normally two causes: either the state is fully appreciating the propaganda value of stamps (as was the case, for instance, in Iran under the last Shah, in Libya since the mid-1970s and also in 'Irak at present under the leadership of Saddam Husayn), or else it is seeking additional revenue. Numerous countries, mostly small and poor, have abandoned their prerogatives to represent themselves in favour of financial advantages. They have entrusted Western agencies with the production of stamps on any possible occasion and with their promotion to dealers and collectors. Many of these stamps never touch the shores of the countries that issue them. The stamps display themes which have mostly nothing to do with the heritage of the issuing state. European paintings, famous people of the world (such as J.F. Kennedy, the Prince of Wales and Princess Diana), or international sports events. For the Islamic countries, this practice was used e.g. by Afghanistan under the reign of Zahir Shah, by North Yemen (since 1962), by Mauritania, Katar (since 1961), and the poor Persian Gulf shaykhdoms (A'jaman, with even special issues for its exclusive Manama, Dubaiy, Fudaysra, Ra'a) by the autocratic Al-Bahrayn of the last 14 years. More often, overprints have been used by the Ottoman Empire under foreign control, and of war-time Libya, becomes clear why the watermark of the Pahlavf stamps was not imported such stamps for the wars against Israel and the young Turkish Republic printed a large quantity of foreign rule, the degree of dependence and control. Whereas Egypt had the right to issue special stamps of its own, other Ottoman provinces were less autonomous. The French for 'Irak used to overprint "TE.O." on French-made stamps. These stamps were overprinted "T.E.O.", for "Territoires ennemis occupés", later changed to "O.M.F.", for "Occupation militaire française", protecting, mandatory, and colonial powers. The date and type of overprints indicate the severity of foreign rule, the degree of dependence and control. Algeria, being constitutionally part of metropolitan France, had stamps of its own only after 1924. In that year, French stamps were overprinted "ALGÉRIE". Even the post-war issues have continued to omit Arabic, to stress French culture and interests to the exclusion of Arab ones, and to emphasize French dominance. Similarly was the case with the Italian colonial power in Libya, whereas the French protectorate in Tunisia replaced the monolingual inscription "REGENCE DE TUNIS" in 1906 by another one in French and Arabic; Palestine as a British mandate after 1920 even used a trilingual inscription in Arabic, English and Hebrew. The autonomy of the 'Alawi areas, guaranteed by the French after 1924, can be deduced from French stamps overprinted "ALAOUITES-AL-SALAWIYIN". In the case of nominally independent shaykhdoms, like al-Kuwayt or al-Bahrayn, the stamps indicate that they were actually under firm British control. After using Indian stamps with no indication of the issuing state's name, the stamps were overprinted (in 1923-4 and 1933 respectively) "KUWAIT/BAHRAIN". After the Partition of India (1947), the same was done with British stamps. The use of postal districts overprinted is thus a sign of foreign control, and of war-time Libya, becomes clear by observing the diversity of overprints and used stamps.

Pakistan's first stamps illustrate the hasty creation of the nation. The first issue consisted of Indian stamps (portrait of King George VI) overprinted "PAKISTAN" by the Indian Security Press at Nasik. Owing to the events after Partition, grave shortages of stamps occurred in many places. It was
therefore necessary to supplement the Nasik prints by local overprints in Pakistan. Machine-printed, typewritten and manuscript overprints thus appeared in many places and under varying conditions; they were sanctioned by the central or provincial governments, and sometimes even by minor authorities down to the village postmaster. All these issues were governed by the same conditions, namely, an acute shortage of Pakistani stamps, a surplus stock of unwanted Indian stamps, and the determination to do something in order that the posts could carry on (Martin 1959/1974, VII. 20). A similar situation in independent Algeria caused at the outset the overprinting of former French issues with the initials “E.A.” for “État Algérien”.

Overprints indicating the new state’s name, and similar techniques like the obliterating with black bars of the former ruler’s portrait, have been employed in other countries following a drastic change in regime in order to use old stocks of stamps while demonstrating a complete departure from the past (see e.g. Egypt, 1953, or Iran, 1979). Sometimes former sets are overprinted in order to commemorate an important event in the history of a particular country; in Transjordan, for instance, stamps of 1927 were overprinted one year later, in Arabic script, with the word dastăr in order to mark the promulgation of the constitution. Frequent changes in denomination may well reveal economic problems and inflation.

We have yet to mention some further conclusions which can be drawn from the mono- or bilingual inscriptions. The exclusive use of the national language in Islamic countries either underlines the continuity with the Islamic past (by confirming the sanctity of the Arabic script and language; see also the using of Islamic/Christian dates) or growing nationalistic feelings. To quote some examples: Ottoman stamps up to 1876 used exclusively the Turkish language and “Turkish”-style numerals. The inscriptions translate “The Ottoman Empire” and “Postage” (the latter being the western-derived poşta, however, rather than the Arabic barid). In 1876 a French inscription and a “Western”-style numeral were added to a set of stamps in order to conform to membership of the newly-established Universal Postal Union. With the advent of the new young republic of Turkey, the Arabic was given way to Latin, after a brief transitional use of both scripts for writing Turkish (1926-8). Hijāz stamps (1916-25) used only Arabic (compare Yemeni stamps from 1926 till 1930); not until four years after the unification with Najd, in 1929, did the Latin script appear for the recording of the state and value. National feelings in Egypt came through, when, during Isma‘īl’s rule, Arabic replaced Turkish as the usual language of administration. The first Egyptian stamps of 1866 (nos. 1-7) bear Turkish-language inscriptions; one year later, Arabic replaced Turkish on stamps (nos. 8 ff./1867). The change in the language came at the time of Ismā‘īl’s hard-won acquisition of the title of Khedive, and a few years later (nos. 14 ff./1872) the stamps proudly displayed the Khedivial title. After the recession of British influence on Egypt in 1922, an overprint exclusively in Arabic announced the formal independence of “The Egyptian Kingdom” in that year (nos. 69-81/1922; notice also nos. 82-93/1923-4). This nationally-induced omitting of any Western script except for a numeral of value was obviously soon found impractical, because French re-appears from 1925 onwards (nos. 94 ff.).

Mutilinear inscriptions on postage stamps can also indicate the use of several national languages or be interpreted as a concession to linguistic minorities. Postage stamp series of Haydarābād from 1871 show a value label in four languages (English, Marathi, Persian-Urdu and Telugu). Thecession of East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) can be observed on Pakistani stamps by the reduction of the former tri-lingual inscription (English, Urdu, Bengali) to a bilingual one.

Stamps may be considered as a prima facie evidence of the existence of postal services, but not as an evidence of postal sovereignty, as the cases of Manāma and Bahāwulpūr (q.v.) show. Until 1947 Bahāwulpūr stamps were privately printed in British India; afterwards forming part of Pakistan, it issued its own stamps between 1947 and 1949, although the post offices in Bahāwulpūr used stamps of Pakistan. The introduction of airmail and special delivery stamps ordinarilys indicates the initiation of such a service in a particular country.

The studying of the stamp’s “inside”, i.e. of its iconography, can be quite illuminating and will be of central concern here. Several factors predetermine stamps to propaganda purposes. First, since the discovery of offset printing, stamps are easy and cheap to produce; second, a worldwide spread is potentially possible; third, visual messages are not difficult to understand, i.e. it is possible to make them accessible to persons who are not reached by other communication means; this is especially true of Third World countries, where the percentage of illiterates is high; in regard to Arabic countries, one has to bear in mind also the problem of diglossia. But, whereas the message which is intended to be transmitted to the observer of the stamps is comparatively easy to discern, it is almost impossible to assess its impact upon its target population.

Subjects often dealt with on stamps can be grouped in the following way: national symbols; local deceased heroes; cultural heritage; significant historical and political events and commemoratives; reforms, national progress, and social, economic or cultural achievements; foreign policy (regional, Arabic or Islamic solidarity, international ties); diverse (expositions and fairs, international congresses, etc.).

Primary visual symbols of the modern state include, beside the national flag, emblems, coats of arms, official seals, the personified state, i.e. the presiding head of state (a hereditary monarch or an elected president). With regard to the head of state’s portraits it is interesting to find out when the first portraits appeared, on which occasions they are issued, how often the head of state is portrayed, in which manner he is represented, and how he is dressed. Further, the question arises whether there is any difference between monarchies and republics.

Several Islamic countries followed in the beginning the Islamic proscription of portraits. Instead, they employed—as the Ottoman stamps did until 1913—three specialised motifs: the crescent [see Ṣūlā], sometimes accompanied by a star; a coat of arms; and the ṭuḥrah [q.v.], along with more general calligraphical and arabesque designs. The turning-point in Ottoman stamp design came in 1913, when a set of stamps showing the Istanbul post office swept aside the obligation of avoiding portraits (nos. 212-21/1913). In 1914, a further step was made by portraying Sultan Meḥməned V Rεshād (no. 245/1914). On the other hand, in Persia, where a vigorous tradition of pictorial painting had long flourished, the Shāh appeared on stamps as early as 1876 (nos. 19-22). In Egypt, religious inhibitions about portraying living things have been ignored since 1924 (nos. 82-93), and Islamic symbols were replaced by
monarchical watermarks after 1926. King Faysal of Iraq followed this example in 1927/31. Afghanistan was... to ‘de facto-secularisation’ in 1975 and his unorthodox interpretation of Islam since 1964, in the following period several times, in contrast to North Yemen where the only president ever portrayed until now has been President Hamdã in 1978.

Ayyub Khan was the first president to be shown on Pakistani stamps (nos. 229-30/1966); thereafter they followed the portraits of the deceased national heroes Muhammad Ali Djinna and Muhammad Ikbâl could appear on stamps (1967); previously, the days of their death were commemorated and their contributions to the establishment of Pakistan were honoured by showing a memorial inscription or their monograms (e.g. nos. 44-6/1949 or nos. 96-8/1958). Republics such as Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia and ‘Iraq depicted the portraits of their presidents from the beginning.

Another practice was followed in Egypt and Libya after the revolutions there. Despite his popularity and the personality cult of him allowed in other media, President ‘Abd al-Nâsir (Nasser) kept his portrait off stamps (1966-7); previously, the days of their presidency were portrayed (1956, 1965, 1967). After his death, however, he was commemorated on Egyptian stamps in 1970-2, and on stamps of several other Arabic countries. Al-Kadhâfî (Gaddafi) appeared for the first time on a souvenir sheet in 1975; in subsequent years he has become the central figure on the stamps. Remarkable exceptions are Algeria and Iran after 1979. No Algerian president has appeared until now on stamps during his lifetime (H. Boumedienne/Hawarf Buma-dyan was for the first time portrayed after his death in 1979); on the occasion of the (re-)election of Boumedienne or Şâh Şah b. Djâdîl, instead of a portrait, inscriptions in Arabic were used which translate ‘Election of a Brother ... as President ...’. Whereas in the Šâh’s days a portrait of the monarch was almost always displayed, the Islamic Republic of Iran has only honoured ‘martyrs’ on stamps (see also banknotes). For this reason, Ayatullah Khomeini was depicted for the first time after his death (1989 ff.), although already in his lifetime huge posters of him were plastered on walls of most Iranian towns and were carried in processions. As Chełkowski has pointed out, ‘This is a clever symbolic manipulation to suggest that Khomeini has not imposed his rule but is the ‘chosen’ representative of the people who carry his portrait out of love and devotion’ (1990, 92-3).

Several monarchs of Islamic countries (Egypt since Fu’âd I, Afghanistan under Zâhir Şâh, Iran since the Pahlavis, Jordan under the reign of Huseyn II, and Morocco under the reign of Hâsan II) have depicted their portraits on the occasion of commemorating special royal events: births and birthdays (especially of the male heir), royal birthdays; weddings; deaths and coronations (esp. Iran, nos. 1365-7/1967), etc. Another practice was followed, for instance, in Libya, where King Idris I was only once portrayed, directly after independence. Ruling predecessors are honoured, sometimes together with the reigning monarch, to show the continuity of the particular dynasty. The Pahlavis even tried to base their reign on a fictitious continuity of the Persian monarchy since the time of the Achaemenids. This intention was revealed also in 1935 when Persia was renamed Iran (nos. 149 ff.; ‘Postes iraniennes’, instead of ‘Postes persanes’).

Regularly, the hereditary heads of state have attempted to enhance their legitimacy, either by combining their rule (in a portrait) directly with symbols of progress (see below), or by stressing the dynasty’s role in the fight for independence (e.g., in Morocco under Muhammad V and later; in Jordan). In this respect, differences between monarchies and republics seem to be blurred: republican heads of state are portrayed on similar occasions, as Independence or National Day, Revolution Day, etc.; the personality cult of Habib Bourguiba (Abû Rakîba) is intertwined with his role of Supreme Mudâjîhî, his life history marking the major milestones of the Tunisian fight against the French. Other heroes of that same era appear on stamps only if they are long dead. Bourguiba was often shown together with female figures; this is an allusion to the improvement of the women’s status as a result of the revised Personal Status Code in 1956. Sometimes even the birthdays of the presidents (e.g. of Saddâm Huseyn since 1984) are celebrated on stamps; frequently, they invoke their contributions to the modernisation process. Turkish presidents present themselves as the sons of the ‘Father of the Turks’.

A souvenir sheet (no. 25) in 1987 shows the hitherto-existing presidents from Atatürk to Evren in the shape of a family tree; the picture seems to suggest that Turkey is still firmly adhering to the political principles and aims of Atatürk. On another stamp issued in 1939 (no. 1052), the role of Atatürk is compared to that of George Washington for the United States.

Monarchs often appear on stamps in traditional (Bedouin) headgear and robes (see Faysal I of ‘Iraq in the 1920s, and his brother ‘Abd Allâh in Transjordan, and moreover, the rulers of the U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia), later, they also underlined their links to the army (see Rida Şâh Pahlavi) by wearing military uniform, or their support for reforms and westernisation by appearing bare-headed and clothed in Western style. The first presidents (e.g. of Turkey, Syria) were shown in Western style coats and ties, thereby expressing their intent to modernise and secularise the country. The fez, once a modern symbol, disappeared gradually and by the 1950s it was finally becoming old-fashioned. Soldier-politicians, as Atatürk or Sadât, alternated between military uniform and civilian garb; Asad was always depicted in civilian clothes despite his military vocation, thereby underscoring his legitimacy, while Sadât preferred the military uniform. Al-Kadhâfî is shown in different garbs; the most favourite one, beside the military uniform, seems to be Bedouin garb; sometimes the ‘revolutionary leader’ is sitting on a horse, surrounded either by fighting people, or jubilating masses, or ‘Green Books’, propagated as his ‘Third Universal Theory’, with a liberating message for the whole world. The described style of illustration is itself a hint at the contents of the ‘Green Book’ (hâdîd); in this manner, the author is professing the Bedouins for their practising of ‘national sports’ (e.g. mounted games), instead of merely watching sporting events.

Like Saddâm Huseyn (1988), al-Kadhâfî is represented on stamps as an ideal Muslim on the hajj, or during the Muslim worship (1983). This confirmation seemed necessary after al-Kadhâfî’s open shift to ‘de facto-secularisation’ in 1975 and his unorthodox interpretation of Islam since
then (rejection of the Sunna as a source of Islamic law, etc.).

Other important and specific national symbols and emblems which are often seen on stamps should be mentioned. In the case of Persia, the national emblem next to the portrait of the Shah was the Lion and the Sun, under the Pahlavl crown; and on coins, Turkey used sometimes (1926, 1929, 1931, 1961) the mythical grey wolf (bozkurt), an embodiment of the unification of its people. An allegorical figure, the embodiment of the nation, usually represented in the form of a woman, so popular on French stamps, represents Syria in one case (1956), but this particular symbolism seems to have been too foreign to the Islamic tradition to have taken root in Syria.

Another category of symbols of power is that of historical notables or local heroes. Every régime has its own pantheon, and this becomes clear on stamps too. The emphases shift with the change of régimes, although local heroes are generally more often honoured than famous persons who have had an impact on the whole Arab-Islamic world. Whereas monarchies have emphasized the role of their ancestors, especially the forerunners of the pan-Arabic political nationality (e.g. monarchic Egypt frequently depicted Muhammad ʿAli; Libya the founder of the Sanusiyya, Ṣidī Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Sanūsī; Saudi Arabia Ibn Saʿūd), republican régimes have issued stamps to commemorate a variety of nationalists (e.g. Turkey memorialised Namîk Kemâl and Divâ (Ziya Gökalp; Egypt ʿUmar Makram, ʿUrâbī Paşa and Muṣṭafâ Kâmil; ʿIrâk honoured Shîrī al-Husūrī, progenitor of the various pan-Arab ideological trends; Syria, instead, preferred to honour a native-born theoretician of Pan-Arabism, al-Kawâkbî, reformers (al-Tahâwî, al-Afghânî, ʿAbdu, Tâhir Haddâd, etc.), freedom fighters (e.g. Pâkîstân 1979, 1989-90), and cultural leaders (in literature, arts or creative fields). A myth of the peoples' continuous struggle for independence is created in some cases (e.g. on Libyan stamps since 1971-2, esp. since 1980, and on Iranian stamps after 1979). The Islamic Republic of Iran marked the abrupt departure of the past and the changing orientation from Western ideology and apparel of the ʿShâh's era to the traditional Islamic attitudes by a series of stamps (since 1979) devoted to the "forerunners of the Islamic movement". The role of the clerical opposition is overemphasised; but, besides firm supporters of Kûmûymî (like Ayâtullâh Bihâghtî, died in 1981), or forerunners of an Islamic republic (as Faḍl Allâh Nûrî, died in 1909), other famous persons are represented in this set who would not have supported the "reign of the Ayâtullâhs", if they were still living (e.g., Mirzâ Kûkî Khân, Muṣâdîkî, Al-i Ahmad, Shîrīʿaṯî, Tallâkî). Most of the forerunners are considered as "martyrs" for the "right cause", pointing to the glorified idea of martyrdom which is also one characteristic of Shiʿism. Another Shiʿi feature commemorated on postage stamps is that of the Shiʿi Imams or works connected with them, such as the Nahj al-balâgha [q.v.] (e.g. in 1981). The search for historical heroes to honour on Lebanese stamps is a difficult task. The choice of Druze and Maronite princes is an indication of Christian dominance there till the outbreak of the Civil War and of the neglect of the Islamic heritage.

Harmless illustrations of traditional costumes, national handicraft, festivals and musical instruments, animals and flora, fauna, scenery, as well as antiquities, archaeological excavations, historical monuments (mosques, forts, and palaces etc.) and modern buildings (hotels, banks, museums, etc.) are found on the stamps of nearly every country with the aim of underscoring the national heritage and, probably, of convincing the public of a clear-cut national identity. So, even the representation of antiquities and other common motifs can throw light upon the political aims or the ideological orientation of the régimes and its self-identification. Despite the post-colonial Pan-Arabic and Pan-Islamic rhetorics of some régimes, they often lay particular stress on the pre-Islamic and pre-Arabic history, a sign of the specific national pride and patriotism. In Egypt, Pharaonic monuments are as prevalent today as they were in 1866 when the first issues bore a pyramid watermark. All stamps issued between 1867 and 1919 featured pyramid-and-spinx designs, and the Giza pyramids have been a favourite subject ever since, although after 1952, as the interest in other themes increased, the pre-Islamic heritage was less often depicted. ʿIrâk places great emphasis on its Babylonian forerunners (cf. already a set from 1963, here together with Islamic monuments; and from 1988, on the occasion of the Babylon Festival), especially since Saddam Kusayn shifted his foreign policy towards a specifically ʿIrâkî watanîyya; a Mesopotamian-inspired culture is seen as a convenient vehicle to introduce and support the change in fundamental ideology (compare the results of A. Baram’s study, Mesopotamian identity in Ba’thi Iraq, in MES, xix [1983], 425-55). Jordanian stamps frequently show the Nabatean city of Petra or the Temple of Djahâl (since 1935). This pattern is repeated also in other Arab (Algeria, Tunisia) and Islamic (Pâkîstân, Afgânistân, etc.) countries.

Depicting antiquities or other signs of national heritage can be seen as a means of advertisement and as evidence for the tourist industry (e.g. Lebanon in the 1960s until 1975; Egypt since the 1950s, with a short interruption as a result of the 1967 events). But, as Sivan has pointed out, the impressive continuity in the patterns of postage stamps produced over the last thirty years shows that touristic considerations have not been a purely aesthetic tendency but the result of conscious political decision. These visual symbols should be mainly interpreted as official attempts to create a common national identity and loyalty to the territory. “Thus, the ancient past is part and parcel of the legitimating genealogy of the modern state” (Sivan 1987, 23). Noteworthy exceptions are the Gulf emirates with no past to speak of, and Saudi Arabia, where the pre-Islamic past of its territory is associated with the paganism of the Djâhiliyya. An extraordinary shift has occurred in Iran. Whereas the emphasis in the ʿShâh's era was almost exclusively on pre-Islamic architecture and art, the revolutionary Islamic régime started to neglect the pre-Islamic era; in this context one has to recall the strong protests of the Islamic religious classes against the ʿShâh's bombastic celebration of the twenty-five centuries old history of Iran. Lebanon, again, is a special case in the opposite direction, because of the Maronite élite’s support of the "Phoenician ideology".

Stamps illustrate most of the period of colonial expansion, as well as its end. After using their own
stamps, with or without overprints, the colonial powers in the Islamic lands under their control passed on to the "colonial-picturesque style"; i.e. one foreign from the paper to the design; the favourite subjects on pictorial sets were scenes of monuments and landscapes; local allusions were rare, natives appeared only occasionally on horse or on camel, whereas representatives of European colonialism (as Marshal Lyautey on Moroccan stamps (1935/1948, 1951), General Gordon on Sudanese ones (1931/37, 1933)) were commemorated. While the colonial powers were shown as civilised and modernised, the dependent territories were depicted as backward countries and societies, needing the import of progress through colonialism. After independence, postage stamps rapidly became a means of asserting sovereignty, of seeking for self-definition, and of furthering economic and social development. The pictorials now often employ a semi-abstract style and international iconography; the national flag represents independence; broken chains and rising suns, flames etc. stand for liberation and a very promising future; doves for peace; globes for universal themes; balance scales for justice; the Asclepian serpent and staff for medicine; books and torches for education. In tracing the evolution of some national holidays and national days, we find instances of discontinuity (particularly in revolutionary states) and continuity (mostly in countries with a traditional culture). But all these memorial days have a common feature, that they celebrate national events, as e.g. Independence (National) Day; Evacuation Day, to commemorate the departure of foreign forces (e.g. the British evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone, the evacuation of US bases in Libya, the evacuation of French occupation forces in Syria); Revolution Day (8 March 1963 in Libya; 1 September 1969 in Egypt), which signified a change in legitimation; or Army Day (when the army was the vehicle of the revolution, as in Iraq). Other major political events and changes in legitimation which may be memorialised philatelically include constitutional, legal or programmatic reforms (e.g. Pakistan 1973, on the occasion of the promulgation of the new constitution; Algeria, 1976 (new constitution, Charte Nationale), 1986 (Charte Nationale); overthrows of old regimes (e.g. Sudan, 1966; Tunisia, 1988); the first regular elections after a long period of military/authoritarian rule (Turkey, 1950; Pakistan, 1970); decisive plebiscites (Iran, referendum of 1979, commemorated in 1984, 1991; Pakistan, 1985, "overwhelming mandate by the people" for Diya al-Haqq and his Islamisation policy in the 1984 referendum); nationalisations (of the Suez Canal in Egypt, 1956, 1961/66, or of the oil industry (Iran, 1953, "Irak, 1973)); and the "corrective revolution" or accession day of the present ruler (Asad's Syria or Sadat's Egypt). Several authoritarian regimes commemorate the single mass party (as in Tunisia, the Destour, later PSD; in South Yemen, the National Liberation Front, later Yemen Socialist Party; in Syria and Iraq, the Ba'th; in Egypt, the Arab Socialist Union, and in Algeria, the FLN) Postage stamps reinforce a myth of popular struggle for independence. Turkish stamps memorialised famous battles during the Liberation War (e.g. that at İnönü). Libya somehow managed to find two dozens of major and minor battles against the Italian occupiers during the period of 1911-43 (stamps issued since 1980). Iranian stamps after the Revolution in 1979 have frequently recalled the heavy toll of lives, also mentioned in the constitution, so that their characterisation as "stamps of blood" is justified. The Iranian stamps reflect the central theme of the revolution, the "Karbala'-martyrdom-paradigm". The uprising of 5 June 1983 is seen as the beginning of the revolutionary movement (1979, 1982, etc.)—an obvious, but typical, misrepresentation of the facts. After military coups toppled monarchies, "the people" begin to be shown on the stamps (e.g. post-1952 Egypt). For the first time, social groups such as peasants and industrial workers appeared, joining soldiers, whose role as the people's vanguard was stressed (e.g. Libya 1969/nos. 284-9 and 1970/nos. 290-95 with the inscription "Ihotysa al-birz" of "our army is our protective shield"). The scarcity of pictures of other classes and occupational groups was not accidental at that time. Most of the women are shown in modern dress; whereas in conservative countries, either no females are featured, or they are shown in their traditional role, or in typical female professions, South Yemen and Libya even depicted women as factory workers (South Yemen 1975, 1979-80; in the case of the People's Republic of South Yemen this is to be seen in connection with the labour shortage and the encouragement of working women) and in military uniform (South Yemen 1971/77; Libya 1984). Turkey honoured Halide Edip (1966), Egypt the national pioneer feminists Kāsim Amin (1958) and Hūdā Sha'rawī (1973). A set of Turkish stamps on the occasion of the Twelfth International Women's Congress was issued in 1935, i.e. one year after the introduction of universal suffrage for women. Concerning the Islamic Republic of Iran, the changed orientation of the new régime becomes evident in this aspect also; women are rarely depicted, but if they are, they are veiled, marching in a crowd under a banner, portrayed in a militant way (with a rifle over the shoulder), or as the mothers of future martyrs, following the "model women" of Shi'i Islam, i.e. Fātima, the daughter of the prophet and mother of the third Imam Husayn, or Zaynab, the sister of Husayn. Despite the protests from the side of conservative religious circles, some states propagate their promotion of family planning on stamps, symbolised by a three-, mostly four-headed-family (Pakistan, 1969; Iran, 1973; Libya, 1977; Tunisia, 1976). Whereas a revolutionary ideology is shown in 'Abd al-Nāṣir's Egypt in a less explicit way, Libya after 1977 has turned to propagating the contents of the "Green Book", e.g. by quoting central statements in Arabic and English on postage stamps. Since the 1950s and 1960s, particularly, symbols of national development and progress are standard. A difference between monarchies and republics is not noticeable any more, with the exception of the Islamic Republic of Iran which stresses much less than Muhammad Riḍā Shāh achievements in the economic and social spheres (compare regular issues commemorating the reforms since the "White Revolution" in 1962). The symbols follow the Western ideals of progress: cogwheels and smokestacks, etc. stand for a modernised industry; tractors or modern irrigation works for the mechanisation of agriculture. Postage stamps' use for the promotion of independence, industrialisation, urbanisation (modern buildings and cities), industrialisation (industrial plants, e.g. steel and cement works, oil refineries), electrification and irrigation (high dams, irrigation pumps). The importance of the water problem in the Middle East is
shown by the underlining of great irrigation projects, as the Libyan one (al-nahr al-sindî “the artificial river”), illustrated as the lifework of the “revolutionary leader”, which has become one of the main subjects on stamps since 1983; Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states depict plants for the desalination of sea water (e.g. Saudi Arabia 1974, 1989). Scenes from the oil industry are illustrated on stamps from several Arab countries (“petro-philately”), and trace the Middle East’s growth as an oil-producing region. A portfolio of Arab countries’ stamps portrays almost the entire range of petroleum products and their various users; some of the most detailed oil industry stamps have been printed for Dubayy and Kuwait. Other main export articles also appear on stamps (cotton on Egyptian and Syrian stamps, jute in Kuwait. Other main export articles also appear on stamps (cotton on Egyptian and Syrian stamps, jute in Kuwait). Economic plans promise a prosperous future.

Stamps underline the interest in providing free educational and medical services; new university and school buildings are illustrated proudly, alphabetisation campaigns are propagated. Occasionally, new themes and technologies (pollution control or solar energy) are advertised philatelically (“Trâk, 1985; Tunisia, 1988).

Stamps alluding to foreign relations are related to regional as well as international ties. Demonstrations of regional solidarity (e.g. with the R.C.D./Regional Cooperation for Development between Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, existent till 1979, or the Gulf Cooperation Council) are of minor interest, if compared to the philaetelically-delineated regional tensions and border disputes which are pieces of evidence for territorial claims. Since the annexation of a part of the former Spanish Sahara in 1975, Morocco has printed annually a stamp on the occasion of the so-called “Green March”, firstly, to underline its legitimate claims on this territory, and secondly, to use this cause as a unifying national factor (compare Mauritania, the occupier of the other part of Spanish Sahara—according to an agreement with Morocco—which has only once (1976) printed a stamp showing the map of North Africa with the inscription Mauritanie reunifiée). On the other hand, Algeria (1976) demonstrates its solidarity with the “green martyrs”, which has become one of the main subjects on stamps in the earlier, and the new U.A.R. flag was frequent subjects on stamps from then onwards. Regular annual issues celebrating the anniversaries of the short-lived union followed. After the break-up (1961), only the continuing use of the name “United Arab Republic” by Egypt remained.

Nearly all Arab countries, and some Islamic ones, frequently print stamps demonstrating their solidarity with the Palestinian cause. Standard are issues showing the Dome of the Rock or al-Aksa in Jerusalem with an inscription indicating solidarity; the memorialising of massacres (e.g. the Dayr Yâsin one in 1948; Sabrâ and Şâtîlâ in 1982); and issues pointing to the refugee problem (see esp. Jordan, 1969) or the outbreak of the Intifâda and the proclamation of the Palestinian state. More militant standpoints are expressed on stamps of South Yemen, Syria, “Trâk, and Iran, Libya and the new Palestinian state. Arafat, the PLO’s chairman and the “Mobilisation of the Oppressed”, “Day of the Army”, etc.) are printed. War victims are glorified as martyrs on both sides. “Trâk accuses Iran of committing war crimes and vice-versa (1988). “Trâk even refers to the Geneva Convention on one stamp (nos. 1275-6/1995). The aggression and the formation of “Trâk’ Völkölse” bring to mind the开始了邮票的发行 (1985-15/1988), whereas Iran shows the resolution no. 598 of the UN with an interrogation mark (1989), indicating thereby its doubts concerning the durability of the agreement. The reconquest of occupied territory (“Trâk, 1988; Iran, 1985) and later, the reconstruction of destroyed areas (1989 for both countries) is celebrated.

Pan-Arabic themes became popular since the 1940s. In general, events associated with the Arab League, Arab conferences on different subjects, Arab Boy Scout Jamborees, Pan-Arab games, the Arab Postal Union, etc., are commemorated. An exception is found on stamps commemorating the unification attempts of several Arab states, e.g. the formation of the U.A.R. in 1958 was proudly marked by stamps showing an arch uniting the maps of Egypt and Syria. The eagle, a revolutionary symbol which had appeared earlier, and the new U.A.R. flag were frequent subjects on stamps from then onwards. Regular annual issues celebrating the anniversaries of the short-lived union followed. After the break-up (1961), only the continuing use of the name “United Arab Republic” by Egypt remained.

Religious loyalties are commonly expressed by printing stamps on the occasion of the beginning of the 15th century A.H., of Islamic conferences or of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Mediaeval Islamic history is referred to on stamps through monuments, personalities and events dating from that period. Still, it is noteworthy that many of the Islamic symbols are usually local mosques (apart from the Ka’ba in pilgrimage stamps and the famous mosques of Jerusalem). Mediaeval Islamic personalities are quite often native sons. Mediaeval persons who do not perturb to the country on whose stamps they appear are usually those representing the Muslim contribution to world civilisation (esp. science and technology, such

whole earth is Karbala”, all months are Muharram”. “Trâk has issued several stamps propagating “Sad-dâm’s Kadisiyya” (1981, 1985-6). Special commemorative issues on the occasion of improved Memorial Days (“The Preparation Day”, “Mobilisation of the Oppressed”, “Day of the Army”, etc.) are printed. War victims are glorified as martyrs on both sides. “Trâk accuses Iran of committing war crimes and vice-versa (1988). “Trâk even refers to the Geneva Convention on one stamp (nos. 1275-6/1995). The aggression and the formation of “Trâk’ Völkölse” bring to mind the开始了邮票的发行 (1985-15/1988), whereas Iran shows the resolution no. 598 of the UN with an interrogation mark (1989), indicating thereby its doubts concerning the durability of the agreement. The reconquest of occupied territory (“Trâk, 1988; Iran, 1985) and later, the reconstruction of destroyed areas (1989 for both countries) is celebrated.

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as Avicenna/Ibn Sinā, Averroes/Ibn Rushd, al-Fārābī, al-Kindī, Rhazes/al-Razi). Conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia, significantly enough, do not carry such persons on their stamps, preferring to depict in their stead such people as the founders of the four Islamic schools of law (in the shape of an inscription; nos. 625-28/1977). The anti-Crusader myth has been exposed by almost all Arab countries (in most cases by commemorating the battle at Ḥisān [q.v.] and the victorious Ṣāḥāb al-Dīn/Ṣalādīn). The only exception was Maronite Lebanon, which celebrates all Muslim leaders as allies. The total neglect of a country's Islamic past, as for instance in Lebanon, can also reflect the ruler's secular attitude, as was the case in pre-revolutionary Egypt. Most of the countries hesitate to exploit Islamic sentiments because of the growing fundamentalist opposition. A remarkable exception is again given by the Islamic Republic of Iran; here, stamps commemorate the calling of Muhammad to the prophethood (‘Īlād al-muḥājad, commemorated since 1982) and the birthday of the Mahdī (celebrated since 1980), which is called "The Universal Day of the Oppressed". Islamic unity is the subject of stamps issued annually on the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. Most of these feature the Holy Kaʿba surrounded by the faithful of all races. Such stamps attempt to depict Iran as a unifying force for all Muslims; they bear the message that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a leader of world-wide resurgence. Its frequent use of Kurʾānic quotations, the regime is trying to depict itself as a vanguard of the Islamic world.

Solidarity with other fundamentalist movements and the intention of exporting the revolution are reflected on Iranian stamps which honour the martyrdom of Muhammad Bākīr Ṣadr (an old friend of Khuṭaymān and a noted theologian, executed by the ‘Īrākī régime; no. 2023/1982), President Ṣāʿīdāt’s assassin (Ḵwālid al-Isāmī; no. 2029/1982), an Egyptian soldier who shot Israeli civilians (Sulaymān Ḥāṣrī; no. 2146/1986), or a leading ideologist of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers (Sayyid Ḥuṣb; no. 2078/1984). Solidarity is expressed with Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation (1985-8) and the militant Hizb Allah in Lebanon (no. 2208/1987). The intention to export the state’s ideology is also revealed on Libyan stamps since 1977. Yet before the Egyptian régime of Mūṣṭafā Ḥaqqānī and ‘Abd al-Naqīr had cheered the arrival of new converts to the left at camp; stamps marking the ‘Īrākī and Yemeni Revolutions and Algeria’s independence from France (1958, 1963, 1962) reflect a feeling of triumph and revolutionary brotherhood. Algeria showed its solidarity for Vietnam (1973), Zimbabwe and Namibia (1977). Some countries are underscoring their ties with Africa (Egypt, 1964, 1965; Mauritania, 1966, 1973, etc.) and to the non-alignement movement (e.g. Algeria, 1973).

Anti-Americanism is shown on Iranian and Libyan stamps. A series of Iranian stamps were issued to represent the hostage crisis that occurred during the Carter administration (1983, 1985, 1987); Libyan stamps condemn the USA for its aggression against Libya in 1986, representing Ḥaqqānī and the Egyptian régime of Mūṣṭafā Ḥaqqānī. In contrast to these examples, Turkey depicted its engagement in the Korean War on the side of the Western powers (nos. 1337-40/1952) and the ensuing alignment with NATO (1954, 1959, 1964, 1989). Afghanistan since 1980 printed several stamps portraying Lenin—a sign of the occupation by Russian forces at that time; stamps marking the centenary of Lenin’s birth were, however, frequently printed in other Islamic states (e.g. Egypt and Syria, 1970). Standardised international subjects have been frequently featured on stamps since the 1960s, honouring UNICEF, WHO, FAO, UNRWA, and UNESCO, as well as the parent UN itself. Other world themes have included an International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Mothers’ Day, Children’s Day, etc. A major exception is again to be found on an Iranian stamp, issued in 1983 for United Nations Day, which indicates a criticism of the five superpowers’ veto power in the Security Council and the struggle of the Islamic Republic against this unjust distribution of power. Anti-racism is interpreted as an Islamic achievement by depicting a black muʾadhhdīn, an allusion to the first muʾadhhdīn in the history of Islam [see Bīlāb b. Rābāḥ]. These international subjects are also stressed for economic reasons, for they are popular with stamp collectors around the world.

National pride and heritage is sometimes revealed on stamps which treat the subjects of sport and traditional activities. As an instance of this intention, one may mention Iranian or Libyan stamps which depict "old Iranian" or "national" sports; Afghanistan has issued several stamps with the motif of traditional mounted games; Turkey and Pakistan have displayed wrestling and hocky respectively, and the Arab states of the Gulf, falconry.


POTIPHAR [see Kitfr].

PRANG SABIL, the name in Malay of the djihad [q.v.] in the East Indian archipelago; prang = war.

The course of recent history has made it difficult for Muslims to fulfil their duties with respect to the djihad. The representatives of the ottoman empire, and the masses readily believe that arms should only be allowed to rest against the kafir so long as any success must be despised of. In a Muslim country under non-Muslim rule, as were the Netherlands East Indies under Dutch colonial rule, the teachers, however, preferred to be silent. At most they said that under the prevailing conditions there was no legal inducement to conduct the djihad, in view of the superior forces and the comparative freedom enjoyed by believers. Or, on the other hand, they expounded particularly those texts which removed the more serious feuds between Muslim and kafir to the next world. When political events, catastrophes, misfortunes of any kind resulted in disturbances, it was not at all uncommon for the Muslim population of what is now Indonesia to look at these things from a religious point of view. It may happen on such an occasion that the feeling of being bound to fight the unbeliever is aroused again. If the leaders utter the war-cry prang sabil, it finds a ready answer. It is true that according to the law, the signal for the djihad should be given by the ulama; there is now no imam; but even in the time when the Ottoman sultan was still recognised as imam, any misgivings were easily overcome if the imam remained inactive. Outside the boundaries of the territory in which the holy war is proclaimed, the silent sympath}

of the believers was with the fighters. Any forcible conversion which took place anywhere in the East Indies, was generally praised by Muslim chiefs and represented as a fulfilment of the more solid obligations of the djihad.

This practical teaching of the prang sabil was of particular importance in Atjeh [q.v.] in the last quarter of the 19th century. Circumstances were very much in its favour. The Atjehnese were a self-satisfied people, convinced of their own superiority, and also of a warlike disposition. Non-Muslims were everywhere hated or at least despised. At the same time, those individuals who had any way come under the influence of the Muslim cult were held in great honour. These qualities were, however, not in themselves sufficient to conduct a prang sabil with success against a disciplined attacking power. A military leader was necessary. There was indeed a sultan in Atjeh, but he was a negligible factor as regards the situation in the country. The chiefs, the real rulers of the land, preferred to confine themselves to their own territory; they were not fitted for co-operation. Bands of armed men ravaged the country, doing the kafir as much damage as possible, but they could raise no claim for general co-operation and assistance as they were not waging war in the way Allah had willed. The law lays down the sources from which the costs of the djihad can be met; pillage and plundering, as was the practice of these bands, could never be blessed by Allah. In addition the organisation of these bands was such that they never held together long. In these circumstances it was the ulama [also used as a singular] who took in hand the organisation of the war; among these the most prominent were the ulama of Tiro, from olden times a centre of study of sacred learning. They reproached the chiefs with their slothfulness and the people with preferring worldly advantages to heavenly rewards. Going up and down the country, they preached the doctrine of the djihad and there was no one who could openly oppose them; indeed, they represented the divine law. In order to be able to wage war, a war-chest was needed. The ulama claimed the share of the zakat set aside for Allah’s purposes; the ulama of Tiro in particular used it to train a strong force of duly converted recruits. The ulama were for a long time the soul of the war. It is, however, clear that the authority which they had gained over the secular rulers could only last so long as they were able to inspire the people to continue fighting. When the war was over, they returned to their old, still very influential position as representatives of the holy law. Various writings which, together, formed a regular war literature, proved an effective means of inspiring their warriors with enthusiasm. They were an accompanying feature of the prang sabil. ‘Ulama wrote pamphlets and epistles in which attention was called to the duty of waging the holy war; emphasis was laid on the courage and contempt for death of those who heard it.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, De Atjehers, Batavia 1893-4, i, 183 ff.; ii, 123; idem, Verspreide Geschriften, iv/2, 233 ff.; H.T. Damsté, Atjehsche oorlogspapieren, in Indische Gids, i (1912), 617 ff., 776 ff.; idem, Hikajat Prang Sabil (text and tr.), in BTLV, Ixxixii, 345 ff. (R.A. KERN)

PRÈM ÊNDAH (1880-1936), Indian writer of fiction in Urdu/Hindi, best known for his short stories,
which gained him wide recognition as a pioneer of the genre.
During his lifetime, and a hundred years previously, apart from English the official language of the British Government of India was often called Hindustani. It was usually written in Persian-style script by and for Muslims, and in Devanagari script by and for Hindus. The former type, when used as a literary language, was also referred to as Urdu (“the language of the army camp, urdu [see ordu]”) and the latter type as Hindi (formerly Hindawi). When written in the Persian script, Hindiustani was characterised considerably Arabo-Persian vocabulary. In the Devanagari script, the literary language had much vocabulary taken from Sanskrit and the Prakrit vernaculars. Even before Independence in 1947, Urdu and Hindi began to be considered distinct languages, and they were recognised as official languages in Pakistan and India (Bharat) respectively. It must, however, be noted that when we read of Prém Cand writing novels or short stories in Urdu or Hindi, and then translating them from one language to the other in subsequent editions, we should not assume that major alterations were made in translation. Changes were largely in the script used than in the actual text. Thus Prém Cand’s fiction should be regarded as a single corpus, rather than as two separate corpora from a bilingual author. He depicted social life and preached social reform in the India of his time, with its rich variety of races, classes and religions, but he dealt more with rural than urban life and more with Hindus than with Muslims.

Prém Cand was born in a village near Benares (Banaras) and named Dhanpat Rāḍē. At the start of his literary career he adopted the nom-de-plume first of Nawâb Rāḍē and then of Prém Cand. His father was a poor postal clerk, and Prém Cand’s education was somewhat haphazard, and depended increasingly on private studies and tuition. At one time he had to walk ten miles to Benares for lessons, yet in 1919 he graduated B.A. as an external student. His home and family life was not easy; he was orphaned, and had to look after the rest of the family. Before this, his father had arranged Prém Cand’s marriage at the age of 15. Some years later, Prém Cand married a second and younger wife, by whom he had a son and two daughters. He was never robust in health, and always had to work very hard for his living. He acquainted himself with earlier and contemporary Urdu fiction, ranging from the dāštān to the works of Surūr, Saraghār, “Abd al-Hallm Sharār and Mirzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā [see kīsā. 5. in Urdu]. He obviously had ambitions as a writer, especially of fiction, though he began as a dramatist at the age of 14, writing two Persian plays, both now unfortunately lost. Earning a living presented problems, and he changed his occupation several times. He started as a teacher, then as an inspector of education. He later worked for publishers, including the well-known Nawal Kashgīr in Lucknow. For a time he kept a shop. Finally, he went to Bombay as a film script writer. But he could not get on with directors and producers, and was ill at ease in the film studio environment. He returned to Benares, where he died in 1955.

He was a prolific writer. As we have seen, his juvenilia included two plays. Later in life he wrote a major historical drama, Rambhāmi (“Earthly terror”) in Hindi, the title of whose Urdu version, Karbahāl, indicates its theme from Arab-Islamic history. Prém Cand had studied Persian for eight years, and at first showed preference for the Urdu script. But despite his brilliant command of the language, he did not find favour with Urdu readers, and increasingly wrote in the Devanagari script. After his death, however, he became recognised as a master of Urdu, particularly for his short stories. He also wrote numerous magazine articles, many published in Zamāna from 1901 onwards. He championed Hindu-Muslim cooperation and social reform. Strange to say, he first won fame as a writer of novels: some short, others full-length, some published in parts, some in instalments, others as a whole, some originally in Urdu, others in Hindi. Saksena, writing presumably in about 1926, mentions several Hindi novels which he says are to be published in “Urdu translation” (op. cit. in Bibl., 344). His short novel, Arsrā-i-mahabat, appeared in 1898, and his Hindi novel Prēmā in 1904. Bāzār-i-husn (“Brothels”) described by Sadiq (op. cit. in Bibl., 346-7) as “perhaps the most satisfactory of his novels”, appeared in 1918 in two parts. It is the story of a reformed “fallen woman” who finds that the world will not forgive her. She is led astray by a wealthy prostitute, and ends up “saved” and working as head of an orphanage. An account of this and other novels will be found in Muhammad Sadiq, op. cit., 344 ff. These novels are now somewhat dated and appear to have lost some of their popularity.

It is for his short stories that he had gained lasting fame. These, numbering over 200, were published in eleven collections between 1907 and 1936, among the best known being Prēm Paccisi, Prēm Battisi and Prēm Cēlisi. Many of them deal with the misfortunes of poor village-dwellers who are “more sinned-against than sinning”. They perhaps justify Sadiq’s description of him as “an idealist ... a reformer ... and a dreamer’. Many of them are masterpieces, though Saksena’s panegyric of praise is as excessive in its way as is Sadiq’s lukewarmness. Allowance must surely be made for the taste of readers and writers for melodrama in those days. The rich harvest of Urdu and Hindi short stories in the Subcontinent during the last hundred years owes a great debt to Prém Cand. Moreover, as Sayyid Wakkār ‘Azīm says, op. cit. in Bibl., 592, Prém Cand’s fiction “paints a true picture of social and political life in the early 20th century”.

Bibliography: A detailed bibl. would contain few works in English but a good deal not only in Urdu but also in Hindi. There should be made to the bibl. in Sayyid Wakkār ‘Azīm’s art. Prém Cand, in Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam, v. Lahore 1390/1970, 590-4. For general accounts, see Muhammad Sadiq, A history of Urdu literature, London 1964, 344-55, a very perceptive and informative account, which some may find rather severe. Ram Babu Saksena, A history of Urdu literature, Allahabad 1927, 343-4, contains a little additional information and is full of enthusiasm, but was written a little too early, while Prém Cand was still alive, and is very brief. There are many editions of Prém Cand’s short stories in both Urdu and Hindi, and most anthologies of prose in both languages include examples. Among general works on Urdu fiction containing useful sections on Prém Cand, see Sha‘īsta Akhtar Bānū Suhrwardī, A critical survey of the Urdu novel and short-story, London 1945; and, in Urdu, ‘Ībādat Brīwī, Tankītā zāwūn, 1952, Karachi 1957, a detailed history of the Urdu short story.

(J.A. Haywood)

PREVEZE, PREVEZE, Greek Preveza, a coastal town in the southernmost part of Epeiros, in western Greece, situated on the upper entrance of the Ambracian Gulf opposite the ancient Cape Actium and associated with the Italian prévèze ("provisioning"), the Slavonic perevæ ("passage") and the
Albanian preveza or preveze ( = "transportation") (cf. Phourikes, Zur Etymologie von Prevesa, in Philolog. Wochenchr., xvii [1927], 509; idem, in EEBS, i, 283-93, and in Epetr. Chr., iv, 265-6; Soustal-Koder, 242). The old mediaeval settlement’s foundation (Palaeo-preveza) is associated with the destruction of the near-by Nicopolis, 6 km/4 miles north of modern Preveza, by the invasion of the Turcophone Uzex (Ouzoi) in central and southwestern Hellas (1064-5) (Chronicle of Galaxidi, ed. E. Anagnostakes, Athens 1985, 20-2, 78; cf. A. Savvides, art. Turks [in Greek], in World. Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups, ed. D. Nicol, 649, with references to the scarce fully-documented mediaeval period, the first definitive reference appears in the Greek version of the Chronicle of the Morea (ed. P. Kalaronos, Athens repr. 1989, vv. 9108, 9119; see also Italian version, ed. K. Hopf, Chroniques grec-romanes, Athens repr. 1961, 468 and French versions, ed. J. Longnon, Paris 1911, §§ 636, 649, with references to the vieile cite de la Preveza and to the latter’s harbour as port de Saint Nicolas de Tort), which is, however, connected with the new mediaeval Preveza and its despoliation in 1292 by the Genoese allies of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus, during the latter’s operations against the Epeirotes despot Nicophorus I (cf. Phourikes, in EEBS, i, 281 ff. and in Epetr. Chr., iv, 266 ff.; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, ii, 528; Soustal-Koder, 242; D. Nicol, 714; Despots of Epirus, ed. E. Anagnostakes, Cambridge 1984, 38 ff., 229 f.). The only direct reference between 1292 and the Ottoman conquest of the 15th century, associates new mediaeval Preveza with Nicopolim vetutissimam civitatem, according to the antiquarian humanist Cyriac Anconensis, who visited the Ambracian area in 1436-7 (cf. E. Ziebarth, Cyriacus of Ancona in Epetros [in Greek], in Epetr. Chr., i [1923], 111, 114; Phourikes, in Epetr. Chr., iii [1928], 141 and iv, 271-2; Soustal-Koder, 214).

The gradual Ottoman annexation was recorded by four Byzantine anonymous short chronicles (cf. Schreiner, i, 422, 548, 552, and ii, 528; Soustal-Koder, 242): no. 71/7 dates the conquest to A.M. 6986 (= A.D. 1477-8), i.e. to Mehemmed II’s reign, while nos. 58/23a and 70/39 date the first Ottoman “foundation” (Greek ktitosis, here signifying “fortification”) to A.M. 6995 (= A.D. 1486-7), i.e. to Bayezid II’s reign, while nos. 58/23b and 649, with references to the first Venetian rule (1717-18 to 1797) was terminated by a brief French rule (1797-9), which ended abruptly by the decimation of the French guard and the destruction of the town by ‘Ali Pasha Tapedelenli [q.v.] in October 1798 (Phourikes, op. cit., 280-9). The first ‘Ali Pasha period (1798-9) was followed by the third Turkish rule (1800-7), following the Turkish-Russian treaty of 1800, and the second ‘Ali Pasha rule (1807-20), connected with widespread property confiscations and terrorist involvements of Bekir Qajar of the Albanian guard, but also with an extensive plan of fortifications and building constructions, was eventually followed by the fourth and final Turkish rule (1820-1912) (Phourikes, op. cit., 289-94). The Ottoman period in Preveza ended during the First Balkan War with the entry of a revolutionary corps of Presveians in the town on 21 October 1912, following the defeat of the Turkish forces near ancient Nicopolis.


PRISHTINA (Serbo-Croat, Prizhtina), a town in Serbia, the administrative centre of the region of Kosovo. It is situated in the valley of a small river called the Prishteva (a western affluent of the Sitnica) and on the eastern fringe of the Kosovo Plain (Kosovo Polje), at the foot of the western part of the Butovac mountain, at an altitude varying (according to the different quarters of the town) between 585 m/1,918 ft. and 670 m/2,197 ft. The origin of its name is unknown. Archaeological investigations have shown that the district of the town has been inhabited since the Neolithic period (3000-2500 B.C.) and then in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The first Illyrian colonies come from the 4th century B.C. In Roman times, the place was known as an important crossroads, notably between the towns of Naisus (Nis [see nin]) and Lissum (Ljek) and Skupi (Skopje), but also as a centre for roads leading towards Bosnia and Dalmatia. In the 2nd century A.D., at about 12 km/8 miles from the modern Prishtina, the Roman town called Ulpinia (Lipljan) grew up, the centre of the province of Dar-dania. It was rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian I, and the town became "Justiniiana Secunda", but then deserted during the Slavic invasions, and the Slav peoples’ installation in these districts. In the mediaeval Serbian state, Prishtina was early known as the main town of the Kosovo region. Its rise was linked with mineral exploitation in the nearby region of Novo Brdo and Kopaonik; with the fertility of the Kosovo plain, which was always a real agricultural granary; and with its position, moreover, as the crossroads of the main communication routes in the Balkans. Soon afterwards, at the time of the first
exploitation of mineral resources in the reign of king Millutin (1282-1321), Pristina became the capital (first the royal one, then the imperial one) of the Serb-074ian state (at that time under the Nemanjić dynasty, founded by Stevan Nemanja, 1170-96). The king Stevan Dečanski (Stephen Uroš III, 1231-32) often lived there, but much more frequently, his son (king, then emperor) Stephen Uroš IV, known as “Dušan the Strong” (Dušan Silni, 1331-55). It was in his palace at Pristina that Dušan in 1352 received the Byzantine emperor Michael II. Among the numerous imperial charters that the latter had fled from Constantinople, and it was there that Dušan issued a certain number of imperial charters (e.g. that of 1351). According to the description left by Cantacuzenus, Dusan’s palace was situated in the area which is today between the Clock Tower and the Pazar mosque (Čarši-Džamija), very likely on the site of the present-day headquarters of the military garri- son. Pristina continued to be the capital under the next king, Stephen Uroš V (1355-71), and then (at a time when the capital of Serbia, in face of the Ot- tomans menace, was moved further north, first to Krusevac and then to Belgrade) it became the capital of the son-in-law of the “Tsar” (in reality of the Prince) Lazar, Vuk Branković (d. 1398), and this even after the decisive defeat of the Serbian armies by the Ottomans on the “Field of Blackbirds” (Kosovo Polje) not far from Pristina (1389). One might finally add that it was always at Pristina that the descendants of the Serbian royal family continued to reside until the end of the 15th century.

In the first half of the 15th century, corresponding to the period of the Serbian “despotate”, Pristina remained one of the main commercial and trading centres of medieval Serbia. In particular, there was an important colony of merchants from Ragusa [q. v.], who also operated a sophisticated banking system, linked on one hand to the customs duties and on the other to the possibilities of cash loans granted to mer- chants and local business men and to various passing Ragusan emissaries. Thus it is known that the “despot” Djuradj (George) Branković granted to the Ragusans of Pristina the customs rights in 1411 and 1415. It was also within the framework of this grant that the revenues for refining the silver ore extracted from the nearby silver mines of Novo Brdo (see Trepča) functioned, and at Pristina that the famous knightly tournaments took place, in which not only local people from the town and its neighbourhood took part but also people coming from a distance, such as the citizens and nobility of Ragusa.

The Ottoman advance was felt more and more, through the numerous raids which made the roads less safe and to a large extent injured trade. On the fall of the Serbian “despotate” in 1459, the Ottomans in- stalled as their representative in Pristina Iskak_Bey of Skopje, son of Ishak Bey [see Bosna. 2. (a), at vol. I, 1263a], and a Turkish kadı is mentioned in the town from 1448. Pristina became definitively Ottoman in 1455. The palace of the Serbian kings was destroyed at a time when the first Ottoman buildings appeared, some of which, however, had been already built at the time when the Ottoman conquest was notable in the case of the “Pazar mosque” (situated in the eastern part of the main market of the town), founded by Murād II (824-55/1421-51) and completed by Mehmed Fātih (855-86/1451-81). The latter also had a further mosque built in Pristina bearing his own name. Finally, it may be mentioned that not far from the town was constructed the türbe of Murād I, killed during the battle of Kosovo Polje in 791/1389 [see Kosovo].

Under the Ottomans, Pristina (now only the cen- tre of a nāhije) lost its political and administrative impor- tance to the town of Vučitrn, the centre of the janṣūb before 1462. Pristina remained nevertheless an important economic centre, thanks mainly to the Ragusan colony and to the permanent consulate there of Ragusa; to the proximity of rich mining centres (lead and zinc); and to the numerous trading establishments filled with goods of all kinds handled by the Ragusan and Italian merchants (e.g. those from Verona, Genoa, Mantua and Florence). The 16th century saw the fall of the famous free city of Skoplje, son of Ishak Bey [see BOSNA. 2. (a), at vol. I, 1271], and the Ottoman authorities naturally helped as far as possible (see S. Skendi, The Albanian national awakening 1878-1912, Princeton 1967, 7).

Pristina declined greatly in the course of the 18th century, firstly because of a fresh epidemic of plague in 1707, and then because of a new Austro-Turkish War (that of 1737) and its consequences. From that time, profiting from the growing anarchy in the Euro- pean lands of the Ottoman empire (an anarchy which made the Ragusan colony and foreign merchants leave), Pristina and its district fell under the control of an Albanian Muslim family, the Gjinolli (in Alban- nian, Gjinollëve, in Serbo-Croat Đinichi), a domina- tion which lasted, in the shape of an hereditary pashalik, for about a century. Towards the end of this century, the town was fortified by means of solid pallisades and had around 7,000 inhabitants; at this time it was the seat of a pasha.

There is naturally a lot to say about Pristina in the
PRISHTINA — PRIZREN

19th century. In 1812, France opened a consulate there, followed soon afterwards by other powers, including (in 1899) the kingdom of Serbia. In ca. 1836, the town had a population of about 9,000 (the figures cited in the course of this century vary between 9,000 to 12,000), and it was often described as “a small town fortified by a double wall, and rather dirty in appearance”. But it was also mentioned as an important trading centre “between Sarajevo and Istanbul”, where two fairs were held annually (in April and in September), frequented by merchants “emerging from the Nish, Skadar, Edina and Salonica”. After the two great fires of 1859 and 1863, which seriously damaged the town, there was only one fair annually held in the second half of May and lasting for two weeks, frequented by traders “from Sarajevo, Skadar, Peć and Prizren” (“within a much more restricted radius). Despite a famed body of local artisans, the town’s economy continued to decline, especially as the “local Turks” (in reality, more Muslim Albanians than Turks proper) in 1875 prevented the line of the railway coming through the town, thus cutting Prizhina off from its commercial relations with Skadar and Sarajevo. At that time, afterwards “hardly anything except sheep and goat skins” were exported from it. However, in 1877 Prizhina became the seat of the newly-created wilayet of Kosovo, plan of that of Prizren, but not for long, since a dozen years later, in 1888, the seat of the province was transferred to Üsküb/Skopje, and Prizhina became once more a mere palanka. During this short period (1877-88) there appeared at Prizhina five S'ilalmeci wilayet-i Kosova (in 1878-9, 1882-3, 1884-5, 1886-7 and 1887-8), forming an interesting historical source which has not yet been sufficiently utilised. During the period between Serbian-Turkish Wars of 1876-8 and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, the more or less continuous terror perpetrated by the local Albanian governors (often in open or latent conflict with the Ottoman central government) on the local Orthodox Serbian population of the town reached heights of savagery. In ca. 1910 Prizhina had (according to J. Cvijić) “about 4,000 houses, Albanian, Serb, Jewish, Gypsy and Cerkes, including 3,200 of Muslims, 531 of Orthodox Christians and 65 of Jews”.

The town was liberated by the Serbian army of 1912. From this time onwards there began an exodus of the local Muslim population which continued all through the First World War and even after it. In 1913 the town had 18,174 inhabitants. In 1915, Prizhina was occupied by the Bulgarian army, then again liberated by the Serbian one in 1916. From then till 1941, it formed part of the “Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes” and then of the “Kingdom of Yugoslavia”. During 1941-4 it was incorporated (with the entire region of Kosovo and of Metohija) into a Fascist “Greater Albanian”, at that time under Italian and then German domination.

After the end of the Second World War, it formed part of the “People’s Federal Republic of Yugoslavia” as the main town of the “Autonomous Region Kosovo” (with Prizren as seat, “of Kosovo”). As the cultural and political centre of the Albanian minority in Communist Yugoslavia, during this latter period it played a preponderant role in the more or less clandestine (but in fact upheld in a perfectly obvious fashion by the Titosist authorities) action aimed at making the non-Albanian population of the region (Serb, Montenegro and Turkish) flee by terror and intimidation or simply by demographic pressure, an action marked by various abrupt changes of policy, but one in the end successful. As a result, the Albanian population (which is 95% Muslim and 5% Catholic) now forms more than 90% of the total population of Kosovo and Metohija. Prizhina is now the seat of the official “Muslim community of Serbia” and of a madrasa (of lower rank in relation to that of Sarajevo), the “Alaudin medresa”, where instruction is given in the Albanian language. The Albanian Muslim religious journal called Edukata Islame (which is generally considered as a version, meant for the Albanian population of the region, of the official Yugoslav Muslim journal, Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starjesinства of Sarajevo) appears there and also a Muslim annual in Albanian called Takvim.

Bibliography: V. Radovanović, art. Prizhina, in Narodna Enciklopedija, Zagreb 1928; O. Savić, art. Prizhina, in Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, Zagreb 1965, vi, 519-20; Kosovo nekad i danas/Kosovo diktur e sot (a collective work published in Serbo-Croat and Albanian), Belgrade 1973, 853 ff.; Istoriya srpskog naroda (collective work, still in course of appearance), i-iv, Belgrade 1981-6, see index. (A. POPOVIĆ)

PRIZREN (in Ottoman Turkish orthography, Perzerin), the second largest city of the former Yugoslav autonomous district of Kosovo-Metohija with about 40,000 inhabitants, the greater part of which are Albanian-speaking Muslims, the remainder Orthodox Serbians, Muslim Turks, Orthodox Vlachs, Roman Catholic Albanians and some Gypsies. Prizren is the only trilingual city of the Balkans. Until the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, Albanian, Serbian and Turkish were fully recognised, with newspapers and periodical published in all three languages and trilingual street name plaques. Till today, Prizren preserved its Ottoman physiognomy of the 19th century better than any other city of the Balkans, entire districts being placed under protection of the law on monuments of culture.

In Ottoman times (1455-1912), Prizren was one of the largest cities of the Balkans interior and was an Islamic centre of considerable importance, possessing dozens of mosques and baths, a number of madrases and dervish convents of no less than seven different orders (among which is the Asitane of the Karabasijev branch of the Kudvetiyye) and a library with a number of Islamic manuscripts. Prizren was the centre of a sanghat throughout the Ottoman period, and a number of important poets and writers of Ottoman literature lived and worked in this city.

Prizren is situated at the southern edge of the fertile plain of Metohija, at the place where the small river Bistritsa (a tributary of the Beli Drim) comes out of the picturesque Dunvskia Klisura (gorge). The town is partly built on the northern slopes of the Shar Mountains, beneath the ruins of a huge mediaeval and Ottoman citadel, and partly in the plain. Prizren is situated 55 km/34 miles north-west of Üsküb/Skopje and 125 km/77 miles east of the important northern Albanian city of Iksandere/Shkodër, with which it is linked by a good road over a pass through the Albanian mountains, one since 1912 largely disused, however. According to C. Jireček and those following him, the present town is in the place of the Alto-Ottoman village of Theranda; but extensive archaeological research in the present town has found nothing older than the Middle Byzantine period. The town is first mentioned in 1019 as the seat of an Orthodox bishop. It seems that between 1169-90, as a result of the Serbo-Byzantine wars, the town was in Serbian hands. In this last-mentioned year it became again Byzantine, and in 1204 it was included in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the mid-13th century, when the Bulgarian
The stability of the internal situation in the 16th century can be seen from the size of the garrison of the castle of Prizren; in 1530 and 1550 it contained only 2-4 hundred metres to the north of the castle. The Defter mentions: Mesjid-i Sultan Mehmed Khan, Mesjid-i Katib Sinan and the Mosque of Sultan Mehmed had no wakf of its own but was financed from the poll-tax of the district of Prizren, a rather common procedure for sultanic mosques in the Balkans (cf. Mal. müd. 5625, p. 17).

In the course of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the town did not grow very much, but gained slowly a predominantly Islamic character, due to the slow conversion of the local population (1570: 13% converts) and through the erection of a large number of Muslim buildings. This process of change can be followed with help of the three tabrîz defters available, some poll-tax registers and a müfassal 'awdred defter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of registration</th>
<th>Muslim households</th>
<th>Christian households</th>
<th>Muslim mahalles</th>
<th>Christian mahalles</th>
<th>Approximate total population</th>
<th>Percentage of Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The town, which still exists today, and had the road from the Albanian ports of Lezhë and Shkodër secured by the construction of 17 caravanserais. In the town, he built 117 shops providing revenue for his foundations. Another indicator to the growing commercial impor-
tance of the town is the presence of 80 shops belonging to the wakf of Ewrenos-oghlu Ahmed Bey (died 1506) and a hamam, providing revenue for his foundations in Yenidje-yi Varдар in (Greek) Macedonia. In 1570 the number of shops had grown to 95. In 1573 the sanjak bey of Iskenderiye/Shkoder, Mehmed Pasha, had a large domed mosque erected in Prizren, which later became known as the Bayrakli Djamati. This foundation included a medrese, a mekteb, a large double bath, a library and a turbe for the founder. All these buildings still exist today, the mosque and the hamam largely in original shape. The library contains a large number of manuscripts, on religion, medicine, mathematics and history. The Grand Vizier Yemen Fâtihi Sinân Pasha was to add books to this library in 1589. The medrese of Mehmed Pasha functioned till 1947. In 1022/1613, the vizier Şo faith Sinân Pasha, a native Albanian from the Prizren area, erected the largest mosque in the town, whose huge dome became one of the architectural dominant features of the town. A medrese once belonged to it. For the construction of the mosque, the stones of the by now deserted Monastery of the H. Archangels were used, and these are clearly visible at the structure. In the literature, Sinan Pasha is often confused with Yemen Fâtihi Sinân Pasha, who originated from the same district (Lume belonging to Prizren), as did Şo faith Sinân, who was governor of Buda, Bosnia and finally of Dalmatia. He died around 1613. His Prizren mosque belongs to the largest and most monumental ones of the entire Balkans. The expansion of Islamic life in the town can best be shown in a table, based on the surveys of the waqfs as indicated in the tahrir:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1520</th>
<th>1550</th>
<th>1573</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mosque</td>
<td>1 mosque</td>
<td>4 mosques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mekteb</td>
<td>7 mekteb</td>
<td>13 mekteb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hamam</td>
<td>1 hamam</td>
<td>2 hamams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 medrese</td>
<td>1 medrese</td>
<td>1 library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1606 and 1614 Prizren is described enthusiastically in the reports of the visiting Catholic bishops Mario Bizi and Pietro Masarechi, who praised the beauty of the houses, all having courtyards and fountains and a multitude of green and trees. Bizi maintains that Prizren contained 8,600 houses, of which only 30 were Roman Catholic, having their own church. There were many schismatic kilises (Orthodox), with two churches of their own. It is interesting to remark that the bishop maintains that 'in this part of Serbia the inhabitants speak Albanian'; a remark also made by Masarechi as pertaining to the town itself. For the villages, the presence of Albanians is confirmed by the Ottoman tahrir. In Serbian historiography, the Albanisation and Islamisation of Kosovo has to be seen as a result of the mass emigration of the Serbs after the Christian revolts and the Ottoman conquest of the region. The Ottoman conquests of 1377 led to a repopulation of these events. After these disturbances a certain Sâlih Agha from the village of Nenkovac near Prizren, who had exerted himself in the expulsion of the Austrians, repaired many mosques and schools in Prizren and reorganised normal life in the district, for which he received the title of Paşa. Sâlih Paşa is the founder of the hereditary dynasty of the (Albanian) Paşas of the Rotulla family, which was to rule Prizren till well into the 19th century. Sâlih was succeeded by his son Emr Allâh Paşa. The son of the latter, Tâhir Paşa, fought against Kara Mahmûd Bughâšî, the powerful Albanian derebey [q.v.] of Shkoder, who occupied Prizren in 1795 and drove Tâhir Paşa away. In 1805 Saîd Paşa, son of Tâhir, became sanjak bey of Prizren. In 1806 he fought against the rebellious Serbs, a fact memorialised in numerous folksongs. From 1809 till 1836 Prizren was governed by Mahmûd Paşa, the most important of the Rotulla dynasty. In 1809 he helped to destroy the Serbian insurgents near Niš [see Niš] and subsequently conquered Semendere/Smederevo and Belgrade. As symbols of his victory, he took the bells of the clock towers of Smederevo with him and placed them in three new clock towers which he constructed in the citadel of Prizren and in the large villages of Orlovicava and Mamula. In 1821 Mahmûd Paşa participated in the suppression of the Greek Revolt. He is especially known for the large mosque, the medrese and the mekteb he had erected in Prizren. Mahmûd Paşa also rebuilt the mosque in the Prizren castle and repaired the great hamâm of Mehmed Paşa and the Mosque of Hajdži Kasîm, which is already mentioned in the waqfiyye of Kukli Mehmed Bey from 1537-8. In 1831 Mahmûd Paşa sided with the rebellious Albanian vezir Muştafa Bughâšî but was beaten by the forces of Reşid Paşa. He was finally removed in 1836, banished to Anatolia and executed there. His brother Emin Paşa Rotulla succeeded him and remained in charge till his death in 1259/1843. In 1247/1831, Emin Paşa constructed the last great mosque of Prizren and the fourth and last medrese of the city. The mosque still stands, a large domed structure which is visibly inspired by the 200 years' earlier mosque of Şo faith Sinân Paşa. Emin Paşa had only one child, his daughter Umm Kulhüm, which is the reason that the rule of the Rotulla paşas over Prizren ended. In 1327/1909, Umm Kulhüm, then living in the Istanbul suburb of Üsküdar, drew up her waqfiyye for the mekteb she had founded in Prizren.

In 1843, within the framework of the reorganisation of the eyles, Prizren became the capital, instead of Üskûp/Skopje, of a large administrative unit. This had a positive effect on the population of the town, which grew rapidly. In 1865 the experienced traveler Johann Georg von Hahn called "Prisrend" the "largest city of Albani", bigger than Yenişehr/Larissa, Yannina or Shkodër, and probably even bigger than Monastir. According to the statement of the Austrian consular agent Dr. von Petelenz, who lived many years in the city, there were 11,540
houses, of which 8,400 were Muslim, 3,000 Orthodox and 150 Catholic. In them lived 46,000 inhabitants, according to the same source, Prizren had 26 mosques, two Orthodox churches and one Catholic church, as well as 17 tekbiets for boys and nine for girls, one Rüüdıyye school, and a school for the Orthodox and Catholic communities each. At this time, Prizren was the arms factory of the Balkans, producing swords, all sorts of rifles and pistols as well as excellent saddlery leather and a large textile production; silversmiths were especially famous. The population was Turkish, Albanian, Bulgarian/Serbian and Vlach, and most people spoke all these languages because they lived mixed together and not in segregated mahalles, a situation which can be seen as early as 1643 in the atıverdi defter of that year. From 1688 till 1744, Prizren was the capital of the wilayet of Perzër. In 1288/1781, a bilingual Turkish-Serbian weekly Prizren started its existence.

In 1744, however, the large wilayet was split up into several different units, apparently to counteract the too strong Albanian influence. After this date, the expansion of the city began to stagnate, especially when the new railway from Selanik/Thessaloniki to Kosovo caused a change in the trade network and left Prizren largely outside it. From 1878 till 1881, the Albanian nationalist movement called the "League of Prizren" noted in the sources as the movement of Ahmed Pasha in Prizren, trying to keep to the "Four Albanian orders" (Shkoder, Kosovo, Manastir and Yanya) together and to prevent Serbian and Greek annexation, attempts which ultimately failed.

In October 1912, during the First Balkan War, the Serbian army under General Jankovic took Prizren, which was accompanied by a massacre of the Muslim population, according to contemporary press reports amounting to 12,000 victims. After the conquest, the city had been at its height in the 19th century. Neglect and poverty, however, saved it from ugly modernisations. After World War II, the city remained smaller than it was in 1912, having only 28,056 inhabitants. Even after the settlement of some refugees from the greater part of the building, its three-domed porch was not of all of the former Yugoslav territories.

In the 16th century Prizren was, in the words of the biographer and prolific writer Čaghi Celebi [g.v.], himself a native of Prizren (born 1518 or 1520, died in Uskübi/ Skopje 979/1541), a "fountain of poets". Besides Süzi Celebi, Nehrâi and Čaghi himself, there lived the poet Mu'min and the mystical poet Sem'i Behrî, who wrote Karamînî, a wakfiyye in the name of Tekke of Mu'min in Prizren. It was read at the mosque of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in Prizren, causing a change in the trade network and left Prizren.

After the War, extensive works of restoration and conservation were carried out on the Christian as well as Serbian, Bulgarian and Vlach, and most people spoke all these languages because they lived mixed together and not in segregated mahalles, a situation which can be seen as early as 1643 in the atıverdi defter of that year. From 1688 till 1744, Prizren was the capital of the wilayet of Perzër. In 1288/1781, a bilingual Turkish-Serbian weekly Prizren started its existence.

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P’u and his family were devout Muslims, sponsoring Muslim communities in Fu-kien, donating money to repair Ch’uán-chou city wall and wofâ/land for Muslim cemeteries. P’u’s son donated money for the reconstruction of the city’s Ch’ing-chin-ssu mosque. Ch’uán-chou became the biggest trade port and important centre for Muslim missionaries and travellers to China. During the Ming period (1368-1644), however, its significance declined and P’u’s descendants were banned from civil posts by the Ming rulers on account of his previous disloyalty to the Ming. One, however, distinguished himself as a scholar during the Manchu-Ch’ing period (1644-1911). P’u Sung-ling’s Lia-Chai Chih-i ("Strange tales from a Make-Up Studio") shows Central Asian characters and reflects many Islamic traditions.


P’u, now officially Pône, conventional European rendering Poona, a city of South India located in a District with the same name, on the Dakhan plateau, at 18° 31’ N. latitude and 73° 51’ E. longitude. The Pône district is first mentioned in Rashtrakuta inscriptions of the 2nd/8th century as Punya Vignaya and Punaka, which had “a thousand villages.” The town was a hamlet of about fifteen huts in 613 A.D.

There are no historical records concerning Pône from the 5th/11th to the 8th/14th centuries. During the reign of Ala al-Din Khâlid [see KHALJD], the Sultan of Dîhil from 696/1296 to 716/1316, Pône came under Muslim control. Hindu temples were now converted into dargâhs, the town became a Muslim kasaba and a military base surrounded by a mud-wall. Within the wall there were the Muslim army and a few villagers, outside were the Hindu cultivators, traders, village officials, and brahmans. Pône commanded the communications to its immediate hinterland, the Mâval Hills, but was not situated along any of the major trade routes of the Dakhan. The kasaba was subsequently included in the Bahmani Sultanate [see BAHMANI], from the 15th/16th century onwards, and in the Nizâm Shâhi Sultanate [see Nizâm SHâH] in the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, both Dakhan-based Muslim powers, which did not, however, make Pône their capital. The Russian traveller Nikitin mentions Dìnnar, not Pône, as the main town, while travelling through the area in the late days of the Bahmani Sultanate.

In 1004/1595 the kasaba of Pône, with its surrounding district, was part of a dājî [see DÅJÎ] conferred by the
Mosque of Mehmed Pasha (Bayraklı Djami), 980-1/1573. (Photo: M. Kiel)
Mosque of Şofu Sinān Paşa, 1023/1614-5. The date is given as chronogramme, written on the mihrab: mithâl-i djennet (= 1023).
Kadiriyye Tekke, founded 1066/1655. Site with the tombs of the eleven Shaykhs since the foundation, all direct descendants of the founder Shaykh Hasan (illustrated by Cehajic, Derviski Redov). Photo: M. Kiel.
Mosque of Emīn Pasha Rotulla, interior view, 1247/1831-2. (Photo: M. Kiel)
PUNA — PUR-I BAHĀ’

Niẓām Shāhī government on the ancestors of the future Marāṭhā king Śivādji. The town was destroyed severely in 1060/1650 when it was capturred and burnt by the Ḥāṣūl Shāhī army. About 1074/1667 Śivādji’s father first made his residence in the town of Pūna, which started to increase substantially in size. Śivādji, however, spent most of his time at Śatara, in his hill-forts, or campaigning. Pūna changed hands between the Mughals and the Marāṭhās [q. v.] before it came into the possession of the Pēẖāwās [q. v.] early in the 12th/18th century. Due to the Mughal presence, the number of mosques increased, as did the Muslim population of the town. Khaḍī Khān speaks of Pūna in the time of Awrangzēb as “situated in a treeless plain.” By 1133/1720, the old kaşaba may have had a total population of 20,000 to 30,000. By 1164/1750, Pūna had officially been acknowledged as the Marāṭhā capital, and, as the residence of the Pēẖāwās, expanded dramatically, while “a million mango trees” were planted in and around the town. The Pēẖāwās built the Shānwar Palace, the most magnificent building of Pūna, which was, however, destroyed by fire in 1243/1827. Numerous temples were erected, especially on Paravī hill, to the south-west of the city. From about 1143/1730 to 1234/1818, Pūna was the city of the Pēẖāwās, a bureaucratic-military capital with a largely Citpavān-brahman constituency. It did not have the economic base of such Muslim cities as Agra, Dihlī, Lahore, or Murghābād, nor did it have the commercial promise of the new British cities of Madras, Bombay or Calcutta. Pūna had a peculiarly brahman character, and, for the most part, was a creation of the Pēẖāwās, who transformed it into a city of 150,000. Muslims were only a small community in 12th/18th-century Pūna, and many of them were converts from the Hindu population of the period before the rise of Śivādji. But both Shī'a and Sunnī groups were represented. Later in the same century, Mu'mins and Bohorās [q. v.] came to the city to trade, and there were also a small number of Sūdīs, descendants of African Muslims, and mercenaries in the city of 1225/1810 there were in Pūna 412 Hindu temples and 10 Muslim shrines or mosques. The Pēẖāwās generosity towards Muslim shrines in Pūna (as elsewhere) is never doubted. In 1143/1730, Pūna was much influenced by Indo-Muslim culture. The Pēẖāwās, for instance, affected a semi-Mughal style of dress for formal occasions.

In 1233/1817 Pūna was occupied by the British, and British troops remained in Pūna until 1368/1948, in a separate cantonment. The population increased again, to 276,000 in 1360/1941. In the post-Independence period, Pūna became an industrialised city of over 800,000 in 1391/1971, and over 1,500,000 in the 1400s/1980s. The percentage of Muslims in the city has, from the mid-12th/18th century onwards, never been more than ten, and is less now. But the city of over 800,000 in 1391/1971, and over 1,500,000 in a separate cantonment. The population increased, as did the Muslim population of the town.

3 Pur-i Bahā’ was the madadān of several high officials, who all belong to the reign of the Ikhān Abaka (1265-82 [q. v.]). While living in Khurāsān he praised ʿIlī al-Dīn Tāhīr al-Fāryūmādī (d. ca. 668/1270) and his son Wadjīd al-Dīn Zanjī (executed in 685/1287) who both were appointed wazzīr-nābī of that province, the former in 1265, the latter in 1270 and again in 1282. Another prominent maddādān was Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672/1274 [q. v.]). When Pur-i Bahā’ left his native province he lived in Tabriz, Isfahān and Baghādād where he became the panegyrist of several members of the Qiwānī family: Shams al-Dīn al-sāḥib diwān (executed 1284), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malīk, the famous historian and governor of Baghādād (d. 1283 [q. v.]) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn, the governor of Isfahān (d. 1279). Nothing is known of his fate after the death of these patrons, a fact which must also have affected his life in Madrās, Bombay or Calcutta.

Hamd Allāḥ Mustawāfī Kāzwīnī (d. after 740/1340-41) confirms in his Taṣbīḥ-i gusūla that Pur-i Bahā’ s diwān was well-known. Verses of Pur-i Bahā’ are quoted in anthologies, biographical or historical works. By far the most comprehensive collection of his poems is to be found in a comparatively late manuscript dated 1029/1619-20, written for the Kuttbhāshās [q. v.] of Haydarābād in South India, and entitled Kitāb-i Pur-i Bahā’; but as it does not contain all the verses cited in other sources it can hardly represent his complete diwān.

This manuscript comprises 41 kašīda, 13 muktaṣīāt, 1 tarkīb-band, 1 maḥnaws called Kān-nāma-yi auḵāf, 2 ghazals and 73 rubāʾiyāt, altogether totalling 25,216 verses. With the exception of the rubāʾiyāt, his poetry is devoted to panegyrics (madḥ), satire (ḥādgī) or quite often a mixture of both. The mùiḏ̄ānī, Saḥīḥ and Baha were his favourite poets and admired models.

Pur-i Bahā’ shows a predilection for complicated metres and rare words. He makes frequent use of financial and administrative technical terms, and is famous for his macaronic pieces that mix Persian with Sanskrit words. He makes frequent use of metaphors and obscure words; this may have been a predilection for complicated metres and rare words. Pur-i Bahā’ indulges in pornographic images and obscene words; this may have been the true motive for the copying of his poems for the Kuttbhāshās [q. v.], who all belong to the reign of the Ikhān Abaka (1265-82 [q. v.]).}

2. Editions and translations: Browne, LHP, iii, 111-15; Dibghudâ, Lughat-i-nawâ, s.v. Pur-i Bahâ; V. Minorsky, Pur-i Bahâ’s ‘Mongol Ode’, in BSOAS, xviii (1956), 261-78 (also in Arabic, twenty articles by V. Minorsky, Tehran 1964, 274-91); idem, Pur-i Bahâ and his poems, in Chrestomathia orientalis (Festschrift for Jan Rybka), Prague 1956, 186-201 (also in Arabic, twenty articles, 292-305); Iraj Afshâr, Kâr-nâma-yi akses, Aflah-i Tâdż-al-Dîn Nâsâ‘î, in Farhang-i Iran-zamin, viii (1339/1959), 5-22, based on a 17th/13th century manuscript, wrongly ascribed to a certain Tâdż-al-Dîn Nâsâ‘î, who is only a protagonist of that satire. This edition of the Kâr-nâma-yi akses was compared to its more comprehensive version in the Kitâb-i Pur-i Bahâ, re-ed. with German tr. Birgitt Hoffmann, Von falschen Asketen und «unfrommen» Stiftungen, in Proceedings of the first European Conference of Iranian Studies, in Turin, 7-11 September 1987, Part 2, 409-85.


Pûr-i Dâwûd, Ibrahîm, Persian scholar, poet and patriot, born in 1886/1264 at Rashq [q. v.], the son of a merchant-landowner of Sayyid descent. From boyhood he delighted in poetry, and himself became an acclaimed romantic and patriotic poet (Browne, p. XVIII; Rypka, 376). As a student in Tehran in 1906 he witnessed the struggle for constitutional reform, which affected him deeply. He studied law briefly in Paris, but abandoned it for ancient Iranian studies, which he pursued in France and Germany for a number of years. In 1924 the Pârsîs [q. v.] invited him to translate Zoroaster’s Gûhûs into modern Persian. He accordingly spent some time in India, where this translation was published in 1927, to be followed by renderings of the Avestan Yâls (1931), Khordâ Avesta (1932) and Yama (1934) (Tarapore, 14, 19-22, 34-6). His great aim was both to serve Iranian Zoroastrians and enlighten Iranian Muslims about their cultural heritage. In 1938 he became professor of Avestan, Pahlavi and ancient Iranian history at Tehran University, publishing thereafter other scholarly works on Iranian religion, history and folklore, as well as poems. He died in 1347/1968. Bibliography: E.G. Browne, The press and poetry of modern Persia, Cambridge 1914; J. Rybka, et alii, History of Iranian literature, Dordrecht 1968, 385; J.C. Tarapore, in Professor Poure Davoud memorial volume, ii, Bombay 1951, 1-48. Further sources in his obituary, in Rahnâmâ-yi Kitâb xii/8 (1347/1968), 486. (M. BOYCE)

Pûshûtûnîstân [see Pûshhtûnîstân].

Pûst (p.), skin, Turkish pûst or pûsât, a tanned sheepskin, used as the ceremonial seat or throne of a pûr or shaykh of a dervish order. The head, sides and foot had mystical significances ascribed to them. It corresponds to the Arabic bâb. According to Ewlyā Ėlebî, in Ewlyā Ėlebî, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, i, 495, the murîd, after passing the test by the pûr, is called gâhîb pûst. On ceremonial occasions amongst the Bektâshî order, the head or conical was said to have been set out with twelve pûsts of white sheepskin in remembrance of the twelve Imâmîs or standing symbolically for twelve great figures in Bektâshî history, but in the last days of the order’s open existence in Turkey (i.e. before 1925; see Bektâshîyya), the number of special pûsts was restricted to not more than four, in the experience of Birge (see Bibli.).


Pûst-nêsîn (p.), lit. “the one sitting on the [sheep’s] skin”, the title given to the baba or head of a dervish tekke in Persian and Ottoman Turkish Şiûf practice, e.g. amongst the Bektâshîs [see Bektâshîyya].


Pûwâsà [see Suppl.].

RÂ the tenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed as /r/, and with a numerical value of 200, according to the eastern letter order [see Add].

Definition. Vibrant, apical, alveolar and voiced. This trilled consonant is produced by a series of movements of the tongue produced a little behind the gums of the incisors. Sibawayh calls the consonant /r/ “hard” (shadda) and “repeated” (muqam), because of the repetition (akata) of the tongue’s movement during the sound’s production. For al-Khallî, the /r/ is a “pointed” (dawâlak) consonant because it is produced with the tip (dawâlak) of the tongue. In phonology, the phoneme /r/ is defined by the oppositions /r-\, r, r-\n/ and r - gh; the phoneme /r/ is thus non-lateral, non-nasal and anterior.

Velarisation (tafkhîm). As well as the simple realisation of /r/, the grammarians describe an emphatic realisation /r/ brought about by the phonetic surroundings. The /r/ is velarised (mu والف) when it is followed by the vowel /a/ or the vowel /â/, or by one of the seven “high” (mu’tâsima) consonants: /q/, /l/, /l, /f/, /k/ and /gh/, itself followed by /l/ or /ul/; contrariwise, the /r/ is not velarised if it is followed by the vowel /i/ or the semi-vowel /y/. This emphatic realisation is a combinatorial variant of the same phoneme, and has only a phonetic, extra-phonological value. One of the properties of the emphatic /r/ is to prevent, through its proximity, the inclination (imda) of the vowel /a/ towards /i/. The opposition of non-emphatic /r/ and emphatic /r/ exists also in Arabic dialects. In most eastern dialects, the opposition remains purely phonetic, with no distinctive character,
and the causes producing emphasisation are the same as those in literary Arabic; but in certain eastern dialects and in the western ones, the opposition of the two forms of /t/ has a distinctive value, and one can speak of two phonemes, non-emphatic /t/ and emphatic /ṭ/.

Asstimilation (iddīmāt). Because of its specific character, the trilling or repetition (takrīr) which accompanies its emission, Sibawayh considers that /ṭ/ cannot be assimilated (mudhāmāt) to another consonant, since it would lose its character; however, the assimilations of /ṭ-ṭ/ into /t-ṭ/ are found amongst certain "readers" (kurvā) of the Kurān.

In modern Arabic dialects, /ṭ/ undergoes very few conditioned alterations and is subject to only one non-conditioned alteration; in certain sedentary dialects, both eastern and western, the /ṭ/ may be realised as a voiced velar spirant /ṭā/. Bibliography: Sibawayh, al-Kitāb, ed. Dechenbourg, Paris 1869, ii, 238-73, 434; al-Khaṭīb, A. al-Jan, ed. Darvīsh, Baghdad 1967, 55, 67; Ibn Ya'qūb, Sharh al-Muṣafār, ed. Cairo, i, 61-2, x, 143; Aṣāraʾ, Sharh al-Shafāya, ed. Cairo, iii, 20-3, 264; J. Cantineau, Études de linguistique arabe, Paris 1960, 48-50, 172, 200; H. Fleisch, Traité de philologie arabe, Beirut 1961, i, 57-61, 87-8; A. al-Rämī, Études de phonologie et de morphologie de la langue arabe, Aix-Marseille 1983, i, 52, 70-2, 217, 259-60.

(G. Trémau)

Rāb (A., pl. rābaʾ) originally means home, domicile, home town or home country; the verb rābaʾ means "to dwell". In the context of Cairene architecture, it designates a type of urban dwelling which is a rental multi-unit building founded for investment. It can also refer to the living quarters belonging to a rab's class and other wealthy investors who made them into precious sites or a row of shops or store-rooms or above any type of commercial structure. The Rab complexes are designated by the term tabaka (pl. tibdīk); larger apartments are referred to as rīwāʾ or kāʾa. The tabaka was a kind of duplex with a vestibule (dihiliz), a recess for water jars, a latrine and a main room consisting of a slightly raised ṭawād and a dārkāa. An inner staircase led up to a mezzanine (mustakara) used for sleeping. Each unit had its own enclosed private roof. A tabaka may also be a triplex with an additional room above the mezzanine.

The rāb was often built on the second floor above a row of shops or store-rooms or above any type of caravanserai like a waṣṣāla, a khān, a funduk or a kaysarīya. In the first case it was built along the street. If it was associated with a commercial structure, it was adapted to its layout, i.e. it was built around a courtyard. As the basic study of L. Ali Ibrahim demonstrates (see Bibl.), the windows of the living units, as a rule, overlooked the street whenever they could be located on the street side, which contradicts the wide-spread conception that residential architecture in Egypt is introverted. Each rāb was served by an independent staircase which was reached through a separate entrance from the street. The staircase led to a gallery leading to the living units. There were also rāb's built independently without commercial structures, with living units also on the ground floor. Since the 9th/10th century the rāb type of housing was adopted to serve as living quarters for the community of the khānqāh and madrasas instead of the traditional cells. Such rāb's were built by Sultan Barsbay and Amir Kurkmās at their respective religious-funerary complexes in the cemetery. A different kind of rāb was the rāb al-zaytī mentioned by Makrīzī (Khīṭat, ii, 78). Located in the green outskirts of Cairo, along the Nāṣirī Canal, its apartments on four sides overlooked gardens and orchards. It was frequented by a licentious clientele (ṣansūlaḥ abī al-khulāṣa ti l-kaṣf).

The rental rāb's were built by members of the ruling class and other wealthy investors who made them into waṣṣāla, i.e. they alienated their revenues either to endow philanthropic and religious foundations or for their private family trusts. The dwellers of the rāb were not poor, but middle-class citizens who were able to pay the rent that made this form of dwelling a lucrative investment. The waṣṣāla archives of Cairo provide a wealth of rāb descriptions from the Mamlūk as well as the Ottoman periods (see H. Sayed). From the Mamluk period on rāb's built by the ruling establishment have survived, those of the sultans Barsbay, Ināl, Kāyibay, al-Qurrā and Amir Kurkmās. From the Ottoman period there are still a good number of rāb's built by amirs and other notables.


(DoRis BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF)
Diagrammatic plan of a rab block (by Hazem Sayed).
RABĀB (A.), the generic name for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow (kaus). The origin of the name has been variously explained: a. from the Hebrew lābab (l and r being interchangeable); b. from the Persian rubāb, which was played with the fingers or plectrum; and c. from the Arabic rabba (to collect, arrange, assemble together).

The first derivation is scarcely feasible. The second has a raison d'etre, although the mere similarity in name must not be accepted without question. In spite of the oft-repeated statement that the Arabs admit that they borrowed the rubāb from the Persians, together with the word kamān for the bow, there is not the slightest evidence for it. No Arabic author (so far as the present writer knows) makes an admission of this kind, nor have the Arabs adopted the word kamān for the bow, their own term kaus having been considered sufficient. It is true that we read in the Masūfī al-ʿulūm (10th century) that “The rubāb is well known to the people of Persia and ʿAṣūrān” (237), but this author was writing in Transoxania, and we know from al-Fārābī that the rubāb was also well known in Arabian lands. One argument against the alleged borrowing from Persia is that the rubāb with the Persians was
The rāb of Sultan al-Ghawrī at his wakāla near al-Azhar.
always a plucked and not a bowed instrument. Still, the Arabs may have borrowed the plucked instrument and adapted it to the bow. On the other hand, the Arabic root rabah as the parent of the word rabāb has much in its favour. As the Arabic musical accousticians point out, plucked instruments such as the ʿād (lute), tunbīr (pandore), etc., gave short (manfāṣīl) sounds, but bowed instruments such as the rabāb gave long or sustained (muṭṭasāl) sounds. It was application of the bow which “collected, arranged, or assembled” the short notes into one sustained note, hence the term rabāb being applied to the viol (see Farmer, Studies, i, 99).

The rabāb is mentioned as early as the Arabic polygraph al-Dāḥīzī (d. 255/870) in his Maqāmīʿat al-rasāʾil. Yet we cannot be sure whether this was the bowed rabāb or the plucked rabāb. At any rate, it already had a legendary history when he wrote. According to the Kāfṣī fi-l-ḥumūm (15th-16th century), it is first found in the hands of a woman of the Banū Tayyī (fol. 263). Turkish tradition ascribed its “invention” to a certain ʿAbd Allāh Fārābī (Ewlīyā Ǧelbī, Ǧaḥṣāb-nāme, i/2, 226, 234). An Andalusian legend places its invention within the Iberian peninsula (Delphín and Guin, Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes, 59). One thing is certain: even if we have iconographic evidence of the viol in the 8th or 9th century (see below), the earliest literary evidence of the use of the bow comes from Arabic sources, i.e. from al-Fārābī (d. 950), the Ikhwān al-Safā> (10th century), and Ṣafīr Ibn Fardīn (d. 1048), as I have fully demonstrated elsewhere (Studies, i, 101-5).

Seven different forms of viol are known to Islamic peoples, viz. 1. the Rectangular Viol, 2. the Circular Viol, 3. the Boat-Shaped Viol, 4. the Pear-Shaped Viol, 5. the Hemispherical Viol, 6. the Pandore Viol, and 7. the Open Chest Viol.

1. The Rectangular Viol. This consists of a wooden frame, more or less rectangular, over the face (waṣiṣ) and back (ṣadr) of which is stretched a membrane (dījāla). The neck (ṣuʾak) is cylindrical and is of wood, whilst the foot (risq) is of iron. It has either one or two strings (awzaʿ), generally of horsehair. Al-Khālīl (d. 791) says that “the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the rabāb’s] sounds, but bowed instruments such as the [rabāb] which was identical with the lura which was identified with the rabāb of the Arabs [al-Masʿūdī, Marāfī, vii, 91]. We can probably identify the instrument which was similar to the (pear-shaped) rabāb al-mugantī (singer’s viol) had two strings and the instrument which was similar to the (singer’s viol) had one string of horsehair (fol. 78b). Niebuhr (i, 144) says that it was still called the rabāb al-mugantī in the 18th century. We certainly have a rectangular instrument shown in the frescoes of Kusayr ʿAmra (Musil, pi. xxxiv), but it is played with the fingers and not with a bow. Yet even in modern times the rabāb of the desert was to be found played in this way as well as with a bow. Yet it is not until the time of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Fāsī (ca. 1650) that we get any musical details of the instrument (IRAS [1931], 366).

2. The Circular Viol. The modern instrument of this form consists of a circular wooden frame or pan, the face, and sometimes the back, being covered with a membrane. There is no foot. There is no special reference to this form in Arabic literature nor is there any definite iconographic evidence of it earlier than the 18th century, when it is described and delineated by Niebuhr (ib.); Tab. xxv, (3), who found it at Baʿara. It has but one string. It is still found among the folk of Palestine (Sachsse, 30, 40, Tab. 3, 17) and the Maghrib (Chottin, 50), where it is still known as the rabāb or ribāb. For other delineations, see Lavigne (2790) and Chottin (pl. vi).

3. The Boat-Shaped Viol. This form is confined to the Maghrib. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out into the shape of a boat. The chest (ṣadr) is covered with thin metal or wood pierced with ornamental rosettes (musewarat), whilst the lower part is covered with a membrane. The head (taʿ) is at right angles to the body, and it is generally furnished with two strings. It seems to have been used by the Arabs and Moors of Spain since their invasion of the peninsula. It is praised by their 10th and 11th century writers Abū Bakr Yāḥyā Ibn Ḥughayl (see al-Shāhālī, fol. 15), and Ibn Ḥazm (see Muhammad b. Ismaʿīl, 473), and doubtless they refer to either this instrument or the Pear-Shaped Viol (see below, 4) since the Glossarium Latino-Arabicum (11th century) equates rabāb with līra dicta a varietate. If we have no iconographic evidence of this viol from Arabic or Moorish sources, it certainly existed among the Spaniards, since the instruments in the Cantigas de Santa María (13th century) show definite oriental features, see Riano (121) and Ribera (pl. xi). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) is the first to describe this viol, although not very clearly (Prolegomena, in Notices et extraits, xvii, 354). It is not until the time of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Fāsī (ca. 1650) that we get any musical details of the instrument (IRAS [1931], 366). European travellers (Addison, Windhus, Höst, Shaw) mention the instrument as popular in the Maghrib, and today it is one of the principal instruments in concert music. Hōst gives us one example of this viol, and Ribera (pl. xi) identifies the instrument from Eastern sources (Tab. xxxi, 2). For a 19th century description, see F. Salvador-Daniel (80), and for a design, see Christianowich (pl. 1). Several delineations of both instruments and players may be seen in al-Haftī (pl. 34, 39-52), Mahillon (i, 416-17), Fétis (Hist., ii, 146), Engel (Cat., 143), Chouquet (205), Sachs (ReaIex., 317), etc. For the instrument of Northern India called the sānāng, see Lavigne (350) and Fétis (ii, 298).

4. The Pear-Shaped Viol. Probably, the earliest Arabic reference to this instrument is that made by Ibn Khurraḍāǧibī (d. ca. 912) who, in an oration before the caliph al-Muʿtamīd (d. 893), says that the Byzantines had a wooden instrument of five strings called the lūra which was identical with the rabāb of the Arabs (al-Masʿūdī, Marāfī, vii, 91). We can probably identify the instrument which was similar to the (singer’s viol) had two strings (see Cat., Casket at Florence which dates from the 9th century (L’Arte, 1896, 24). From the Siculo-Moorish woodwork of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo (12th century) we see to better advantage what the Arabic instrument was like (BZ [1893], ii, 383). It was this form of the rabāb, probably, with which al-Fārābī (d. 950) deals (see Land, Researches, 130, 166). He gives full details of both the accordatura and scales. We know little about this instrument in Arabic-speaking lands.
after the 13th-14th centuries, until it is described by Niebuhr (i, 143; Tab. xxvi, D) in the 18th century, and even then it appears to have been favoured only by the Greek population. It had three strings. It may have been used in the Maghrib (Jackson, 159-60), but neither Villotoe nor Lane know of it in Egypt. In Turkey, it appears to have been adopted from the Greeks, possibly in the 17th century, and with the 'ṣid and laṣaṣ plays a prominent part in concert music today (Lavignac, 3015). Recently, an attempt has been made to introduce this rakāb turki or arnaqa, as it is now called, into Egypt (al-Hafnl, 661, pi. 35). Designs of the instrument may be found in Engel (Cat., 210) and Crosby Brown (iii/1, 22), where they represent specimens in collections at South Kensington (London) and New York.

5. The Hemispherical Viol. This is, perhaps, the best known form of the viol in the Islamic east. The body consists of a hemisphere of wood, coconut, or a gourd, over the aperture of which a membrane is stretched. The neck is of wood, generally cylindrical, and there is a foot of iron, although sometimes there is no foot. It is often known in Arabic as the kamāndja or more rarely as the ḥiṣāj or ḥiṣāk. The former is derived from the Persian kamānda (dim. of kamān, "bow") whilst the latter is derived from the Persian and Turkish ḥiṣāj, ḥiṣāk, ḥiṣāx, ḥiṣāk, ḥiṣāx, etc., which may have had their origin in the Sanskrit ghosaka, an instrument mentioned in the pre-Christian Nāga-ghosika (ch. xxxiii). The present writer believes that the words ḥiṣāj and ḥiṣān mentioned in the Ikhwan al-Safa (Bombay ed., i, 97) and al-Shalābi (fol. 12) respectively, are copyist's errors for ḥiṣāx and ḥiṣāx. The word kamānda is first mentioned in Arabic by Ibn al-Fakhl (ca. 903) who says that it was used by both the Copts and the people of Sind. Of course, this need not mean that the instrument mentioned was a hemispherical viol, because, being a Persian by origin, the author may have used the word kamānda in its Persian generic sense meaning a viol. That Egypt had an early liking for the kamānda is borne out from various sources. Although in Egypt the hemispherical viol is nowadays called the rakāb misri (Egyptian viol), in earlier days it was called the Hungarian viol (al-Haf-nil, 661, pi. 35). Designs of the instrument may be found in Engel (Cat., 210) and Crosby Brown (iii/1, 22), where they represent specimens in collections at South Kensington (London) and New York.

6. The Pandore Viol. This form is practically a dores used with the bow. See Advielle (14), Lavignac (351), and Mironov (25) and Fitrat (43).

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Manuscripts:

RABĀB (a., pl. arābāh), district or quarter of a town situated outside the central part or madina [q. v.]. This term, which is very frequently found in mediaeval Islamic historical texts of both the Occident and Orient, lies at the origin of the Spanish word arabal, which has the same meaning. In the strongholds (hisn or sakhr) of Muslim Spain, the name rabāb was given to the civil quarter situated below the strictly best-known examples from India are the erṣrār and jāmā. The former has a membrane on its face and has five strings played with the bow together with a number of sympathetic strings. The latter is practically identical with the former, but is adorned with the figure of a peacock (hence its name) at the bottom of the body of the instrument. See Lavignac (351) and Mahillon (i, 131) for designs and details. With the Persians and Turkomans we see various kinds of pan-
military quarter; it was also applied to the quarters of the lepers and of prostitutes, whilst amongst the Spanish Christians, it designated a particular race.

These quarters of a town generally bore a special name. Thus we know the names of 21 of the 4th/10th century suburban quarters of the caliphal capital Cordova [see KurTUBA]. Rabād Shakunda or simply al-Rabād was the southern quarter of Cordova, where the celebrated revolt called "that of the suburb" broke out. Situated on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, it was inhabited by the Cordovan plebe but also by artisans and merchants, as well as by Mātūrī fukahā who had made it a centre of opposition to the Umayyad authorities. A conspiracy hatched by the notables of the quarter in Djúmādā́ II 1189/May 805 had failed and 72 of those involved had been executed; in the following year, an outbreak of discontent had likewise been followed by several condemnations to death. For about a dozen years, the trouble-makers amongst the fukahā seem to have maintained an attitude of mind which provoked a popular rising on 18 Ramadā́n 202/25 March 818 (and not in 198/204, the date generally accepted before Lévi-Provençal's revision of this in Hist. Esp. Mus., i, 165 n. 1). The immediate cause of the uprising was the amīr al-Hakam I's decision to impose new, extraordinary taxes and to entrust the task of raising them to the chief of his police force, a Christian called RablS but the actual pretext was the murder of an artisan by one of the police. Since al-Hakam was, on his return from a hunting session in the Campiña [see KABĀnIYyA], jeered at by the population of the quarter, he had some ten of those involved executed, which enraged the mob. It surged en masse towards the bridge over the Guadalquivir, where the bridge guards were on the point of being overwhelmed when two officers, the sāḥib al-sawdā́f Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Balawi and Ishaq b. al-Mundhir, crossed the river at a ford with a rapidly-assembled force of cavalrymen and, taking the mob in its rear, speedily suppressed the insurrection. The amīr then allowed the soldiers to give free rein to pillaging and massacring with an unheard-of ferocity. At the end of three days, the killing was halted, and al-Hakam alleges he received to death 300 of the rioters. The master of the quarters of the quarter were compelled to flee Cordova, the Rabād was razed to the ground and, right until the end of the 4th/10th century, the prohibition of erecting any sort of building in or near it was rigorously enforced, this ban being, according to some sources, existing until al-Hakam's death (see below). The Rabād, therefore, continued to be used as a prison, albeit a place of no great comfort, and an early second quarter has been described by Ibn al-Raggīd as "a small enclosure, enclosed with high and solid walls", and as a place of "very foul air and stench" (Radd al-Abi Muhammad al-Asili, 53, 78, 80, 89-90, 107-9).

The modern archaeological site covers an area of approx. 1,740 hectares, and several seasons of excavations have revealed various types of buildings, including palaces, houses, two mosques, large reservoirs and underground water-storage tanks. There is evidence of small-scale artisanal activity such as tanning, dyeing, smelting and metal-working. Many Umayyad and 'Abbasid period dirhams and dinars have been found, together with a variety of ceramics, including polychrome and lustre ware, steatite and glass objects.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, iii, 24-5; Hamad al-Djasir, al-Rabādha fi kutub al-mutakaddimin, in al-ʻArab, i, 5-8 (1398/1967); and above all, S. A. A. al-Raggīd, al-Rabādha, a portrait of early Islamic civilization in Saudi Arabia, Riyyād 1986, giving the earlier sources and the results of recent excavations.

AL-RABAHI, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Marwān al-Anṣābī, Abū ʻUmār, b. 367/978, d. at Murcia 448/1056, grammarian of Muslim Spain. Best known as such, he is equally credited with competence in fiqh, poetry, metrics and genealogies. It appears that he played a certain role in the compilation of the various grammatical commentaries on the classics of Arabic. In his Radd ʻalā ʻl-Kabīr and a Radd ʻalā Abī Muhammad al-Aṣfīl are attributed to him, but do not seem to have survived.


AL-RABATI, Abu Ḥasan ʻAllī b. ʻIsa, grammarian of Baghdaḍ of the 4th/10th century and contemporary of Ibn Dīnnī. He was born at Baghdaḍ in 328/940, and studied grammar there under the direction of al-Sirāfī [q.v.] before moving to Shirāz in order to follow the teaching of al-Fārisī [q.v.] over a period of almost 20 years. He then returned to Baghdaḍ where he died, at an advanced age, in 420/1029. His eccentricities, seen in a fear of dogs, prevented him from having any pupils. Amongst his works, none of which have survived, are various grammatical commentaries (darbā), such as one on the K. al-Ịdāḥ of al-Fārisī and one on the K. al-Mukhtar of al-Djāmīr, and two treatises on grammar, the K. al-Mukaddima and the K. al-Badī‘.

Bibliography: Ibn an-Abnābī, Nużā, 201-3; Kif-tī, Ibāh, ii, 297; Suyūtī, Bughya, 344-5; Yākūt, Irshād, v, 283-7; Kāhba, Mu‘allīfīn, vii, 163-4; Brockelmann, S I, 491; Sezgin, GAZ, ix, 185.

RABAT [see al-RibAT].
RABB (A.), lord, God, master of a slave. Pre-Islamic Arabia probably applied this term to its gods or to some of them. In this sense the word corresponds to the Turkic term Bašal, Adon, etc., in the Northwestern Semitic languages, where it means "much great" (see A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an, Baroda 1938, 136-7). In one of the oldest sûras (CVI, 3) Allâh is called the "lord of the temple". Similarly, al-Lât bore the epithet al-Rabba, especially at Ta'if where she was worshipped in the image of a stone or of a rock. In the Kur'ān, rabb (especially with the possessive suffix) is one of the usual names of God (see J. Chelhod, in Arabica, v (1958), 159-67). For further details, see T. Fahd, La religion des Arabes preislamiques, Louvain 1953, 30). For the usage of rabbi, which he must replace by sayyid (Muslim, al-Âlîf min al-adab, trads. 14, 15, etc.). The abstract rubâbîyya is not found in either Kur'ān or Hadîth, but is in common use in mystic theology.

In pre-Islamic times, rabb was one of the titles given to certain of the kâhûns [q.v.]. Lammens gives numerous references to this theme (see his Les cultes des hérétiques, in BIFAO, xvii (1919), 39-101). The name r b y, associated with h t r (the Moon), designated in the kingdom of Katabân a class of priest-officials who had the duty of administering the divinity's domains (G. Ryckmans, Les religions arabes preslamiques, Louvain 1953, 30). For the usage of rabb in the Kur'ān, see J. Chelhod, in Arabica, v (1958), 159-67. For further details, see T. Fahd, La divination arabe, Paris 1987, 107-8.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the Arabic lexica and the Kur'ān commentaries, s.v.

(RABGHUZI, Nâṣîr al-Dîn b. Bûrûnân al-Dîn, early writer in Central Asian Turkish, was born somewhere in the second half of the 13th century, possibly in the still unidentified encampment of Ribât Ògûz in Transoxiana (Western Turkestan), then under the hegemony of the Caghatay Khânâte [q.v.]. Being himself a Turk and a judge by profession, he also had some rather good relations with the Mongol ruling élite. The date post quem for his death is 710/1310. These scarce facts all stem from his own work and no other source so far has come to light revealing anything more about his identity.

Rabghûzî gained his fame as author of the first Mideast Turkic version of the qisas-i anbiyâ [q.v.] genre, commonly referred to as the Kisas-i Rabghûzî, and written in 710/1310 at the instigation of Nâṣîr al-Dîn Tûk Bûgha, a young (not yet identified) prince of Mongol lineage, but of Muslim faith. The text is enriched with some seventy poems in Arabic and Türkî (cf. H. Boeschoten and M. Vandamme, 1990); also, it contains some 1200 Arabic quotations from the Kur'ân and the hadîth.

First extracted material from a large range of sources, Rabghûzî then recomposed this chosen material in a number of cyclic stories. However, since the identification of these sources is still problematical, this will not be elaborated here; see, however, Dorleijn (1986) and Boeschoten (1992, 55-6).

Albeit much is still indistinct, Rabghûzî's kind of Turkic, which he himself calls "Türkî", is commonly referred to as Khühûramz Türkîch, the literary Türkîch language of Central Asia of the 13th and 14th centuries. It is also partly characterized as the transition stage from the Kâhûnic literary language (to early) Caghatay. As a whole, Rabghûzî's Khühûramz Türkîch offers the picture of a hybrid language which has been infiltrated by forms from various dialects, notably those spoken by Oghûz and Kïpçïk tribes (Boeschoten and Van Damme, 1987, and Boeschoten, 1991, 23 ff.). As to language and contents, the Kisas-i Rabghûzî stands very close to Mahâmûd b. 'Allî's Nahjât-i Farrâdî, written before 1358 (facsimile publ. by J. Eckmann, Ankara, 1956, and S. Tezcan and H. Zülfikar, TDK, 518).

Although the archetype has been lost, the Kisas-i Rabghûzî has become the focus of a Central Asian tradition which lived on well into this century. This may be summarised briefly as:

(a) The old mss. (13th-16th centuries), of which five are still extant (Boeschoten, 1991, 3-4). Up to now, only one facsimile has been produced (F. Groeneveld, 1980). For a listing of the most important mss. and older representations, see Hofman (1980), iii/1, 85-90; J. Eckmann (1987), 17-18 and J. Eckmann in PTF, i, 104; ii, 218-19.

(b) A period of loss of interest, the cause of which is still unknown, somewhere in the 17th-18th centuries.

(c) A host of new mss. (18th-20th centuries), which have the particularity of showing rather conservative versions as to the contents, but which were modernised versions seen from the language aspect.

For a listing of the most important mss. and older representations, see Hofman (1969, iii/1, 85-90; J. Eckmann (1980), 17-18 and J. Eckmann in PTF, i, 104; ii, 218-19.


RABÎ (A.), the name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim calendar. The Syriac equivalent rûša is used in the Peshitta as a translation of the Hebrew malḵîth (late rain). This and the fact that the two months following Rabî' II are called Dîmâmad (month of frost) suggested to Wellhausen that these four months originally fell in winter and that the old Arab year began with the winter half-year (see AL-MUNJARRAM). Rabî' means originally the season in which, as a result of the rains, the earth is covered with green; this later led to the name Rabî' being given to spring. Al-Birûnî expressly describes autumn (khârij) as the season indicated by Rabî'. As a result of the Kur'ânic prohibition of intercalation (see NASRî), since the beginning of the Muslim era the two months no longer fall at a regular season.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, Rostie, 97; Brockelmann, Lexicon, 1440, s.v.; BWeh, 98; Boeschoten, ed. Sachau, 60, 325.

AL-RABI' B. YÜNUS B. 'ABD ALLAH B. ABI FARWA (so-called from his entering Medina with a fleece on his back), emancipated slave of al-Ḥârij al-Haffâr, himself the emancipated slave of 'Uthmân b. Affân [q.v.]. He was really a man of obscure origin, born in slavery at Medina about 1127/30. He was
bought by Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥārīthi, who presented him to his master Abu ʿl-ʿAbdāb b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffāhī, the first ʿAbdābīd caliph. All his life, he served, with varying fortune, three more ʿAbdābīd caliphs: al-ṣaḥīf al-Mānṣūr, al-Mahdī, and al-Hādī. He reached the zenith of his power under al-ṣaḥīf al-Mānṣūr (136-8/754-5 [q. v.]), who, finding him a capable and useful courtier, appointed him ḥādījīb and afterwards made him ʿωσίζ in succession to Abu ʿl-ʿAbīs b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffārī [q. v.]. His son al-Ḥārīš b. al-Ṣāfī [q. v.], who was destined to play a prominent part in the 936 onward, al-Rābīʿ participated in an intrigue which led to the downfall of his rival by exposing his son as a heretic (zindik [q. v.]) in 163/779-80 and bringing about his execution (see Sourdrel, Vīzarī, 103-11 and index). Even then, al-Rābīʿ only retained his old office as ḥādījīb and never became al-ṣaḥīf al-Mānṣūr’s ʿωσίζ. It was ʿAbd Allāh Abū Yaʿkūb b. Dāwūd who succeeded the disgraced minister, but, at the end of 166/middle of 780, the above-mentioned caliph made him his delegate in al-Baṣra representing Baghdad. He took part in the intrigues which arose around the succession to al-Mahdī, but on his accession, al-Ḥādī [q. v.] pardoned him and appointed him to the vizierate, the ḥādījīb and the chancery. However, the vizierate was taken back from his control shortly afterwards, and the only office which he retained was the ṯawāʾīf. The exact date of his death is uncertain. Whilst al-Dāhghājiyārī and al-Ṭabarī placed him in 169/785-6, al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī and Ibn Khallīkān assert that he died at the beginning of 170/786.

Details about his administration are scanty, but it is certain that he was an able, industrious, temperate and tactful man of affairs. Even al-Mahdī, who was never lavish in showering favours on al-Rābīʿ, once employed him, but history remembers him on account of Latin and of Arabic, was able to render considerable services to the caliphal chancellery which employed him, but history remembers him on account of a mission which he undertook in Frankfurt at the court of Otto I the Great, king of Germany (from 936 onward) and (as lord of the realm of Emporium (962-73), what he had ʿAbd al-Rāhmān III responsible for depredations and extortions committed by the Moors in Provence (see Praxineum and add to the Bibl., Ph. Senac, Musulmans et Sarrazins dans le sud de la Gaule (VIII-XI siècles), Paris 1980, and idem, Providence et piraterie sarra- sinne, Paris 1982). In 953 Otto I, who had considered insolent an initial message sent from Cordova in 950, dispatched a monk named John of Gorze to deliver a letter of protest to the caliph. (The biography of this monk was related by an abbot of St. Arnulph, also known as John, in his Vita Johannis Gomerisensi (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, Hanover 1841, iv, 338-77) the passage (369 ff.) concerning these exchanges was utilised by R. Poupardin in Le royaume de Bourgogne, Paris 1907, 94-5; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, HEM, ii, 160-1.) It is stated here that Ot- to’s messenger was murdered in Cordova and could thus have been aware of the departure, in the spring of 955, of Recemundo, who returned in June 956, having completed his mission but apparently without much success. It may also be noted that the Antapodosis of Liutprand (Mon. Germaniae Hist., 265 ff.) is dedicated to Recemundus. He is mentioned again, but under the name of Rābīʿ b. Zayd, in connection with another mission, this time to Constantinople and Syria, with the object of acquiring works of art for Madinat al-Zahraʾ [q. v.], under construction since 325/936. He returned with “a basin of sculpted and gilded marble and a fountain of green onyx decorated with bas-reliefs representing human figures” (Lévi-Provençal, HEM, ii, 148, quoting al-Mākṣāri, Analectes, i, 372-3; see also H. Terrasse, L’art hispano- mauresque, 102). As a reward for his services, ʿAbd al- Ṭabarīs b. Zayd was appointed to an important government post, and thus have been aware of the departure, in the spring of 955, of Recemundo, who returned in June 956, having completed his mission but apparently without much success. It may also be noted that the Antapodosis of Liutprand (Mon. Germaniae Hist., 265 ff.) is dedicated to Recemundus. He is mentioned again, but under the name of Rābīʿ b. 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into Spanish the liturgical part of the text, precisely that which may with some confidence be attributed to Recermondo, and published it under the title of San
torae sanctissimae castellae Salisburgensis canonicorum obis
obis de Liberis (in Ciudad de Dios, v (1871), 105-16, 192-212). Two years later, at Leiden, Dozy decided to publish the original, this time in Arabic characters, and the Latin version, entitled the whole Le calendrier de Cordoue de 961. Finally, the author of the present article has revived the Arabic text and the Latin version, combining the two and offering in addition an annotated French translation. The whole, entitled Le Calendar de Cordoue de l'année 961, was pub

lished at Leiden in 1961, thus exactly a thousand years after the date assumed by Dozy for the composition of the work. The Arabic text (improved by reference to the Kithab al-Anwad of Ibn Kutayba [q. v.], which had recently been edited), lacks a title (but it is easy to observe that the Latin expression Liber Anoe appears exactly to correspond to Kithab al-Anwad) and gives as the name of the author 'Arib b. Sa'd al-Khitib (d. ca. 370/980 [q. v.]), whereas the Latin version is headed Harib filius Zeid episcope quem compositus Mustansir imperatoris, with an unexpected genitive and a relative pronoun which refers to no expressed term. The phrase needs therefore to be completed, to read, for example, Harib filius (Sad liber cum libro or (according to Saavedra) addiamentis: Rabih filius Zeid episcopus. As for the full name of Rabih b. Zayd, it is supplied by Ibn Sa'd (epig. al-Makkari, Analeceti, ii, 125), who specifies his role as uskuf (bishop) and attributes to him, and to him alone, a Kithab Tafsil al-zaman wa-

maqalih, the Arabic text reads tamma kithab 'Arib fi tafsil, etc., which does nothing to simplify the issue.

In view of the fact that the almanac comprises a book of traditional annwad [q. v.] and a liturgical calendar, it seems logical to assert that the latter is the work of Rabih b. Zayd and that the former is to be attri

buted to 'Arib b. Sa'd. However the solution is not so simple, since the statement of Ibn Sa'd and the col-

ophone of the ms. are utterly contradictory. It has to be assumed therefore that an understandable confusion has arisen between the names of the two authors (which are, it may be observed, anagrams one of the other) and that the blending is so perfect that, towards the end of the introduction, a paragraph relating to Christian festivals gives the impression that the work is attributable to a single author. As for information concerning agricultural activities, hygiene, daily life, etc., so precious in the view of historians, it is not unreasonable to give the credit to 'Arib rather than to Rabih, since the former was apparently more apt to respect the tradition of kithab al-anwad, which itself

contains facts of this type as well as material concern-

cing astronomy and meteorology. In view of the fact that a Kithab Tafsil al-zaman, etc., evidently as a result of confusion, is attributed to each of the two authors, the problem remains unsolved.

Bibliography: In addition to the references indi-

cated in the text of the article, see Dozy's intro-

duction to his edition of the Calendriers; idem, Die

Coronawenen 'Arib ibn Sa'd der Sekretär, und Rabih ibn

Zayd der Bischof', in ZDMG, xx (1860), 595-609; Sa'd

Histoire de los maçor, Espasa, Madrid 1897-1903, index; Dom Ferotin, in appendix to Liber ordinum, in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica, v, Paris 1904, 451 ff.; F. Viré, La volerie dans l'Espagne du X1 siècle, in Arabica, xii/3 (1963), 306-14; J.D. Latham, review of the ed. of the Calendriers by Ch. Pellat, in JSI, viii (1963), 300 ff.; idem, Loanwords from the Arabic in the Latin translation of the Calendar of Cordova, in B. C.

Bloomfield (ed.), Middle East studies and libraries: a felicitations volume for Professor J.D. Pearson, London 1980, i, 265-70; idem, review of PELLAT...
RABİ'Â

was the ancestor of two of the most powerful Arab tribes: Bakr [q. v.] and Taghlib [q. v.]. From Bakr are descended the tribes of Hanifa [q. v.], Shubayh, Dhuul, Kays b. Thalaba and others (see Ibn Durayd, Râbi', 158-219). From the introduction to Baktri's Muğdam we get the first of the following ideas of the dwelling-places of the two tribes. At the partition of Arabia among the descendants of Ma'add, the Mudar received the frontiers of the sacred territory as far as al-Sarawat and the lands adjoining them. The Mudar, however, remained in the Tihama, where they occupied the lands which later bore their names: Diyar Rab'a and Diyar Bakr [q.v.]. (Wustenfeld, Wohnsitze, 107, 136-7, 161 ff., 168; Blau, in ZDMG, xiii [1869], 579-80).

After the withdrawal of the 'Abd al-Kays to Bahrain, a number of Rabi'a tribes occupied the highlands of Najd and Hijaz and the frontiers of Tihama where al-Dhâna'ib, Waridat, al-Ahas, Shubayth, Bâtân al-Djarb und al-Taghlamân were their settlements. As a result of a war, the various clans separated and, pushing forward, for the most part reached Mesopotamia, where they occupied the lands which later bore their names: Diyâr Rabi'a and Diyâr Bakr [q. v.]. (Wustenfeld, Wohnsitze, 107, 136-7, 161 ff., 168; Blau, in ZDMG, xiii [1869], 579-80).

After the withdrawal of the Rabi'a from the Tihama, the Mudar remained in their settlements until the Kays, defeated by the Khindif, advanced into the lands of Najd. Dissensions among the Khindif caused the Tâbi'ka to migrate to Najd, Hijaz and adjoining territories. Clans of the Tâbi'ka went as far as Yamâma, Hadjâr, Yâbrîn and Ummân; some groups settled between Bahrayn and Basra. Several Muderika tribes, however, remained in the Tihama, like the descendants of Nadr b. Kinâna in the vicinity of Mecca (Wustenfeld, Wohnsitze, 169 ff.). The Mudar who migrated to Mesopotamia gave their name to Diyâr Mudar, which Blau, op. cit., 577, recognises in the Arab tribe of the Mousâ'âets mentioned there in the 4th century A.D.

History. Down to the overthrow of the Himyar kingdom by the Abyssinians, the Rabi'a and Mudar were under the suzerainty of Yaman, which they were able several times to cast off when they all obeyed one ruler. Of battles in these wars the most important are those of Bayda', al-Sullân and Khâzâzâ (in which the Ma'addi tribes were victorious (Reiske, Primae lineae hist. regn. arab., ed. Wustenfeld, 180 ff.; al-Yâ'kûbî, ed. Housma, i, 257; Yâkût, ii, 432 ff., iii, 114-15). They belonged for a time to the kingdom of the Kinda [q. v.], the rulers of which bore the title king of the Ma'addi (or Mudar) and Rabi'a (A. Sprenger, Geogr., 299). Like the Bakr and Taghlib, the rest of the Rabi'a and Mudar recognised the Kindiâl-Hârîb b. 'Amr al-Maşkûr, who led them successfully against the Qhassânîd and Lakhîmid kings but lost his conquests again (Hamza al-Iṣlahâni, ed. Gottwaldt, i, 140). After when his death the kingdom of Dhû Nuwâs collapsed under the Abyssinians and the Kindiâ no longer recognised the suzerainty of Yemen, the Basrus war [q. v.] broke out between the Bakr and the Taghlib. The first day of al-Kulâb or "day of Kulâb of the Rabi'a", so-called because both tribes were descended from Rabi'a b. Nizâr, ended in favour of the Taghlib, and the Bakr turned to the king of Hira al-Mundhir III, who now extended his rule over the Rabi'a and Mudar and other Central Arabian tribes (al-Yâ'kûbî, op. cit.; Yâkût, iv, 294-5). To this period belongs the intrusion into Mesopotamia of the Taghlib, who were probably the first of the Rabi'a to settle there; they were followed by the Banû Namir b. Kâsî, and other Rabi'a tribes. The hostilities between the Taghlib and Bakr did not cease, and in the battle of Dhû Kâr [q. v.] they were on opposite sides. The victory of the Bakr, celebrated as a great success of the Rabi'a over the Persians (cf. Noldeke, Sasaniiden, 310 ff.; an earlier encounter, Yâkût, ii, 735 ff.), liberated the Central Arabian tribes from foreign rule and paved the way for Islam.

Legend records very old connections of the Mudar with the Meccan sanctuary; the Djûrhum [q. v.], the early Kays b. Thalabâ and others (see Ibn Durayd, Râbi', 158-219). The "first day of al-Kulâb" or "day of Kulâb of the Rabi'a" (Hamza al-Iṣlahâni, ed. Gottwaldt, i, 333, 335; al-Yâ'kûbî, i, 274). The influential office of time-reckoner also fell to a Mudar under the Kinda (Sprenger, Geogr., 225). While Christianity was widespread among the Rabi'a in Muhammad's time, the Mudar remained more faithful to the old pagan ways and were less susceptible to Aramaic influence than the tribes on the frontier ("this perhaps partly explains their estrangement from the Rabi'a"). (Wellhausen, Reste, 231). Rabi'a was the sacred month of the Mudar (hence Radjâb Mudar; cf. Wellhausen, op. cit., 97; a strange explanation of this from Ibn al-Mudjâwîrî in A. Sprenger, Mohammed, iii, 301), Radmân of the Rabi'a (cf. al-Dimîshki, Nukhbat al-dahr, tr. Mehren, 403). From their practices during ihrâm, all the Rabi'a and many groups of the Mudar, including the Ribâb league, belonged to the Hilâl (al-Yâ'kûbî, i, 296). In al-Dimâshkî, 385, we find the peculiar view that the Copts are descended from Rabi'a "or" Taghlib who had migrated into Egypt in search of food.

The Muzayna [q. v.] boasted of being the first Mudar tribe to pay homage to the Prophet (as early as 5 A.H. it is said; Sprenger, op. cit., iii, 201). In 6/630 Khâlid b. al-Wâlid destroyed the idol al-'Uzza in Nakha', which was revered by the Kuraysh, Kinâna and Kays b. Thalabâ (cf. al-Tabari, i, 1648). In the "year of the Deputations" (9/631), several large clans of the Mudar and Rabi'a like the Tamîm, Thâkîf, 'Abd al-Kays and Bakr b. Wâ'il adopted Islam, but this does not imply the submission of the whole of Central Arabia. The lament of the deputation of the 'Abd al-Kays to Muhammad is significant: "between thee and us dwell Mudar tribes and we can only come to thee in the sacred months" (Sprenger, op. cit., iii, 374; cf. 301, n. 1). In the year 11 a saying of the followers of the false prophet Musaylima [q. v.], who belonged to the Rabi'a, is recorded: "a deceiver of the Rabi'a is dearer to us than a true prophet of the Mudar" (perhaps the variant "than a deceiver of the Mudar") is better: al-Tabari, i, 1936-7; perhaps the earliest clearly expressed contrast between the Rabi'a and Mudar?). When in the same year the "Rabi'a" in Bahrain was regarded as a kingdom by the Muslims, they only refer to the tribes of Kays b. Thalâba and 'Abd al-Kays (al-Tabari, i, 1960; al-Baladhûrî, Futûh, 83-4). The tribes of Rabi'a and Mudar are from now onwards mentioned as important contingents in the Muslim armies, but sometimes the large numbers given for them are doubtful (cf. Caetani, Annali, 12 A.H., § 188, n. 5). When al-Muqâjanna invaded al-Sawâd in 13/635, he surprised the Rabi'a and Kâfi'a
assembled at the Sūk al-Khanāfīs, who still recognised the suzerainty of the Sasanids (al-Tabān, i, 2202-3); five years later a considerable force was sent against al-Rakkā, Nasībīn and the nomadic Rabīʿa and Tānūkḫ (Ibn Khuldīn, ʿIbar, ii/2, 107-8).

It is unnecessary to follow the history of the Rabīʿa and Muḍār farther, as it is clear from the above that the two names stand only for a few clans and not for the whole confederation of tribes, as the genealogists say (Rabīʿa usually means the Bakr and Taghīb or only one of them). Sometimes we even find the whole Rabīʿa group included in the Muḍār (Ibn Khuldīn, ii, 39-40) which further increases the confusion. The beginnings of the two tribes are further put at so early a date that it is difficult to decide whether they really existed as such, or like Maʿadd and Nīzār are only artificial conceptions.

Goldziher (Muk. Stud., i, 94-5) surmised that the antagonism between North and South Arabia had its roots in the rivalry between Kuraysh and Ansār, and he regarded the early wars between Maʿadd and Yemen as a later invention. “Maʿadd and Muḍār,” he lays down, “is primarily contrasted with the name of Yemen as a later invention. “Maʿadd and Mudar,”

The effects of this dualism are further put at so early a date that it is difficult to decide whether they really existed as such, or like Maʿadd and Nīzār are only artificial conceptions. With this qualification borne in mind, one may nevertheless be permitted to present a portrait of the saint as it was conceived by her co-religionists over the course of the centuries. She is said to have been born in 95/714 or 99/717-18 and to have breathed her last at Baṣra in 185/801, where her tomb was shown outside the city (see al-Harawi, Ẓiyārāt, ed. and tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 81/88). In the evolution of Sūfī mysticism, she became one of the three most famous female mystics of Baṣra, the two others being Muʿāthqa al-ʿAdawiyya, wife of the “ascetic” Amīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥās al-ʿAnbarī [q. v.], and a certain Umm al-Dardāʾ [see Pellat, Le moeurs baṣriennes, ii, 331].

Born into a poor home, she was stolen as a child and sold into slavery (she is even sometimes made into a kāyna [q. v.]), but her sanctity secured her freedom, and she retired to a life of seclusion and celibacy, at first in the desert and then in Baṣra, where she gathered round her many disciples and associates, who came to seek her counsel or prayers or to listen to her teachings. These included ʿAbd al-Wahīd b. Zayd (d. 177/793; see Pellat, Mīlit, 102-3 and index), Mālik b. Dinār [q. v.], the ascetic Rabīḥ al-Kaysī, the traditionist Sufyān al-Thawrī [q. v.] and the Sūfī Shāfīk al-Balḥī. Her life was one of extreme asceticism and otherworldliness. Asked why she did not ask help from her friends, she said, “I should be ashamed to ask for this world’s goods from Him to Whom they belong, and how should I ask them from those to whom I am of no use?” (it seems that al-Dīzhīz, more conscious of the nearness of this reply than of its deeper sense, cites it at least twice (in Hayawān, v, 589, and Bayān, iii, 127) and does not mention any other details concerning Rabīʿa, which seems to show that, in the 3rd/9th century, the legend around her had not yet totally crystallised. On the other hand, this tradition, perhaps authentic, is contradicted by a piece of evidence according to which she possessed a khdāima khdāima and by the mention, in al-Husaynī, of another saint called Maryam al-ʿAswārī, her servant and disciple, to whom she had communicated her doctrine of pure love, ʿilm al-mahabba.

To another friend she said, “Will God forget the poor because of their poverty or remember the rich because of their riches? Since He knows my state, what have I to remind Him of? What He wills, we should also will.” Miracles were attributed to her as to other Muslim saints. Food was supplied by miraculous means for her guests, and to save her from starvation. A camel, which died when she was on pilgrimage, was restored to life for her use; the lack of a lamp was made good by the light which shone round the saint. It was related that when she was dying, she bade her friends depart and leave the way free for the messengers of God Most High. As they went
out, they heard her making her confession of faith, and a voice which responded, "O soul at rest, return to thy Lord, satisfied with Him, giving satisfaction to Him. So enter among My servants into My Paradise" (Surah LXXXIX, 27-30). After her death, Rabia was seen in a dream and asked how she had escaped from Munkar and Nakir [q. v.], the angels of the tomb, when they asked her, "Who is your Lord?", and she replied, "I said, return and tell your Lord, 'Notwithstanding the thousands and thousands of Thy creatures, Thou hast not forgotten a weak old woman. I, who had only Thee in all the world, have never forgotten Thee, that Thou shouldst ask, Who is thy Lord?""

Among the prayers recorded of Rabia is one she was accustomed to pray at night upon her roof: "O Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed and kings have shut their doors and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee." Again she prayed, "O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me therein, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty." Of Repentance, the beginning of the Sufi Path, she said, "How can anyone repent unless His Lord gives him repentance and accepts him? If He turns towards you, you will turn towards Him." She held that Gratitude was the vision of the Giver, not the gift, and one spring day, when urged to come out to behold the works of God, she rejoined, "Come rather inside to behold their Maker. Contemplation of the Maker has turned me aside from contemplating what He has made." Asked what she thought of Paradise, Rabia replied, "First of the neighbour, then the house" (al-ajdr thumma 'l-ddr) and al-Ghazali, commenting on this, says she implied that no one who does not know God in this world will see Him in the next, and he who does not feel the joy of gnostics here will not find the joy of the Vision there, nor can any appeal to God in that world if he has not sought His friendship in this. None may reap who has not sown (Ihya', iv, 269). The otherworldliness of her teaching is shown in her declaration that she had come from that world and to that world she was going, and she ate the bread of this world in sorrow, while doing the work of that world. One who heard her only superficially, "One so persuasive in speech is worthy to keep a rest-house" and Rabia responded, "I myself am keeping a rest-house; whatever is within, I do not allow it to go out and whatever is without, I do not allow to come in. I do not concern myself with those who pass in and out, for I am contemplating my own heart, not mere clay." Asked how she had attained to the rank of the saints, Rabia's replied, "By abandoning what did not concern me and seeking fellowship with Him Who is eternal." She was famed for her teaching on mystic love (mahabba) and the fellowship with God (un) which is the pre-occupation of His lover. Every true lover, she said, seeks intimacy with the beloved, and she recited the lines:

I have made Thee the Companion of my heart,
But my body is present for those who seek its company,
And my body is friendly towards its guests.

But the Beloved of my heart is the guest of my soul.
(Ihya', iv, 358, marg. line) Questioned about her love for the Prophet she said, "I love him, but love of the Creator has turned me aside from love of His creatures"; and again, "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for loving any save Him." Of her own service to God and its motive-force, she said, "I have not served God from fear of Hell, for I should be a bad servant if I served for the sake of what was given me, but I have served Him only for the love of Him and desire of Him." The verses often ascribed to her (but now shown by G.J.H. van Gelder to be originally a secular love poem, see his Rabia's poem on the two kinds of love: a mystification?, in Verse and the fair sex, a collection of papers presented at the 15th Congress of the UEA... 1990, ed. F. de Jong, Utrecht 1993, 86-7) are the two types of love, that which seeks its own ends and that which seeks only God and His glory, are famous and much quoted, translated and commented upon:

I love Thee with two loves: a selfish (or concerned, impassioned, instinctive) love and a love of which Thou [alone] art worthy. The selfish love makes me turn away from all that is not Thou, making me think only of Thee But as for that love of which Thou [alone] art worthy,
Thou raisest the veils so that I may see Thee.
In neither the one case nor the other have I any merit, but the praise for the first and the second is wholly Thine.

Al-Ghazali again comments, "She meant, by the selfish love, the love of God for His favour and grace bestowed and for temporary happiness, and by the love worthy of Him, the love of His Beauty which was revealed to her, and this is the higher of the two loves and the finer of them" (Ihya', iv, 267). Like all mystics, Rabia looked for union with the Divine (wa'gîf). In certain of her verses she says, "My hope is for union with Thee, for that is the goal of my desire", and again she said, "I have ceased to exist and have passed out of self. I have become one with God and am altogether His."

Rabia, therefore, according to the traditions about her, differs from those of the early Sufis who were simply ascetics and quietists, in that she was a true mystic, inspired by an ardent love, and conscious of having entered into the unitive life with God. She was one of the first of the Sufis to teach the doctrine of Pure Love, the disinterested love of God for His own sake alone, and one of the first to combine with her teaching on love the doctrine of kaqfs, the unveiling, to the lover, of the Beatific Vision.

The semi-legendary personality of Rabia has inspired romantic biographies and even two Egyptian films, but one should remember a curious phenomenon, which has its origin in an account which shows the saint holding in one hand fire and in the other water, and replying to some youths who had asked her where she was going: "...towards the heavens, in order to throw some fire into Paradise and some water on Hellfire, so that both of them may disappear and that human beings may contemplate God without hope or fear, for if neither hope for Paradise nor fear of Hellfire existed, would they worship al-Hak and submit to it?" This text, which appears in Persian in the Manātīh al-ārshân (ms. India Office Library, no. 1670, fol. 114a) of Allâki (8th/14th century [q.v.]), is found again almost word-for-word in the Mémoires du sieur de Fontinville, ed. Paris 1854, 195, with this difference that a Preaching Friar called Yves the Breton, sent to the "soudan" of Damascus by the King of France Louis IX (the future King of France Louis IX) (8th/14th century [q.v.]), saw Allâki and one of thefirst also to combine with her teaching on love the doctrine of kaqfs, the unveiling, to the lover, of the Beatific Vision.
equally in the 2nd/8th century, another holy woman called Rabi’a bint Isma’il al-Adawiyya. It is equally in the 2nd/8th century, another holy woman named Rabi’h b. Fadl Allah, or Bibi Rabi’a Basri in Mogul painting, in IC, xxiiii (1939), 466-9.

(MARGARET SMITH—CH. PELLAT)

RABI’ AL-DAWLA Abū Mansūr b. Abī Shuqādāl-Muhammad b. Al-Husayn, viźīr of the Abbasids and Saljuqs. When the vizier Abū Shuqādāl-Muhammad al-Rūghārawi [q.v.] made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 481/1090, he appointed his son Rabīḫ al- Dawla and the vizier of the nakhāl. Tirāb al-Muhammad al-Zaynābī his deputies, and in 507/1113-14, on the death of Abu 1-Kāsim ʿAli b. Fakhr al-Dawla Muhammad b. Dāhirī [see Dāhirī, Bani], Rabīḫ al-Dawla was appointed vizier of the caliph al-Mustazhir. In Dhū 1-Hijjah 511/April 1118 the fourteen-year-old Muhammad b. Muhammad [q.v.] succeeded his father as Sādūqī sultan and, when he was looking around for an able vizier, he was recommended to choose someone who had had the necessary training in the service of the caliph (min ṭabarīṣ, dar al-ḥijāf), allegedly because there was no suitable man in the train of the young sultan. The choice therefore fell upon Rabīḫ al-Dawla who was at once summoned from Baghdad to Isfahan but, as the nominee of the amirs and great men of state, proved himself a somewhat ineffective vizier until his death after a brief tenure of office in Rabī’ I 513/June-July 1119; according to another statement he died as early as 512/1118-19.


RABĪGH (Bandar Rābī, Rābūg), a port in the Ḥijāz province of Saudi Arabia, in lat. 22° 48’ N., and long. 39° 1° E., half-way between Dūd-dīlā [q.v.] and Yānnūs. In Sādūqī Masri [q.v.], now called al-Khurayba, the reputed burial place of the Prophet’s mother Amina [q.v.]. In the past, the port had no proper harbour. Ships anchored at Shārm Rābīgh, an inlet about 3 km long, which offered excellent anchorage (Hogarth, Ḥejarat, 29). From there cargoes were transferred on local sailing craft to Rābīgh proper, a group of four hamlets and extensive date-groves, about 6 km from Shārm Rābīgh. It used to be the place [see mākā] where pilgrims to Mecca, coming overland from Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib, put on the ihram [q.v.] (see Ibn Ṣaṭṭīta, Ṣāḥa, i, 297, 86). Such, Rābīgh had succeeded the village of al-Dūfā’ which lies in a valley reaching the sea just south of the port. Pilgrims coming down the Red Sea entered into ihram as their ships passed Rābīgh. It was the centre of the Banū Zubayd, a sub-section of the Banū Masrūḥ who, together with the Banū Sālim, were the main sections of the Banū Harb [q.v.], the dominant tribe in the area between Mecca and Medina (Hogarth, Ḥejarat, 38). Before an asphalt highway joined Mecca and Medina via Dūd-dīlā, Rābīgh and Bādir, secondary routes (see Hogarth, Ḥejarat, 114-21) ran from Rābīgh northward through the mountains to Medina, providing a more direct but more difficult approach than the al-Tūrīk (or al-Darīb “narrow mountain pass”) al-Sulāntī, which follows the coast. In 1924 Abū ʿAzīz Āl Saʿūd, the future king of Saudi Arabia, sent the Ikhūn [q.v.] to capture Rābīgh, cutting the communications between Dūd-dīlā and Medina. In 1925 he declared Rābīgh an official pilgrim port.


RABI’ B. FADL ALLĀH, an adventurer attached to the ivory and slave trader of the eastern Sudan, Zubayr Pasha [q.v.]. After the fall of Zubayr in 1291/1874 and the subsequent death of his son Sulaymān, Rabi’h assumed leadership of Sulaymān’s followers. By 1305/1887 he had become associated with the Mahdiyya [q.v.] movement in the eastern Sudan. Between 1309-10/1892 and 1310-11/1893 he attacked and defeated the sultanes of Baghirmi and Wadai.

There then followed a period during which Rabi’h entered into an association with Hayatu dān Sa’du’u, a disaffected grandson of Muhammadu Bello [q.v.], first caliph of Sokoto, to conquer Borno [see Borno] and then Sokoto [q.v.]. The conquest of Borno was accomplished at the battle of Nga in 1311/1893, but at that point Hayatu and Rabi’h quarrelled and the projected attack on Sokoto failed to develop.

Rabi’h now moved south and occupied Dikwa,
which became his headquarters. After several clashes with the French, he was defeated and killed at the battle of Kusseri in 1900.


RABI'IYYAT. In Ottoman literature.

There is no special literary genre called rabi'iyät (bahiyyät) in Ottoman literature (from now on referred to as diwan literature). Spring, however, has an important place within diwan literature, as is the case for every other national literature. Spring, with its different functions fitting the structure of almost every kind of literary style and genre, was given its own special place in diverse literary genres coeval with the beginnings of written Ottoman literature in the second half of the 13th century. Since this literature favoured the meltemi'yi genre, in which all sorts of religious stories, religio-mythological works, histories, semi-religious books of advice pertaining to literary edification and romances were written, spring acquired a place in romances written in the style of the 13th and 14th centuries, especially those dealing with love adventures. It did so whilst serving two functions: as a sort of setting-décor, but also, beyond that obvious function, as a means to convey certain symbolic-mythological meanings.

Spring in Ottoman literature was naturally connected with the descriptions of orchards and gardens in springtime, thus bringing together the categories of time and space and carrying out the task of creating in the reader/listener the impression of verisimilitude. In this literature most lovers meet or are introduced to one another in the setting of a green, blossoming orchard full of flowers and plants coming back to life. Spring is connected here with the image of an orchard and with the idea of eternal life as the plants that have wilted and died in winter come back to life, and through these two motifs it is further related to the notion of Paradise (to which it includes in an idealised version of all the elements of nature in springtime, such as meadows, gardens, flowers, trees, birds, running waters, light, cool breezes and the like) and its eternal happiness. Thus, in the descriptions of spring it is the notion of Paradise and its central role in the religion and beliefs of Islam that is at the back of the poet's intention and imagery. For instance, Mehmed, in his meltemi'yi Uğur-ndme (15th century) has the two lovers meet in an orchard at springtime, and the description of spring is presented in the above-mentioned terms (cf. 102, ll. 1716-1728; 116, ll. 2300-16). Likewise, the first love scenes take place in the same setting, as do the wedding ceremonies (cf. 81-2, ll. 872-91; 248-9 ll. 8081-8100; 225 l. 8409). Descriptions of spring in the same terms are also found in the 14th century meltemi'yi Ağrek-ndme of Ahmed-i Dîmûn, and in the Khrüştînd-ndme of Sheykh-oglu Mustafa (ed. Hüseyin Ayan, Erzurum 1979, 176-7, ll. 1263-1319; 192, ll. 1706-29. For the meeting of the lovers in an orchard, cf. 239-40, ll. 2959-87).

In the meltemi'yi, spring is presented in close association with the sun. For instance, in the Khrüştînd-ndme of Sheykh-oglu Mustafa, the garden specially ordered by Sultan Siyâwuş for his son Khrüştînd is described as a garden in eternal springtime. All the flowers, trees and vegetation in this garden preserve their blossoming in an eternal spring. This garden is in fact an image of paradise. It has been arranged as an eternally unwilting garden, and moreover, it is the garden of a god (cf. 176-7). The owner of this garden is Khurshid, and if we consider the etymology of the word Khrüştînd we realise that the owner of the garden is the sun. Furthermore, Khrüştînd in this work is dressed in green from head to toe, with a green crown and a green veil; in other words, he has been described as a Kholîd (q.v. figure (cf. 240, ll. 12979, 1981). At the same time, the garden is a symbol of Khrüştînd-ndme, and in Khrüştînd-ndme is a gülîttân (cf. 1. 1653). In this manner, both the image and the concept of the orchard's association with the sun, spring and the rebirth of life at springtime, as well as the thought that the orchard belongs to the beloved or the sun or the ruler, are reminiscent of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, of the blessed divine gardens (whose gardener is a Sumerian or Akkadian king), of the even more ancient Sumerian temples, of the Sumerian concept of An and Adad, of Atargatis in Dilmun, and, finally, of the Paradise of the Torah and the gardens of Solomon in eternal springtime as described in the Song of Solomon in the Old Testament. Likewise, the traditional and typified theme in the meltemi'yi's of the meeting of the two lovers in gardens of eternal springtime, and their holding festivities and wedding ceremonies there, may be traced back to the older tradition of the New Year festivals, mostly a tradition orally transmitted for thousands of years and only a small part of which is reflected in written traditions. For instance, the scene of the washing and decoration of Ferahshad before the meeting of the lovers in the eternal spring garden in the Khrüştînd-ndme is clearly a distant echo of the ritual washing and decoration of the gods and goddesses before their wedding in the New Year festival (cf. 248-9; cf. also G. Alpay-Tekin (ed.), Ahmed-i Dîmûn, Ceng-ndme, in Sources of Oriental Languages and Literature, 16, Harvard University 1992; the ninth and tenth part of the text are a spring and garden description and the celebration of New Year in the spring at the ruler's garden).

These mythological elements preserved their identity during the 14th and 15th centuries but not thereafter, when they were reduced to mere decorative elements after losing their lively character and deeper meaning with the onset of a changing world view that paralleled the changing living conditions, social classes and economic conditions of the Ottoman empire. In the hands of the poets of diwan literature, spring and everything associated with it became means for creating all sorts of literary figures and word plays on the level of style and rhetoric. Nonetheless, the words expressing these mythological viewpoints relating to spring, used in a stereotyped manner both in the meltemi'yi and in other literary genres to be examined, were used only for the purpose of background description and word plays in the following centuries, while viewpoints whose meaning had been more or less changed were combined with concepts and used, always, in the same stereotyped associations. In the following are outlined the main characteristics of these associations with reference to these particularities:

1. As mentioned above, spring was presented in terms of the association garden-spring-eternal-life-Paradise.

2. Spring was always expressed together with the emotion of eternal happiness, either in connection with Paradise or with youth. In the following centuries, however, the quality of the eternal withered
away and happiness was associated with the transitory quality of spring and depicted as a happiness with an end drawing near. Uzun Firdewsl started depicting spring with the transitoriness of happiness and youth in his *Kuhb-nâmê* (ed. 21.)

3. Spring is the symbol of youth and therefore represents the beloved and beautiful lady. For instance, in the *Yasuf u Zalikah* of the 16th century poet Kemal Paşa-zâde, spring represents youth, and autumn and winter old age (ed. Mustafa Demirel, Ankara 1983, 183-4, ll. 1850-6; for a classic depiction of spring, see 70-1, ll. 553-70). Spring, garden, beautiful lady, and the sun are all presented in terms of the traditional association of youth with the sun, and thus the garden is presented in terms of the traditional associations (ed. Necmettin Halîl Onan, Istanbul 1956, 133-42, ll. 1321-1418).

4. The relationship between spring and sun is presented mostly in the following fashion. Because at the spring equinox night and day are equal, the sun is considered a symbol of justice and spring is the season when this justice is applied. Moreover, it is because of the sun's beneficial effects that vegetation comes back to life in the spring. Thus generosity is a quality that comes about by the joining of spring and the sun. As a result, in *divan* literature, the sun, because of its associations with justice and generosity, has always been conceived in terms of spring and the ruler, on account of his close relation to the sun, has been presented as an indivisible part of spring.

5. Spring has always been considered together with the rains of April and the concepts of blessing and mercy. Moreover, through the coming into being of the pearl out of the raindrop of April that falls into an oyster, the image of the pearl, its preciousness, perfection and beauty are added to these concepts.

6. Spring in *divan* literature is frequently presented together with drinking and music at evening gatherings held in gardens in connection with the spring festivals.

Different social and military conditions entered the above general picture after the second half of the 15th century and especially during the 16th century. For instance, the elements used in describing spring started to stand for the different ranks of the Ottoman hierarchy, such as a Grand Vizier or a pasha or a vizier, or even just a person near and dear to him.

Spring is sometimes the topic of the *neshî* (tezêhîb) section of the literary genre of the *kâsîde*. In fact *kâsîdes* frequently start with a description of the rose, which symbolizes the beloved and beautiful lady. For instance, we find the standard images of classical poetry where the cheek of the beloved was compared to a rose, the locks of hair to hyacinth, the elegant stature to a cypress, etc.

Spring was also the symbol of joy and increase of nature, which may have to do with one of the four seasons, and the poem is termed, accordingly, a *bahâriyye*, or a *gâhidîyye* or a *lemnûzîyye*. Just like the descriptions of autumn and winter, those of spring are means for the poet to effect the transition to the short grizgâh part, serving as an introduction to the praise (*medîîîye*) section of a *kâsîde* which he has composed in order to praise his patron-ruler or another high member of the Ottoman hierarchy, such as a Grand Vizier or a paşa or a vizier, or even just a person near and dear to him.

The *kâsîdes*, for all that they conform to the descriptions of spring presented above and are faithful to the whole network of stereotypical relations between themes and concepts, are the poems that best reflect the changing conceptions of spring paralleling those. There are plenty of poets in *divan* literature who are famous for their *kâsîdes*, including Ahmed Paşa and Necâîî for the 16th century, Fudüî, Bâkî, Newî, Yahyah Bey for the 16th, Khayyâf and especially Nefî for the 17th, and Nедîm for the 18th. Almost all of these poets treated spring as the subject of the *neshî* section of their *kâsîdes*. There is little doubt that, among these *bahâriyyes*, the most famous is the one dedicated by Nefî (d. 1634) to Sultan Murâd IV, whose *masâlâ* begins:

*Alcsun bizim de göllümüz sâki medi sün qâmî-dî Djem (Divân, Istanbul 1249, 47).*

Another very famous *kâsîde* beginning with a spring depiction was written in the 18th century by Nedîm (d. 1730). This poem that puts to words the excitement and joy of spring is one of the most beautiful and allegorical allusions peculiar to the century were sprinkled, without much sense of unity and order, in all genres of *divan* literature (medîîîye, *gâzelt, kaside, kifâ* or a *turchiyye*). For instance, we find the standard images of classical poetry where the cheek of the beloved was compared to a rose, the locks of hair to hyacinth, the elegant stature to a cypress, etc.
The influence of the depictions of spring in diwa‘n literature is so strong that even when writing ghībāyā, ghībāyā, or temmūzīyya, poets compare that season to spring. It is also worth mentioning that sometimes a word having to do with the spring répertoire is the rhyming word of the kasīde, even if there is no proper nesīb section dealing with spring, and the kasīde is then named according to that rhyme word, e.g. the gāl kasīde of the nesīb sections and sometimes therefore named bahārijūyeh) that may deal with spring is the Sākī-nāme. This genre, which is in fact written in methnīwī style, was developed especially after the 16th century. Spring in this genre is more closely associated with music and drinking gatherings.

It should be noted that there is a fourth genre dealing with spring, the mūnāząre [see MUNAZARA], even though there appears to be only one extant example. Lāmī‘ī’s prose work Mūnāząre-yi Sultan-i Bahār bā Shērūrī-yi Ṣīʿāt. As may be understood from its title, this work deals with a competition between the two seasons.

Apart from all these, the only work of diwa‘n literature entirely devoted to the springtime New Year festivals is the Ăng-nāme of Ahmad-i Dāštī, who lived in the first half of the 15th century. Except for the last, synonymous work of 70-80 lines by the Persian poet Sa‘dī, this work appears to be the only one connecting not just Ottoman but Islamic literature with the New Year festivals of ancient times. In methnīwī style, it was written to express the desire of man, alone and a stranger in this world, to return to man’s real homeland and to find eternal life. The lyre (ĕng), which represents exactly such a man, is played at a musical gathering on a spring day, entertaining everyone. In the first part of the work there is a description of a spring festival in which the son of Bāyezīd I, Prince Sūleymān, is participating. In the second part, the lyre played at this festival tells the poet the adventures of its coming to this strange world through the stories of the cypress, the gazelle, the horse and the silk worm, the origins of the four constituent parts of the lyre. The heroes of the four stories are victims to the chain of eternal change, birth and death, of the material world and at the same time are eaten with the desire to return to their homelands, the source of eternal life. In the Ăng-nāme, the lyre celebrating spring and the man wishing for eternal life (symbolised by spring) are joined into one figure. Bibliography: Given in the article.

RABĪ’IYĀT: In Arabic [see ZAHRIYĀT].

RABĪTA (A.), term employed in al-Andalus to denote a fortified enclosure, a bastion constructed on the coast to deter enemy attacks from the sea. This term sometimes served as a substitute for rūbā [q.v.], a term which no longer extended to the concentration point occupied by combatants in a holy war, but was almost reduced to the sense of ḡīdā [q.v.] or even replaced with gārā [sudden attack, raid].

In a rūbā, “volunteers, who were periodically relieved, maintained a vigilant watch, while practising spiritual exercises and striving to lead an ascetic life. “The best known of these fortified monasteries, on the Mediterranean, was that of the Cape of Gata, at the eastern point of the bay of Almería... Another known rūbā, on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, was that of al-Tawba or “Penitence”; it stood, opposite Huelva, not far from the estuary of the Río Tinto, on the same site where today stands the famous monastery of the Rabita, whose presence, since the end of the Middle Ages, has continued to uphold the Muslim monastic tradition” (E. Lövi-Provençal, Hist. Esp. mus., iii, 111-12).

Current Spanish toponymy preserves, in the forms Rápita, Rávita, Rábida, the memory of the existence, in other parts of al-Andalus, of hermitages which were places of retreat for persons considered to be saints, accompanied by their disciples. This term thus became synonymous with zāwiyah, a term which has been adopted by the Spanish language, which uses rūbā to denote a monastery or a hermitage.

Long before the arrival in the Maghrib of the wave of mysticism and the development in these regions of the “maraboutism” characteristic of religious activity, rūbā was also used there in concurrence with zāwiyah (see al-Badisi, Muṣḥab, tr. G.S. Colin, in AM, xxvi [1926], 240).

Bibliography: L. Torres Balbás, Rhibas hispanomusulmanas, in al-And., xii/2 (1948), 475-91; C. Villanueva, Rhibas granadinas, in Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos, iii (1954), 79-86. (Ed.)

AL-RABIṬA AL-ISLAMIYYA (A.), literally “the Islamic league.”

Pan-movements in the Muslim world have been usually rendered by Arabic terms like waṣḥād, ṭīḥād, rūbā or ḡīdām. Rūbā ("bond") in eastern Muslim mystic tradition originally meant the relationship of a murid to his master (R. Gramlich (tr.), Awadrif al-ṭawābi̇n, Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des Ḥāmid al-Dīn Khodja, 1984, 117-118). The best known of these fortified monasteries, on the coast to deter enemy attacks from the sea, was that of al-Tawba or “Penitence”; it is known as a term which no longer extended to the ballad [q.v., ghīdā]. The best known of these fortified monasteries, on the coast to deter enemy attacks from the sea, was that of al-Tawba or “Penitence”; it is known as a term which no longer extended to the ballad [q.v., ghīdā].

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These dates suggest that after 1880, Islamic politics were primarily conceived as a movement to reunify the Muslim countries and, as al-Afghani put it in 1884, "to preserve [four] nation's honour, to grieve for what hurts it, and to co-operate to defend a total union against whomsoever attacks it." (al-Afghani, 'Abdul-, al-'Urwah al-tawakkul, 71, tr. Landau, in op. cit., 319). Consequently, Islamic politics constituted the mass of the whole Islamic umma as superseding any national boundaries of Muslim politics (see al-'Urwah al-tawakkul, 48).

Islamic rhetorics were of great importance during the reign of the two Ottoman sultans 'Abd al-'Aziz and 'Abd al-Hamid II (q.v.). They used the concept of Islamic unity to develop a new form of foreign policy which aimed at mobilising the peoples of the Muslim world in favour of the Ottoman Empire. Though 'Abd al-Hamid II, who now stressed his identity as caliph, tried to establish a network of Islamic propagandists, the success of his appeal to Islamic unity and of Pan-Islam as an "imperial ideology" (Landau, op. cit., 9-72) was very small. Obviously, national policy was much more able to mobilise Muslim intellectuals, since the nation state offered real positions of power, whereas Pan-Islamism referred to an Islamic umma which had only a nebulous existence. Only in India were the activities of the Ottoman emissaries rather more successful.

Since ca. 1900, rabi'a has also become a technical term for independent, trans-national Islamic organisations (e.g. the All-India Muslim League, established in the context of local politics by partisans of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's (1817-98) reform movement in 1906 (W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India, London 1946, 246-92, Lahore 1969, 297-358; Landau, op. cit., 185), in Arabic called al-rabi'a al-mustima (Mas'ud al-Nawdi, Ta'rikh al-Da'wa al-isldmiyya fi 'l-Hind, Beirut 1930/1950, 249). In 1909-10, the famous Egyptian nationalist Ibrahim Nafi al-Wardanl (1886-90), and Shafik Mansur (1886-1895) called their small, militant organisation either djam'iyat al-rabita al-isldmiyya, djam'iyat al-tit'had al-isldmi or simply djam'iyat al-rabita al-nakawusiyya.

During the First World War, the Central Powers, especially Germany, induced the Ottoman empire to join the war against the Allies. Again, however, this propaganda failed, since national identities of local elites predominated over trans-national forms of self-identification (see further on this, PAN-ISLAMISM).

Islamic policy formulated as Pan-Islamism was often, but not invariably, connected to the Salafiyya (q.v.) movement. It continued to be an important field of propaganda, especially in Muslim minority communities and among dissident Muslim political groups. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawkabii (1848-1902 (q.v.)) elaborated the idea of Pan-Islamism in constructing a fictive Muslim congress that should have taken place in Mecca in 1898-9. He stressed the importance of the civil identity of Pan-Islamism as being for him the only policy that could guarantee Muslim social, cultural and political welfare (Umm al-kurraj, Birjat 1901, tr. Albright, ibid., 30-5). The congress idea aroused a brief enthusiastic response in 1907-8 and again after the abolition of the caliphate in Turkey on 4 March 1924. From 1926 to 1931, three international Islamic congresses were held (Mecca 1926, Cairo 1926 and Jerusalem 1931), each of which aimed at helping establish an Islamic public opinion on special issues (the question of the Holy Places, the question of the caliphate, and the question of the Sanctuaries in Jerusalem).

The more such independent Islamic groups as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (djam'iyat al-'ishqad al-muslimin (see AL-ISHQAD AL-MUSLIMIN)) or the Muslim Youth Organisation (djam'iyat al-shubban al-muslimin) were able to spread their propaganda and to articulate an Islamic policy which was directed more to a local public than to an imagined Islamic umma (the influence of Rashid Ridj (q.v.)) is notable, the more the traditional concept of Pan-Islam lost its influence. Following Rashid Ridj, most Islamic activists now favoured a unity of Islamic avant-garde organisations (djam'iyat al-ikhwan al-muslimin), which would represent the "polity of Islam" (dawlat al-Islam) in contrast to the undifferentiated unity of the Islamic umma (djam'a al-isldmiyya) (cf. Rashid Ridj, Ta'rikh al-Imam al-Ushtad Muhammad 'Abduh, i, Cairo 1350/1931, 318-320, 328). It is in this sense that the term rabi'a ("league") has been widely used since the 1930s. In Syria, Morocco, 'Irak, Algeria and Sudan, for instance, Muslim scholars have founded so-called "leagues" (rabi'a al-'ulam), which show that the term rabi'a has now become a word signifying an independent Muslim elite organisation, mostly of Salafi orientation.

After the Second World War, Pan-Islamism as a label for independent, trans-national Islamic policy faded out. Instead, national politics of the newly-established or re-established states began to incorporate Pan-Islamic ideals into their own propaganda (Egypt, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia). The Suez Crisis offered real positions of power, whereas Pan-Islamism was only a nebulous existence. Only in India were the activities of the Ottoman emissaries rather more successful.

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in foster-relationship, adds to the impediment to marriage by reason of fostership a further impediment on grounds of a relationship in law. Resistance to the idea that the relation established between nurse and infant extended to the nurse's husband and, through him, to his brothers, was expressed in variants of the above traditions, one of which exposes the principle underlying the proposed extension. This is the concept of "the sire's milk". It was thought that there inhered in breast-milk some quality similar to that residing in blood. The semen of the husband caused the flow of milk. That was what underlay the ban created by the act of nursing and it was, therefore, of necessity, implicated in its legal consequences. Incorporation of relationship in law within the structure of foster-relationships was upheld but, at least in this aspect, was abandoned by al-Shāfī'i under the influence of contrary traditions.

Foster-relationship is to a degree specific. The fuḥakā' are agreed that, whereas it exists between a man and all his descendants and his nurse and all her foster- and blood relatives, and for the majority, all her husband's ones as well, no foster-relationship is assumed between a man and the ascendants or lateral relatives of his foster-brothers and sisters, or between the nurse and the ascendants or lateral relatives of her foster-child. Since the Kur'ān envisages the employment for hire of wet-nurses, the duration of the breast-feeding had to be ascertained, under the rules governing hire. As to the age of the infant, that and the question of the period of his feeding had been addressed in II, 233, which suggested that the complete course would be of two years. For the majority, therefore, only suckling that occurs in infancy and is indispensable for the physical development of the child creates the legally significant bond. The point was illustrated using hypothetical illustrations. A husband, coming to the aid of his wife whose milk is slow to flow, is not barred from future marital relations with her if he should inadvertently swallow any of her milk. Nor can a jealous wife prevent legitimate sexual relations between her husband and any younger co-wife whom he chooses to marry by the expedient of nursing her. The response to such situations was conveyed in traditions traced to prominent Companions, or to the Prophet himself: in-namū 'l-rafā' al-magdi'a al-rafā' al-kabir. Various wives of the Prophet are reported to have arranged that certain infants be suckled by their sisters or by the daughters of their brothers, to ensure that, in their later years, such males would be able to visit them. The traditions in question make the point that a minimum number, usually five or ten, of suckling sessions had to be completed if the plan were to succeed. Where the number of sessions fell below the stated minimum, the underlying intent was frustrated. That, it is explained, is why Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh could never call upon ʿAṣīha. The discussion on numbers merged with the separate tradition on the plight of a particular family unit. When the wife of a foster-mother and foster-sister, and foster-daughter. Nor is it under the influence of contrary traditions.

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prominent Companion told the Prophet that, following the revelation of sura XXXIII's negation of the reality of legal adoption, her husband resented the continued presence in their home of their adopted son, now grown to full manhood, the Prophet counselled her to suckle the man on five separate occasions. A variant says ten separate occasions. Alone among the Prophet's widows, Ḥādīth is said, on the basis of this episode, to have adopted the principle that the suckling of an adult is legally efficacious. Rebuffed by the Prophet's other widows, Ḥādīth is reported to have replied that she merely followed a precedent that was acknowledged by her husband. The Sunna, XXXIII, 23. This argument from the Sunna proving inadequate in the face of an equal weight of contrary traditions traced to the remaining widows, showing that they regarded that as having been a specific concession granted by the Prophet and never intended for general application, resort had to be made to higher authority. Ḥādīth is said to have claimed that a Kurānic verse had been revealed to the Prophet setting the minimum number of suckling sessions required to establish the marriage ban at ten. The verse had subsequently been withdrawn and replaced by a second verse setting the limit at five. Ḥādīth is further held to have stated that this second verse was still being recited as part of the Kurānic recitation. Malik reproduced this report in his Mustawā, merely to dismiss it, but it became a crucial element in al-Shāfi‘ī's bitter polemic against the Mālikīs of his day. Hanafīs and Mālikīs are agreed that one single session suffices to establish the ban; three opinions are transmitted from Ahmad which show him somewhat equivocal on the matter. Al-Layth b. Sa‘d and the Zāhirīs Dāwūd and Ibn Hazm argued for this limit of five sessions, and defended the legal efficacy of suckling an adult, although al-Shāfi‘ī had already abandoned this element of the tradition as curtly as Malik or, failing that, one man and two women (II, 282).

The discussion incidentally furnished the theorists on nasiḥ [q.e.] with what were claimed to be two attested instances of the phenomenon. The ten sucklings verse exemplified nasiḥ al-ti‘ala wa ‘l-ḥākm, suppression of both wording and ruling of a Kurānic verse, while the five sucklings-verse represented suppression of the wording, but not the ruling of a revealed verse, nasiḥ al-ti‘ala dāna ‘l-ḥākm. That the Mālikīs treated both verses as suppressed in respect of wording and ruling shows that they traced their view directly to IV, 23. The verse used the preterite of the verb which can be realised in a single act, an interpretation illustrated in a tradition attributed to ‘Abd Allāh b. Umar: ‘God's word is superior to Ḥādīth's word. God merely says 'Your foster-sisters are prohibited'; He does not say 'One suckling' nor 'two sucklings'.’

To prove foster-kinship, many authorities were content with the testimony of the foster-mother. But, as the foster-mother may be either free or a slave, Muslim or dāmmī, Mālik is said to have expected the evidence of at least two women, although his followers are divided on this. The Ḥanafīs demanded two men, or, failing that, one man and two women (II, 282). Bibliography: J. Schacht, Concise History of Islamic Law, Oxford 1950; M. J. Gluckman, The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence, Oxford 1977; idem, in St. Andrews University, School of Abbadis Studies, Occasional Papers, i (1986); idem, The sources of Islamic law, Edinburgh 1990; Shāhī, Umm, Cairo 1321/1903, v, 20 ff., vi, 240, vii, 208, 246-7; Shawkānī, Naṣr al-aswāfī, Cairo 1343/1926, vii, 113 ff.; Beurrt 1393/1973, vii, 113 ff. (J. Schacht/J. Burton)

2. In Arabian society.
Before Islam, the Meccans habitually gave their infants to wet-nurses, choosing these for preference amongst the Bedouins; hence Muhammad was entrusted to Halima, of the tribe of Sa‘d b. Bakr (al-Balādhūrī, Anṣāb al-sa‘rāfī, ed. Hamidallah, Cairo 1959, i, 93). It was normal for such services to be recontracted, and Kurānic verses, e.g., Kurgan, II, 233, stipulates that the wet-nurse should be rewarded according to the custom. Curiously, it is also envisaged that a husband should make a payment to the mother whom he has repudiated as a wife so that she can suckle her child born of him. If there is any dispute over the amount of this recompense, the mother can refuse to provide milk without the father being able to exert any pressure or compulsion on her. In such a case, the parents can only entrust their child to a wet-nurse (LXV, 6).

Suckling creates fraternal bonds which have a widespread social and moral effect. As a vital element which embodies a sacred principle, milk produces an effect comparable to that of blood, of which it is sometimes a synonym. This is why children suckled from the same breasts were considered as brothers, so that Shīmā, daughter of the wet-nurse Halima, was the foster-sister of Muhammad. When she was captured on the Day of Hunayn [q.e.], she identified herself to the Prophet, who accabled her a welcome worthy of a sister (al-Balādhūrī, Anṣāb, i, 93).

The mystical bond of relationship created by suckling gave rise to a number of marriage prohibitions (see 1. above). The prohibition of marrying a foster-sister was pre-Islamic. In order to prevent ‘Aṭār from consummating his marriage, a rival tried to make him believe that he was the milk-sister of his wife ‘Abla, on the grounds that the latter had allegedly sucked the breasts of Zābība, ‘Aṭār’s mother. In addition to the Kurānic prohibition (see 1. above), a hadith adds ‘suckling prohibits what birth prohibits’ (al-radda ta‘āruma ma ta‘āruma al-wusūda) (Muslim, Sahih, k. al-radda, Cairo 1334, iv, 192), and another tradition states ‘what is prohibited through fostering is the same as what is prohibited by blood relationship’ (yaḥrumu min al-ra‘da ma yaḥrumu min al-nasab) (al-Bukhārī, Sahih, k. al-nikāḥ, Cairo 1376, vii, 9).

When a husband learnt that he had been suckled at the same breast as had his spouse, he consulted the Prophet, who ordered him to divorce her (ibid., vii, 10). Since the wet-nurse’s husband was considered as a father, the latter’s brother became the uncle of the man who had been suckled, i.e. a foster-uncle (see 1. above).

One question to be considered concerns the provi- ence or source of the milk. Only a woman’s milk creates bonds of kinship; if a man suckles a child with milk secreted by his breasts, no prohibitions result (al-Sha‘rānī, Mīzān, Cairo 1322, ii, 143). Bibliography: Given in the article.
used, with the same meaning, was the expression Kitdb cala..., cf. Fihrist, index, 132. There are imported from these countries. Thus they return to al-Kulzum, then transport their [consignment] to al-Farama and [25x625]c

... a refutation of the...
embark on the Mediterranean. Sometimes, they
made a detour through Constantinople with their
merchandise, which they sold to the Byzantines.
Sometimes furthermore, they went to sell them [in the
land of the] king of Firandja."

[Second itinerary] "When they chose to do so, on
leaving Firandja, they transported their merchandise
by sea, on the Mediterranean, disembarking at An-
dhaniyya; not only, in fact, do "they call themselves
Christians", but moreover their journeys, confined to
the Orient, have Baghdad as their western limit. The
paragraph devoted to them is possibly an interpola-
tion owed to a copyist, but it is equally possible that
the author himself has inserted a few lines regarding
these merchants; this would then be one of those inter-
calations through association of ideas which are such
a feature of mediaeval Arab writings, especially in the
process of revisions, and it is known that Ibn Khur-
radadhbih adapted his own text. On the subject of the
Russians, al-Mas'udî, who does not know of the Râ-
dhâniyya, speaks (Murâdî, ii, 18 = § 458) of the Lûd'hûnāa (? "who come in pursuit of trade to Spain,
to Rome, to Constantinople and Khazaria". J. Mar-
quart (Streatf. 33, D. M. Dunlop (Khazars, 209) and A. Seippel (p. xxviii) have proposed various readings
and handled, but it would be tempting to see this
name as an adaptation of Râdhâniyya; the author
of the present article was rash enough to suggest such
a connection (Arabic index of the Murâdî, s.v.
Lûd'hûnâ) Jacobs (252-3) also speculates cautiously
on the possibility of the al-Lûd'hûnâa = al-
Râdhâniyya equation and shows equal circumspec-
tion in considering a passage of the Kitâb al-Tambîh of the same author (I40; ed. Cairo, 121-2) where it is said
that the same group of Jewish merchants from the
pounds ships of the Kûd'hûnâa (? Râdhâniyya ?) and
of other Russians.
It is particularly important not to overlook, as R.
Blachère has, the continuation of the account of Ibn
Khurrâradadhbih, who returns to the Râdhâniyya
without introducing them other than by a personal
pronom (âm), which could equally well refer to the
Russian merchants. So, having described in the first
part of the text two itineraries of the Jewish merchants
who, on the outward journey at least, traverse the
Mediterrenean from end to end, the author moves on
to a Third itinerary, to
"Their landover route: those among them who set
out from al-Andalus or from Firandja, cross over (the
strait) to Lower Sûs [al-Sûs al-Aqṣâ] and arrive at
Tanger, whence they make their way to Ifrikîya
[al-Andalus] and the western Egyptian coasts (in the
present-day Tunisia, but more specifically Kayrawân), to Mîr [q.v.], (Egypt, but more specifically al-Fustâqî); they
subsequently pass through al-Kamla [q.v.] (in
Palestine), Damascus (Dimâshq [q.v.]), Kûfâ [q.v.],
Baghdâd, Bâṣra [q.v.], (these last three in Tirâq), al-
âhwâz [q.v.] (in al-Khuzâsîn), Fârs and Kirkman [q.v.1,
arriving in Sind, India and China.

[Fourth itinerary] "Sometimes they take a route to
the rear of Rome (Rûmiyya), through the land of the Slavs
(al-Sâkâlîga [q.v.]), reaching Khâmîlîdî (or Khamîlîk; see Hudâd al-Islâm, cmm. Minorsky, 154 and index),
capital of the Khazars [q.v.], then [they sail] on the sea of
Djurdanî (the Caspian), arriving at Bâlk [q.v.] (in northern Afghanistan) and in Transoxiana (Mâ warâ al-Nahr [q.v.] before attaining the camp
(wurt; see below) of the Toghuzghuz [q.v.] and mov-
ing into China."

The first orientalist to have drawn attention to this
passage was A. Sprenger who, in 1844, undertook an
English translation of it. Shortly after this, J.-T. Renuad de
Blachere has, the continuation of the account of Ibn
Khurrâradadhbih, who is not to be confused with the Ra-
danites, this senior South African rabbi
Rabinowitz who, following his survey of The routes of
the Radanites (1944), devoted a monograph to these
merchants, entitled Jewish merchant adventurers. A study
of the Radanites. This senior South African rabbi
reckoned it necessary to consider in the first place the general situation of the world in the 9th century in order to identify and locate the "Radhanites". In reference to whom he asserted (11), quoting Jacobi, who was the first historian (in 1964) to subject the text of Ibn Khurradadhbih to critical examination of certain striking details or, on the contrary, if the whole is not to be rejected, should its authenticity at least be seriously questioned, bearing in mind that it is possibly a case of interpolation, the product of the intervention of some copyist? No historian has gone so far as this, not even Cl. Cahen, nor B. Blumenkranz who, writing in 1960, has shown considerable scepticism and has criticised the modern scholars who "by means of ingenious but barely reliable exegesis" locate the Radhaniyya, for this ancient city, which had lost much of its importance since the Arab conquest, was not a known market. Furthermore, the name of al-Djabiyah is suspect (and it hard to understand how Blachère, op. cit., 28, n. 12, discovered that it refers to "a small locality on the Euphrates", whereas the name in question [q.v.] is only that of a small town situated to the south of Damascus, and it seems unlikely that itinerant merchants would have made such a detour. In fact, this toponym features in only one of the four itineraries described briefly, by the geographer. He finds it astonishing that, in the second, An-tiuch should be the port of disembarkation of the Radhanites, since the trade routes between Christian Europe and the Islamic world were closed, except for the Jews. S.D. Goitein (1955), who was well aware of the work of Rabinowitz, considered the history of the Radhanites in the light of documents from the Geniza and saw in their activity the first example of Jewish commerce in the early years of Islam. Writing in 1967, this same scholar attributed in part the major role played by Jews in the silk industry to the Radhaniyya (sic), who could have had the opportunity, during their visits to China, to become acquainted with the professional intricacies of silk production. Goitein was unaware of a seminal article Y a-t-il eu des Radhanites? by Cl. Cahen, who was the first historian to subject the text of Ibn Khurradadhbih to critical examination of certain striking details or, on the contrary, if the whole is not to be rejected, should its authenticity at least be seriously questioned, bearing in mind that it is possibly a case of interpolation, the product of the intervention of some copyist? No historian has gone so far as this, not even Cl. Cahen, nor B. Blumenkranz who, writing in 1960, has shown considerable scepticism and has criticised the modern scholars who "by means of ingenious but barely reliable exegesis" locate the Radhaniyya, for this ancient city, which had lost much of its importance since the Arab conquest, was not a known market. Furthermore, the name of al-Djabiyah is suspect (and it hard to understand how Blachère, op. cit., 28, n. 12, discovered that it refers to "a small locality on the Euphrates", whereas the name in question [q.v.] is only that of a small town situated to the south of Damascus, and it seems unlikely that itinerant merchants would have made such a detour. In fact, this toponym features in only one of the two mss. of Ibn Khurradadhbih and was omitted by Ibn al-Fakih (see below). On the other hand, if it is accepted that the name of al-Djabiyah is not an addition owed to a copyist but simply replaces that of the locali-
of merchandise mentioned and supplies, for each of them, references which in general do not contradict Ibn Khurraḍādjiḥbīh's version. The religion of the group poses no problem, the role of the Jews in worldwide commerce being well known; its organisation, however, is a mystery. (4) Etymology and origin: it is specifically in regard to the meaning and etymology of the term that Jacobi presents an interesting hypothesis worthy of serious consideration. Recalling that the author of the K. al-Masālik was a member of the managerial staff of the postal organisation (band) and thereby of an informational service, he proposes to see in the word ṭārādānīya not a name as such, but a technical term denoting a group of intelligence agents who, being Jews, were able to move from one community to another without attracting too much attention, using their commercial activity as a cover. This interpretation deserves to be taken seriously, but judgment must be suspended so long as there is no new source available to throw a decisive light on this problem.

The dialogue has not stopped here, and Cl. Cahen returned to the attack with an article intitled Quelques questions sur les Radanites. He thanks Jacobi for having corrected a few minor errors and judges "plausible, though unproven" his "interpretation of the word Raḍḥānīya", but returns to the major questions posed by the problem of the "Radanites". He adds that the text of Ibn Khurraḍādjiḥbīh gives the impression of "an organisation of people travelling from one end to the other along specific itineraries", which appears to conflict with the information supplied a little later by "the documents of the Geniza, according to which there never was a single commercial route directly followed from the West to the Indian Ocean." Above all, how is it to be explained that Ibn Khurraḍādjiḥbīh should be the only one to speak of the ṭārādānīya, that there was no western testimony regarding their journeys and that Europe knew nothing of the Far East?

The latest, chronologically, to take an interest in the ṭārādānīya has been M. Gil (1974), who presents a historical survey of works devoted to this subject and of answers to some of the questions posed by Cahen. Refusing to follow Kmietowicz (see below) and Jacobs, he seeks to link their evidence with the possible usage of Arabic sources (a comparison with Ibn al-Fakhlī), the point of departure and the itineraries (on which he comments at length), the meaning of Firandja (which he prefers to interpret as meaning Italy), the types of merchandise transported (which are subjected to thorough analysis) and finally the land of the ṭārādānīya: Gil revives the notion that they take their name from ṭārādān, a toponym which is the object of a very detailed study. The conclusion (323) is that "they were not an organisation, nor association, nor group; they only had in common their country of origin."

An issue which has so far been left to one side is the widely debated question of the etymology of the name of the ṭārādānīya. Reinaud was the first to associate it with a "Persian" word, rād-dān, translating it as "knowers of the way", and it is in fact a Persian origin which has been proposed by the scholars who have seriously dealt with the etymology of this term who, like Barbier de Meynard or Gil, see ṭārādān as an ethnic term. In his Glossarium to the BGA, De Goede followed Reinaud, justifying his acceptance of rād-dān with the reading ṭārādānīya of Ibn al-Fakhlī al-Hamadānī [q.v.] who, in his Mukhtasar Kītāb al-Buldān (270, tr. H. Massé, Abrégé du Livre des Pays, Damascus 1973, 324), summarised the passage of Ibn Khurraḍādjiḥbīh. However, in the course of editing this translation, the author of the present article has established that the Maqā’id ms. of the Mukhtasar also featured ṭārādāniya, thus a reading identical to that which De Goede retained in his edition of the K. al-Masālik. In 1907, D. Simonsen returned to the etymological problem and, rejecting the solution of Barbier de Meynard, since the ṭārādāniya came from Europe, he revived Spenger's hypothesis and suggested that they should be seen as "sea voyagers from the Rhône" (nautae) Rhodanesi. Furthermore in 1931, in a book in Hebrew on the subject of Israel in the diaspora, B. Dinur accepted this etymology, and he was not the only one to do so (see also 1966), but it had been rejected as early as 1908 by De Goede (in his Opuscule), for a phonetic reason, a transformation from o to ō being impossible. Jacobs and Katz, who saw the ṭārādāniya as coming from Rāy [q.v.] in Dībāl, where Ibn Khurraḍādjiḥbīh was employed as head of the barādīrī, sought to link their name to this town, although the corresponding ethnic term is Rāzī. In 1957, S.W. Baron considered De Goede's explanation (= itinerant merchants) more plausible than that of Simonsen. Cl. Cahen (1951, 1964, 499, n. 4) seemed willing to accept ṭārādān, rejecting ṭārādārī ("custodian of the road"), which could equally well be proposed; he made the point, however, that the orthography of the name of the group is far from being established. He no longer accepted a possible harmonisation with the reading of al-Mukaddāsī (Ahsan al-takṣīm, 30), which mentions a plural ṭārādānīna and explains it as meaning "sellers of linen and cotton goods". Dozy, who took this reference into account (Suppl., s.v. ṭ-h-r-d-n), added that he had encountered in the ms. of the Šīrāzī ath-thawālīf of al-Mālikī (mid-6th/11th century), the same plural designating (fol. 29b) a quarter of Kayrawān and (fol. 91b) traders who used their children to sell their merchandise (cf. R. Brunschvig, Haïfaïdes, i, 354, ii, 204); there was also at Kayrawān a Bāb al-Ṭārādānīna (al-Mukaddāsī, op. cit., 225; partial ed.-tr. Pellat, Description de l'Occident musulman au XIVVe siècle, Algiers 1950, 14/15). In 1970, Kmietowicz took a direction radically different from that of all his predecessors, deriving ṭārādāniya from vereardarii "couriers" and positing a phonetic evolution vereardarii-rewardarii-Ṭārādānīa, a hypothesis, however, which becomes impossible. Jacobs has given to Arabic barādīr "post and information" and to Berber abriḍ "road". It emerges that it is precisely espionage which Jacobi had in mind (261-2), accepting the etymology proposed by Reinaud. Finally, the last chronologically, M. Gil (306), is noteworthy for his assertion that the name of these merchants is based in all probability on the Syriac ṭārādān. This rapid survey has shown that, in spite of the erudition or the imagination of scholars, the problem posed by the origin of the term ṭārādāniya remains unsolved. Other unanswered questions include, whether this name was known throughout the itineraries described, or whether it was current only in the East of the Islamic world or even known only in the services of the barādīr; was it a kind of password used by spies, assuming that Jacobi's suggestion is to be taken seriously?

What is to be concluded now from examination of the principal works devoted to the ṭārādāniya? If it is accepted that they did really exist—and nobody seriously doubts this—it is beyond doubt that they were merchants who followed numerous itineraries between western Europe and China. On the outward and return journeys they conveyed a number of types of costly merchandise which are carefully listed by Ibn
Khurradadhbih. The latter also informs us that they spoke numerous languages, and it may be supposed that each individual was familiar with two or three among the languages mentioned and that they would have employed a common traders’ argot, probably containing many Hebrew elements. This is all that has been summarised above as having posed questions which they have attempted to answer with varying degrees of success. They have seized the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of international commerce in the Middle Ages and of the economic role of the Jews, but as regards the Rādhanīyya specifically, all their speculations have not brought any discernible progress. For so long as new sources remain undiscovered it is appropriate to avoid both hypercriticism and impudence and to admit that Ibn Khurradadhbih, occasional geographer, musicologist and above all Jew, in his barit wa ‘l-khabar, constituted himself the echo of information which circulated—perhaps confidently—in the governmental circles of his time.


RADHANPUR, a former princely state, headed by a Nawâb [q.v.], of British India, at that time in the Pâlânpur 68) Agency of Bombay Province, now in the Gujarat State of the Indian Union. It is also the name of its capital (lat. 23° 49' N., long. 7° 39' E.), an area of 1,150 square miles and supported a population of 70,530, of whom only 8,435 were Muslims.

The rulers of Radhanpur traced their descent from a Muslim adventurer who came to India from Isfâhân about the middle of the 12th/18th century. His descendants, the Murûds, and their successors were reelected in the Mughul province of Gudjarât [q.v.] early in the 12th/18th century Qâwâm Mârd Khân Bâbî, the head of the family at that time, received a grant of Radhanpur and other districts (Mirâ‘î-i Ahmadi, ms. in Ethê, no. 3599, fol. 742). With the decline of the Mughul empire these districts passed into the hands of the Mârâthâs [q.v.], but the Bâbî family were confirmed in the possession of Radhanpur by Damâdî Râo Gaekwâr.

British relations with Radhanpur date back to the year 1813 (Aitchison, vi, c). Some years later, the British were called upon to rid Radhanpur of plundering tribes from Sind who were committing serious depredations in the Nawâb’s territories. In return for this the Nawâb agreed to become a tributary of the British Government, but a few years later his tribute was remitted because it was felt that the state was unable to bear the expense. After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, in 1862, the ruler of Radhanpur received an adoption sanad from the governor-general (op. cit., cii). It was not until 1900 that the Qâwar-sai currency previously in use was discontinued and replaced by British currency.

In the last years of British rule, Radhanpur covered an area of 1,150 square miles and supported a population of 70,550, of whom only 8,435 were Muslims.
The town of Radhanpur, the capital of the state, had a total population of 11,225, of whom 3,694 were Muslims (1931 Census Report).

Bibliography: See that to PALAMNEFR, and also IMPERIAL Gazetteer of India, xxii, 22-5.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AL-RADF BI 'L-LAH, ABU 'L-'ABBAS AHMAD (MUHAMMAD) B. AL-MUKADAR, the twentieth 'Abbasid caliph.

He was born in Rabī' II 327/December 939; his mother was a slave named Zalu'm. He was proposed for the caliphate by the 'Arab, 33, 5-5, 57, 79, 92, 116, 139, 155, 168, 180, 183, 185; Mā'sūdī, Murādī, i, 166, viii, 308-44, ix, 31, 48, 52; idem, Tanbih, 105, 122, 154, 174, 193, 388-97; Ibn al-Athir, viii, see index; Abu 'l-Fidā', Anales, ed. Reiske, ii, 383 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, al-Tarīkh, xi, 396 ff.; Abu 'l-Mahāsib b. Tağhibirdi, al-Nūdīǧm al-zahīra, ed. Juyboll and Mathies, ii, see index; Ibn al-Tiktaḳā, al-Fakhri, ed. Derenbourg, 370-1, 374, 379-85; Amedroz and Margoliouth, The eclipse of the 'Abbasid caliphate, see index; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī Kawsīnī, Ta'rīḫ-i guzīda, ed. Browne, i, 339, 344-6, 778, 788; Sūlī, Aḥkār ar-Rāḍī wa 'l-Muttaḳī, ed. J. H. Denne, Cairo 1354/1935; Well, Gesch. der Chalifen, ii, 650, 653-78; Muir, The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall, new ed. by Weir, 569-72; Le Strange, Baghdad during the 'Abbasid Caliphate, 153, 194-5; H. Busse, Chalif and Groeskroeg, die Duyiden im Iraq (945-1055), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, index.

(RADĪ AL-DĪN HASAN AL-ŠAĞHĀNI [see AL-ŠAĞHĀNI].

RADĪF (A.), lit. "one who rides behind", "pillion rider", is used metaphorically in several technical senses (for a poetical figurative use in Turkish, cf. ordu-yi sa菲尔-řafī "the victorious army jone which has victory on its croup") in Tānkh-i Dżewdet, Istanbul 1270/1853-4, i, 22:

1. In astronomy it has two meanings, which seem, however, not very amply attested: (a) al-Radīf, and also, better attested, al-Rifḍ, is the ancient Arabic name for Dženab al-Dżamhīra, i.e. the star Deneb (a Cygni), called thus because it "rides pillion" to the "Horsemens" (al-Fawārī)—i.e., Cygni. (b) Rifḍ refers to a star or constellation which rises (yapūn, cf. also anawāk) at sunrise, while its opposite (rađif) is setting. For both meanings see L'A et Lane, s. v., for al-Rifḍ also al-Khārazmī, Mafātīḥ, 21, 6, and P. Kunitzsch, Arabische Sternennamen in Europa, Wiesbaden 1959, 82, 143.

2. In Persian and Persianate prosody the term denotes a word or a whole phrase that follows the rhyme letter (raǰūy) and recurs in every line of the poem. In Western languages various renditions of the term have been used, such as "over-rhyme" (Schimmel, 21), "echo rhyme" (Bombaci, in PTF, ii, pp. xxii, xxv), "refrain" (Thiesen, 76, n. 5), and "hypermeter" (J. Deny, in EL, s.v. reǰīf). However, "refrain" normally refers to entire lines or even stanzas repeated throughout a poem, while the radif is always shorter than a hemistich, and "hypermeter" denotes a stressed syllable in the outermost line, whereas the radif is decidedly not. The radif is a metrically and semantically necessary element of the line, as Shams-i Kays (Maṣḡūm, 258) and other authorities stress. The following line by Hafiz (q.v.; Dżowdān, edd. Kazwīnī and Qnhānī, no. 233) may serve as an example:

Dast az falāb nāmadar tā kām-i man bar ʿayād yā ʿan rasād bī-dżānān yā ʿan xītan bar ʿayād.

"I do not cease striving, until my desire comes about:..."
either the body reaches the friend or the soul comes up from the body.

The rhyme (kāfyā) in this ghazal is -ān (the raūʿyy being -n) and the radif is bar āyuūd. Clinton (Manāçthīrī, 51) calls the overall rhyme scheme in such cases very aptly “multiple rhyme”, but go on, as does others well, to call this ensemble a radif, which is not correct usage: kāfyā and radif are considered two separate elements.

The length of the radif may vary between one word and several words almost filling the hemistich. Extremes are to be found: (radif underlined):

\[\text{zhīzī fūzūda ḍānma-t-e ta sūb u sūrā rāa ḏẖka-sta sunbūl-i radif-ta mu‰k-hi-sārā rāa} \]

(Rūdāki [q.v.], apud Elwel-Sulton, 225)

and sarū-gāl-bāz nabād-ū w-ar buwaq nabād-ū lāniñ sarū-gāl rukh-ta sarū w-ar buwaq nabād-ū lāniñ didam-āq ša bar-sē gūlbār gūlmā rastī sarū dar gūlbār nabād-ū w-ar buwaq nabād-ū lāniñ (Khwādūyā [q.v.], apud Elwel-Sulton, 225) or, from Caghhatay Turkish:

\[\text{Meni shayda cla durghan bu königl dīr, bu königl. Kōhr u rusūa cla durghan bu königl dīr, bu königl. Ok tegn kāmatilmīzı kara khashgilardı wúcın Multıcıa ya cla durghan bu königl dīr, bu königl...} \]

(Lutfi [q.v., apud.]). Eckmann, in PTF, ii, 310)

Mere suffixes following the raūʿyy are not considered a radif (e.g. Džamī, Kāfyā, 1), and statements to the contrary in the secondary literature should be amended. It is true that Našīr al-Dīn-i Tūstī (Mi-yār al-āq ār, 200-1) prefers to consider everything that follows the raūʿyy-um wašt (see below) a radif but, as al-Tāhanāwī (Khwādūyā, h, 236-4) notes, this is against the communis opinio (wa in khlīf-mi mastaʿaraft asīt). The strength of this general opinion is shown by the fact that the early modern Turkish critic Muʿallīm Nāgī (Istilabat, 51) who would likewise subsume the suffixes under the general heading radif, defends his position with a personal statement to this effect (Aciz kanaatimızce, reviden sonra her ne gelirse redif sayilmak daha dogrudad). The suffixes, or rather the letters that make up the suffixes, have special names in “orthodox” -im-i kāfyā, the first letter after the raūʿyy being called wašt, the second ḍōnīg, the third māzid, and the fourth šīr and šūrūth—which is said to be the maximum—nāra.

The radif is supposed to have the same meaning throughout the poem. If it does not, a special artifice results (radif mutadhānis, see al-Tāhanāwī, Khwādūyā, i, 576) with complete paronomasia between radifs, as in the Arabic rhyme 

\[\text{Aa, mālāk ast u bar dāl-e sulān nār ha rūz bār-ni-yū u kuden sulān sūr ār} \]

(Mašīd-i Šād-i Salmān, apud Elwel-Sulton, 226)

Even more sophisticated is a combination of hādīg and double rhyme (dāwā t-kašyāyatān), as in the following lines from Maṣūzī [q.v.] (bid.), where the first rhyme is -ān, followed by the hādīg darti, in turn followed by words containing the second rhyme -akht:

\[\text{Aa šahr-i samin bar āsmān darti akht sest ast ratī tā tu kamān darti akht etc.} \]

A poem with radif is called muraddaf. This should not be confused with the term muraddaf, which means ‘provided with a radif’. The radif is a letter of prolongation (alif, awwā, yā) immediately preceding the raūʿyy, as in the Arabic rhymes nārā, nār, nār (spelled rāṭrā, nīnā, nuwru [H = alif]); in Persian rhyme theory there is the additional redif-i zāʿūd which denotes a consonant intervening between the radif and the raūʿyy, as in dāwāt (spelled dawāt), where w is the redif, s the radif, and i the raūʿyy. Since both muraddaf and muraddaf are terms used in rhyme theory, confusion is not easily avoided.

As for history and the poetics of the phenomenon, much remains to be studied. The first thing to be said is that the radif is unknown to the Arabs, as a critic like Rāghī al-Dīn-i Watāwī (Haddāk, 79-80) was well aware, except, he says, for innovations of the Moderns. As an example he gives a kāfyā by al-Zamakhshārī [q.v.] in praise of “Allā ad-Dawlāh Khdhārazmshāh in which the lakab of the mamduh is used as radif. First line:

\[\text{al-fadlu ḫayṣalalāh ‘Allāa l-Dawlah u} \]

(PTF, ii, 259). It is probably closer to the truth to say that existing rhyme phenomena in pre-Islamic Turkish poetry facilitated the adoption of the Persian radif technique.

Watāwī alleges that “most” Persian poems have a radif (Haddāk, loc. cit.). In the case of Manāçthīrī [q.v.] poems with and without radif are about evenly divided (Clinton, Manāçthīrī, 51). But simple percentages do not tell much without due consideration of the various kinds of radifs that are attested. The most common, and probably most ancient, type is the verbal radif consisting of a simple and mostly rather nondescript verb (cf. the line from Hafīz quoted above). This may be expanded into longer phrases and even complete sentences, such as “bar na-tābāt bēs as in “more than this is not feasible” serving as a radif in a kasfā of seventy-nine lines by Khākānī (q.v.; Reinert, 40; cf. Dīwān, 337-40). As for nominal radifs, Khākānī does not follow the fad of his time which was to choose just any noun in order to display one’s artistic virtuosity; the nouns he selects always have a bearing on the theme of the poem, such as using ḫāt “dust”, as a radif in a dirge of forty-two lines (ibid.; cf. Dīwān, 237-9), or the noun construct sag-i kāy-āt, “the dog of your street”, in a ghazal of fifteen lines in which the poet describes himself as the most despicable dog in the beloved’s lane (Schimmel, 403, n. 26, cf. Dīwān, 575). These nominal radifs can acquire an iconic character, as in a tāfṣīr-band by Dzhannati Biyā, quoted by ‘Awī (Ludāb, ed. Browne, ii, 394), where they denote various precious stones (gawhar, lašs, zumurrud), thus forming a necklace of sorts for the poem itself (Schimmel, 156). This possibility is also alluded to in a poem by the Mughal poet Ashraf who says about a celadon bowl with craquelé glaze:

You cannot describe it in a quartain or a ghazal - I think of a kasfā with the radif “Hair”

(Schimmel, 149). Similarly, almost every poet in Persia, Turkey, and
Muslim India attempted at least one poem with the radif gut, "rose" (Schimmel, 389, n. 65), and in Ottoman poetry such poems with gut (and also nergis) as radif solmasy were subgenres of the kasida (see Barfyay, toward the end).


3. Modern studies of poetry. A. Schimmel, A two-colored brocade. The imagery of Persian poetry, Chapel Hill and London 1992; B. Reinert, Hâgânî as Dichter. Poesische Logik und Phantasie, Berlin and New York 1972; J.W. Clinton, The Disson of Manâchîbî Dâmghânî. A critical study, Minneapolis 1972; H. Heimann, 3. In Turkish military usage. Mahmûd I [q.v.] gave the name of radif (‘âsîkî radifî-yi mensûre) to the reserve army created in 1834 (Jouanin and van Redif i nasîrî-mülûkî). The officers received a quarter of the usual pay, but were only expected to serve and wear uniform two days a week (Mußtaफî Nûrsî Pasha, Net‘î-yî ul-wu’ukî-yi, iv, 190).

In 1252/1836-7, the radif was organised in wide groups with a high command: muşîrîk (muşîrîk) or ‘mashal-ship’ [see müsîrîk] of radif, conferred upon the wâlîs. The first were those of the eyâlet of Kârâmân (Konîya), Khudaâwendi, (Bursa: guard or hâkîs), Ankarâ, Aydın, Erzurum and Edirne. At the same time, plans were made to raise the money required for this purpose. The radif-marshals were given the karunânî (karmânî) or cloaks of their new rank. Just as the troops of the line (mensûre) were distinguished from those of the guard (hâsîr), so there were radif-mensûre and radif-hâsîr. The appointment of commanders of divisions was to follow (for details, see the Tabriz-î ‘âlî or report of the grand vizier Mehmêd Emin Ra‘îf Pasha, in Lufî, v, 165-70). If we may believe the khâtî-h mâhâyyn [q.v.] promulgated on this occasion by Mahmûd II, these first steps gave every satisfaction (ibid., 74).

When the Military School (mekteb-i hârbiyey) instituted in 1251/1835-6 began to supply officers, the radif under arms was converted into active forces and the officers were sent back to their oğlûs (Net‘î-yî ul-wu’ukî-yi, iv, 106-9). The service of radif (kâmî-yi radifî) was now definitely to assume the character of a kind of period of service in the reserve or intermittent service, the duration of which (müddet-i radifî) was to be fixed under conditions which we shall explain below.

In the khâtî-h mâhâyyn of Gülkhânî (30 November 1839), there is an allusion to an approaching improvement in the system of regional recruiting. In 1838, five years later, the period of service in the regular army, previously practically unlimited (one saw young married soldiers leaving their families for life), but this measure did not immediately make its effect felt (cf. von Moltke, Lettres sur l’Orient, n.d., 211, letter no. xlviii).

On 6 September 1845, the military law of the serâs-asker Rüdâ Pâşa (Engelhardt, i, 71) was promulgated, a law of fundamental importance, half-French and half-German in character, the principles of which survived even into the early Republican period; it confirmed the period of regular service at five years (later reduced to four), to be followed by a period of seven years during which a radif could be recalled to the colours for a month each year (later every two years). Each ordu (army corps) was to have its radif contingent (şafî-i radifî) placed in time of peace under the orders of a brigadier-general (liwed, brigade) who lived at the headquarters of the ordu. In 1855 (Ubicini, i, 456) the radif was organised into 4 (out of 6) ordu, namely, those of hâsîr (Üskâdîr [Asia] and İzmîr), Derîséâdet (Istanbul and Ankarâ), Rumelî (Manastîr) and Anatolîa (Harput). The ordu of ‘Arabîstân and ‘Irak were still to be composed of. Ubicini adds this observation: ‘By means of this organisation the government has secured...a force at its disposal equal to the regular army and capable of
being moved in a few weeks either to the line of the Balkans or to any other point in the empire. " According to Bianchi (Guide de la conversation, 1852, 230), the organisation of reserves was provided for 6 years in the redif in two bands (şifî-l-墨西de and şifî-l-tâli) of 3 years each (according to Engelhardt, of 4 and 2 years respectively). In practice, in 1877 there were 3 bands, the third (şifî-l-墨西de) being represented by the territorial army (mustâfizî) then mobilised (Zboinska, 98). A conscript who obtained a lucky number in the draw was drafted directly into the redif army (art. 17). The law of 27 Safar 1304/13 Téhîrîn-thâni 1302 (25 November 1886; résumé by Lamouche, 77, and Young, ii, 394) provided by a commission of reorganisation which included Muzaffîr Wâli Ridâ Patâ-ghâ and von der Goltz Patâ-ghâ, fixed the period of redif service at 9 years, but was soon afterwards followed by a special law (redif kanunu) of 10 Muharram 1305/28 September 1887. According to this, which was, however, not put into force till 1892, the period of redif service was 8 years. The ranks in the redif were the same as in the regular army from general of division down to sergeant-major. These officers formed at the same time the personnel of the recruiting offices for the whole army.

According to the law regulating the uniforms of the army on (elbise-yi ʼaskeriyye nizâm-ndmesi) of 29 Dümâmâd 1307/28 Hazîrân 1325 (18 June 1909), the redif soldiers wore as distinctive badge a dark green (reftî) piping (zîh, Pers. zîh, Ar. zît) at the bottom of the collar (yaka) of the tunic (ţıqet or şıqet, modern spelling șıket, șeket). The officers wore a piece of cloth of the same colour 7 cm in length fastened on the collar of the undress tunic (şıket) or the full dress tunic (şere, older setre; cf. Pers. şadre) (Düstür, Terîbî-șıqeti, i, 276; A. Bilotti and Ahmad Sedad, Législation ottomane, Paris 1912, 171 ff.).

The redif system was abandoned by the Young Turks. The law of 18 Ramâdan 1330/18 Âğhusûst 1328 (31 August 1912), without proclaiming the dissolution of the corps, ordered the formation of units of mustâfizî with elements furnished by the battle depots in the second inspection (mi.syîlîshîkh) or redif (Düstûr, Terîbî-şıqetî, iv, 615). The Young Turks were reproached for this measure, and some even saw in it the cause of the Turkish defeat in the Second Balkan War. 


(M. ʻAthermal)
times incorporates docetic elements: the corpse taken to be that of the Imam is said actually to have died in the madhhab al-radda al-madhbita, but was taken to be his body, and given the name of the Imam, in order to deter the attention of the enemies. In the madhhab al-radda al-madhbita, the idea of the Imam was rejected by mainstream Zaydism; more so, the majority of the Rafida and al-Khayyat component of the Imam doctrine is described by al-Ashtar as referring to the return of power (dawla [q.v.]) to the Shi'i during the time of the Mahdi; this view was rejected by the leading Imam scholars of the Buwayhid period. Their main concern was to prove that there was no contradiction between the doctrine of radda and Mu'tazili views about reason and divine justice. A case in point is al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022 [q.v.]), who was told by a Mu'tazili critic that if radda were to take place, this would give the enemies of Shi'ism a chance to repent and thus escape punishment. Al-Mufid's answer is that the Imams have made clear that these enemies will never repent; and even if they were to do so, God would not accept their repentance, just as He did not accept the repentance of Pharaoh. The Mu'tazili argues that if this were so, the radda would constitute an enticement to disobedience (al-igra bi 'l-izydan) during the period of renewed life that followed it, since God's enemies would know that even if they were to change their ways, their repentance would not be accepted. Al-Mufid responds that their past experience of punishment after death will deter them from adding to it by further evil deeds when brought back to life (al-Murtada, 'Ali b. al-Husayn, al-Fusul al-mukhtara, Beirut 1405/1985, 115-9, cited in McDermott, The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufid, 268-9). The subject of al-igra bi 'l-izydan is also tackled by the Mu'tazili Abu 'l-Kásim al-Balagh, al-Kabi (d. 319/931). He asserts that if people were to know that they would have a chance to repent following the radda, this would incite them to act of disobedience in this life. Abu Dja'dar al-Tusi (d. 460/1067) replies that since only some will be brought back to life, and it is not known who they are, no one can safely act on the assumption that he will be among them (Tibiyn, 1, 255).

This doctrine of radda continued to be a favourite subject of attack by opponents of Shi'ism, who claimed that it was a borrowing from Judaism that had no basis in Islam. Such criticism led some Imami apologists to minimise its importance. For example, the contemporary Lebanese scholar Muhammad Djawad Maghniyya maintains that not all Imami doctors adhere to this doctrine; he asserts that it is only transmitted in reports (ahdith, akhbar) of a type which may be accepted or rejected, and that it is not among the principles of the religion (usul al-din) (al-Shi'a fi 'l-mizân, Beirut n.d., 54-5).

RADJA — RADJAB


RADJIA GANESH (the latter part of the name being the Hindu name Ganêsa, appearing in Arabic script as G.n.s or G.n.sl), a local Hindu landowner of northern Bengal, who successfully usurped authority in Bengal during the latter years of the first period of power of the Ilyäš Shâhi line, probably in the first decade or so of the 9th/15th century. He became a Muslim and assumed the name of Djalal al-Dîn Muhammad Shâh. The latter ruled until 835/1437, when he was succeeded by his son Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Shâh, who held power in Bengal till the restoration of the Ilyäš Shâhls in 841/1437. This family of Islamised Hindus had clearly enjoyed considerable support from both the class of Muslim landholders and notables and the Hindus, and it had ruled over a powerful sultanate which extended as far as the Kusi River in the north-west of Bengal to Chittagong [q.v.] in the south-east.


RADJAB, the seventh month of the Islamic calendar, was observed as a holy month in the period of the Dhâhilîyya in spring. It was the month of the sacrifices of the 'âdâr offered to the pagan deities as a token of gratitude for the augmentation of their flocks and herds. It was also the time of invocations of their deities to increase the number of their flocks. It was as well the month of the sacrifices of the furs, the firstlings of the flocks and herds. The owner of the flock had to sacrifice one ewe out of fifty (or hundred) of his herd. The holy month of Radjab was also the month of peace in the Arab peninsula; the tribes refrained from raids and warfare. The month was called al-âsâmm "the deaf" because no sound of weapons was heard during that month and al-âjâm "the pouring" because the unbelievers of Mecca used to say that the mercy is pouring forth in this month. Another by-name of Radjab was al-rajdîm "the stoning" because the Satans were stoned in that month and were expelled from the dwellings of the tribes. Other by-names attached to Radjab were: al-mâkîn "the constant," because its sanctity was a firm one, since Radjab is one of the four furûm months; al-harîm "the aged" because the sanctity of the month was an ancient one,
dating from the time of Mu'ad b. Nizar; as the tribes of Mu'ad venerated this month, it was also named Radjab. Because of the comprehensive peace among the tribes and their abstaining from hostilities, the month was called munsil al-all and munsil al-asinna, pointing to the fact that the spearheads were removed, weapons laid down and no fighting among tribes was launched. The name al-mu'allah "the elevated" was attached to Radjab because it was a month highly respected among the Arab tribes. The name al-mukashkish "the exonerating," denoting that Radjab distinguished between the people who stuck to the tenets enjoining abstention from fighting during the month and those who violated the sanctity of the month by fighting. Finally, the month was called al-'atia because the sacrifices of the 'atia were carried out during this month.

According to tradition, the month of Radjab was a time of devotional practices, exertions and fasting. Invocation sentences against the iniquitous and the wrong-doers were more energetically used during the month. A peculiarly named格个 month was al-mukashkish during the month. A peculiar name granted to Radjab was al-mukashkish "the exonerating," denoting that Radjab distinguished between the people who stuck to the tenets enjoining abstention from fighting during the month and those who violated the sanctity of the month by fighting. Finally, the month was called al-'atia because the sacrifices of the 'atia were carried out during this month.

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An utterance attributed to the Prophet and recorded in the early collection of 'Abd al-Razzâk (d. 211/826) says that the Prophet approved of the sacrifice of the 'atia which the people used to practice in Radjab. The Prophet said, "Do it, and name it al-'atia".

The utterance of the Prophet enjoining sacrifice of the 'atia and naming it the rajib is opposed by an utterance attributed to the Prophet enjoining annulment of the sacrifice of the firstlings and the sacrifice of the Radjab 'atia . It is recorded in the same collection and is formulated plainly: la fari'a waw-la 'atia "there is no [sacrifice] of the firstlings nor of the 'atia."

This prohibitive tradition was, however, changed by the utterance of the Prophet in which he said, "And if you want". Thus the sacrifice was left to the discretion of the believer.

A peculiar name of the Prophet turns the sacrifice of the fari'a into a voluntary practice, with a special reservation of the Prophet changing the aim of the practice. The Prophet permitted the practice but remarked that it would be preferable to feed the camel until it grows up and to ride it on expeditions and raids for the cause of God; similarly, it is preferable to feed the ewe until it grows up, to sacrifice it and to divide the meat among the poor.

Similarly, the utterance of the Prophet in which he is said to have approved of the 'atia, saying al-fari'a hakik, was considerably changed by the added reservation that it would be better to feed the destined sacrificial animal until it grows up and can be used to ride on it in a raid for the cause of God (in the case of a camel) or to slaughter it (in the case of a ewe) and give the meat as charity to a needy widow.

Scholars of Islam stress that the slaughter of animals in Radjab was continued in the first period of Islam and was only later abrogated. Al-Khaṭṭābi (d. 388/998) considered the 'atia compatible with the principles of Islam: it was in the period of Islam sacrificed to God in contradiction to the Dā'alihi 'atia, which was sacrificed to the idols. There is indeed a report saying that Ibn Sirīn (d. 110/729) used to slaughter the 'atia in Radjab.

Strictly orthodox scholars stressed that there is no valid tradition concerning the virtues of Radjab. There were, however, those who endeavored to make the month and its significance a part of the pious and devoted, who favored the widely-circulated popular traditions attributed to the Prophet, emphasizing the virtues of Radjab and encouraging the carrying-out of the various practices considered laudable and right. The Prophet is said to have named Radjab "the month of God", shahr Allâh, because it was the month of the people of the haram (i.e. the people of Mecca) who were freed al-Allah. The problem of the sacrifices during the month of Radjab was only one aspect of the disputes among the Muslim scholars as to the ritual practices performed in the Muslim community in that month.

A significant tradition ascribed to the Prophet singled out the peculiar sanctity of three months of the year: 'Radjab is the month of God, Shab'ān is my month and Ramaḍān is the month of my people.' As the months of Ramaḍān and Shab'ān were prominent in the observances of the Muslim community, it was put forward that these other months there was an obvious tendency to competition between these holy months regarding the rewards of the ritual practices performed during these months, the exceptional position of certain nights of the months and the prayers during these months. The competition between Radjab and Shab'ān is clearly presented in a tradition reported on the authority of Zayd b. Aslam. The Prophet was informed about people fasting during Radjab. He remarked, "How far are they from the virtues of the people fasting during Shab'ān?" Zayd observed, "Most of the fasting of the Prophet, except in Ramaḍān, was in Shab'ān." The partisans of Radjab quoted a report of Ibn al-'Abbâs saying that the Prophet used to fast so many days in Radjab that his Companions did not think that he would break his fast; and he used to break his fast so that they doubted whether he would resume it.

As against the people venerating Shab'ān, the partisans of Radjab had recourse to utterances attributed to the Prophet in which the fasting of Radjab was recommended and very high rewards were promised to people who were fasting in it. The Prophet is said to have stated that the month of Radjab is of a high position and that the good deeds of the believer gain multiple rewards. He who fasts one day in Radjab is in the position of a believer who would fast a year. He
who fasts nine days, for him the gates of Hell are closed; he who fasts eight days, for him the eight doors of Paradise are opened; he who fasts ten days, God will fulfill for him every wish; he who fasts fifteen days, a tradition recording the rewards for fasting of every day of Radjab; he considered, however, the hadith a forged one. The fasting of the whole month of Radjab was nevertheless frowned upon and sometimes forbidden in order not to create a similarity with Ramadan. The practices of fasting during Radjab were censured by Abu Bakr, 'Umar and people of the sahaba, says Ibn Taymiyya.

Some myths of Radjab are considered to be replete with God's graces. In the first night of Radjab, God will grant every supplication of the believer. It is one of the five chosen nights in the year. Another prayer strongly censured by Ibn Taymiyya was the prayer practised in the midst of Radjab called salat Umm Daud.

A night highly praised by those who observed Radjab was the night of the salat al-raghdib "the night of the prayer for extensive and desirable gifts"; it starts on the eve of the first Friday of Radjab; the prayers and supplications contained hundreds of invocations, prostrations, rak'as and recitations of some verses of the Qur'an. The believer is requested to fast on Thursday preceding this night. A night of Radjab distinguished by the rich rewards is the night of the twenty-seventh of Radjab. The believer spending this night in vigils: praying; thanking God; repeating a hundred times the various phrases of gratitude, the oneness of God, invocations and supplications; performing prostrations and rak'as; and reading a sura of the Qur'an and fasting the next day, will be highly rewarded by God; he will attain God's grace as if he fasted a hundred years and practiced vigils for a hundred years. On that night, Muhammad was sent as a prophet.

The significant events connected with the life of the Prophet which allegedly happened in Radjab turn the month into one of the most distinctive periods of the year. According to a tradition, the mother of the Prophet conceived him on the first evening of Radjab; another tradition claims that he was born in Radjab. Some traditions assert that the event of the laylat al-mir'ad occurred in Radjab. Other traditions claim that the date of the isra' was the twenty-seventh day of Radjab.

The struggle of the orthodox scholars against those practices of Radjab widely approved by pious ascetics and Sufis was not entirely successful. These practices have survived and form until the present time an essential part of Muslim popular belief and ritual.

it wants to rise’). It is not clear how this word became a technical term in prosody. The other etymological meaning of radjaz ‘thunder, rumble, making a noise’, may perhaps be taken into consideration. In that case, there might be an allusion to the iambic, monotonous and pounding rhythm of these poems (cf. ka-ma sam’u radjaz l-sawā’ikī, Abū Nuwās, ed. E. Wagner, ii, 299; for the etymology, see also T. Fahd, La divination arabe, Leiden 1966, 153-8). A poem composed in this metre is called urājizā.

1. Prosody.

In the system of Arabic metres, the radjaz occupies a special place. Whereas in other metres the lines of verse consist of two symmetrical half-lines, separated by a caesura, the line of verse of the radjaz is in one part only and has no caesura. In general, the radjaz lines are only half as long as the lines of other metres. The basic element is the dipody which consists of four syllables. The first and second syllables can be long or short, but the third one must be short and the fourth one long ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ. Three such dipodies form a trimeter, which is by far the most widely used form of the radjaz poem. In its acatalectic form it has the following scheme: ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ，~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،~،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ،ـ، adultes. The factual power of words cursing (hidjd*) was not, to serve to present scientific doctrines, lexical problems, various descriptions and travel accounts.

2. Historical development.

In pre-Islamic times, the radjaz was only used for short poems. They originated from a concrete situation, were mostly improvised (see sīrat) and as a rule comprised only three to five verses. It is true that these compositions in radjaz were correct prosodic units, but they were no poems in the sense of works of art. Initially, the radjaz was not a ‘literary’ metre. During the Dāhiliyā [q. v.], no one composed a ḍāṣid in the radjaz.

A typical situation was the man-to-man fight, in which two adversaries came forward from their battle array. Both heroes called their names and boasted about their strength. Abū Ūmayr al-Fazārī, for instance, said anb Abū Ḫayyata uwa-smī Wās’dān lā daratun ḥay’ān fān ārābī ḍāṣid (cf. al-Āmidī, Mu’tāfīs, ed. Abū Abd al-Sattār Ahmad Farrājī, Cairo 1961, 146). The purpose of such utterances was to intimidate the adversary and to make him insecure. Self-praise (fakhr) was here linked to cursing (ḥudūd) the enemy. The factual power of words should hit the adversary and weaken him. Here it becomes clear that magic was one of the ancient elements of the radjaz.

Hudud also indicates another group of radjaz poems, namely, trivial mocking verses of an erotic and obscene content. Occasionally, a dialogue is then staged between man and wife during intercourse, the dialogue being divided by conventional expressions such as kultu...kdlat. A typical example is the poem by Abū Aḥlab al-‘Abi’dī, in which he ridicules the pseudo-prophets Musaylima [q. v.] and Saḍābi (cf. ‘Imām, Tabākī, ed. Mahmūd Muhammad Shāhīk, Cairo 1974, 740-2).

Radjaz is also the metre for tunes, sung at rhythmical activities such as urging camels or drawing water (see qinsa). Rhythmical games are also accompanied by radjaz verses: mothers used to sing such
verses when making their children dance in a circle (cf. W. Walther, Altarabische Kinderzantsenreime, in Studia Orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann, Halle 1968, 217-33). He was ascribed fragments of the radjaz. Hind bint al-Khus [q.v.] was able to cast, with such verses, a spell on birds that were flying by (Aghani ix, 175; xii, 36).

In the old days, the radjaz therefore was only an artless folk poetry. Great poets such as al-Nabigha al-Dhibyani, Zuhayr, Tarafa, ‘Antara, Imru’ al-Kays, etc., hardly used this metre and their verses in it are not extant. It cannot be weighed for as being authentic. In the early Islamic period a change gradually becomes apparent. According to the Arab literary historians, al-Aghlab b. Djumah al-Idjlī, who allegedly fell in the battle of Nihāwānd in 21/641, is said to have been the first to compose longer poems in radjaz (Saqiin ii, 163-4; collection of fragments by Nūrī Hammūdi al-Kaynī, in Majallat al-Maḍīna al-‘Imlī al-Darīkī, xxvi/3 [1980], 104-44). But Labid b. Rab’a al-‘Amīrī and al-Shamādkh b. Dirār al-Ghatfānī, together with his companions Di‘abbār b. Dīqāz, Dqundab and al-Dhulayyih, also composed several urdijuzas which comprise as many as 40 verses. They contain parts of the real kastīda, like the nasīb [q.v.], the ride through the desert or the description of the bull antelope. The Hudhaliyyin, ed. J. Wellhausen, no. 278; German tr. composed an kasīda, after the old fashion. They are also the 10 which have woven into their diatribes, and irony does not signify a greater, but rather a slight. But as far as the contents are concerned, their poems are full kasīdas, which start with the complaint addressed to the remains of the abandoned camp (aṭlāf), pass into the desert ride (raḥīl [q.v.]) and in a request to the patron. They contain the usual images which are developed into independent episodes, and all the other elements of the traditional kastīda. Both poets are inclined to exaggeration and grotesque. Their banter is coarse, their ridicule and coarseness, and their arsenal of words of abuse is inexhaustible. But it looks as if even the greatest self-glorification and the devastating scoffing of the adversary are not meant that seriously. Again and again, ironic and humoristic turns of phrase are passed into their diatribes, and irony does not exempt their own persons. Sarcastic, grotesque, comical and humoristic elements may be said to appear al-‘Addijaddī’s and Ru‘ba’s urdijuzas into a persiflage of the regular two-hemistich kastīda.

Next to these two poets mention should be made of the great poets of the Umayyad period, to whom allegedly fell in the battle of Nihāwānd in 21/641, is said to have been the first to compose longer poems in radjaz. Hind bint al-Khus [q.v.], who allegedly fell in the battle of Nihāwānd in 21/641, is said to have been the first to compose longer poems in radjaz (Saqiin ii, 163-4; collection of fragments by Nūrī Hammūdi al-Kaynī, in Majallat al-Maḍīna al-‘Imlī al-Darīkī, xxvi/3 [1980], 104-44). But Labid b. Rab’a al-‘Amīrī and al-Shamādkh b. Dirār al-Ghatfānī, together with his companions Di‘abbār b. Dīqāz, Dqundab and al-Dhulayyih, also composed several urdijuzas which comprise as many as 40 verses. They contain parts of the real kastīda, like the nasīb [q.v.], the ride through the desert or the description of the bull antelope. The Hudhaliyyin, ed. J. Wellhausen, no. 278; German tr. composed an kasīda, after the old fashion. They are also the 10 which have woven into their diatribes, and irony does not signify a greater, but rather a slight. But as far as the contents are concerned, their poems are full kasīdas, which start with the complaint addressed to the remains of the abandoned camp (aṭlāf), pass into the desert ride (raḥīl [q.v.]) and in a request to the patron. They contain the usual images which are developed into independent episodes, and all the other elements of the traditional kastīda. Both poets are inclined to exaggeration and grotesque. Their banter is coarse, their ridicule and coarseness, and their arsenal of words of abuse is inexhaustible. But it looks as if even the greatest self-glorification and the devastating scoffing of the adversary are not meant that seriously. Again and again, ironic and humoristic turns of phrase are passed into their diatribes, and irony does not exempt their own persons. Sarcastic, grotesque, comical and humoristic elements may be said to appear al-‘Addijaddī’s and Ru‘ba’s urdijuzas into a persiflage of the regular two-hemistich kastīda.

To the great poets of the Umayyad period, they were not as unfavourably disposed towards the radjaz metre as had been their colleagues of the Djdhiliyya.
RADJAZ

Cairo 1898, 206-34; ed. E. Wagner, ii, 176-327; cf. also Wagner, Abu Nuwas, Wiesbaden 1965, 265-89).

Even if, according to the transmitters, many of them are not authentic, yet the full range and richness of this literary genre are shown in Abu Nuwas. More than others he strongly influenced later poets when they were writing about hunting. Among other poems, 3Abd al-Šamād b. al-Mu'ādh al-Šahhāl (d. ca. 240/854; 3Sæzgin, i, 508) composed one hunting with the cheetah (jaḥda), 49 verses of which are transmitted by Kūshādīm (Mašīyād, Baghdad 1554, 150 ff.). Among the hunting poems of al-Allāh b. al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908) are 48 urdžas, and only 5 in other metres (3Dīwān, ed. B. Lewin, iv, 2–44; ed. Yûnus A. al-Šamārāṭ, ii, Baghdad 1978, 405 ff.). His contemporary 2Abd al-Allāh b. Muhammad al-Nāghī al-Šakār (d. 293/906; 3Sæzgin, ii, 564 ff.) also composed numerous urdžas on falcons, dogs and on fox-hunting (cf. the inventory of his poems in J. van Ess, Frühe mu'tasīlische Héroïdographie, Beirut 1971, 155-61; see also 2Allāh b. Muhammad al-Shīrāzī, K. al-Anṣārī wa-maḥāsin al-šu'ārā, Baghdad 1976, 284–5, 300, 305, 311, 322). Kūshādīm, too (see above), composed a number of hunting urdžas (3Dīwān, ed. Khayriyya Muhammad Maḥfūz, Baghdad 1970, nos. 2, 12, 88, 172, 259, 260, 267, 321, 354, 371, etc.). He was very familiar with this metre. In his K. al-Mašīyād wa-l-māwīrīr he also quotes numerous hunting poems by other poets. Finally, mention should be made of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349; Brockelmann, ii, 159, S ii, 199), who composed 7 urdžas on hunting with falcons, cheetahs and dogs (3Dīwān, Beirut 1962, 245 ff.). One of his muwaṣḥahāt [q.v.] (3Dīwān, 245 ff.) is also composed in rādžas. He describes it in bird-hunting with the crossbow (kaṣīd al-banduk), a theme already treated by Abu Nuwas.

3 Special characteristics

As said above, the length of line of the rādžas is in general only half of that of the other metres. The kašīd verse contains an average of 8, 9 words, while the rādžas trimeter consists of only 4, 3 words. This means that every fourth or fifth word must be a rhyme word (in the dimeter the relations are even less favourable), while the poet is quite limited in the choice of his words. Nowhere does the rādžas Trimeter impose itself so strongly as in the rādžas Trimeter (and to a lesser degree the -itu verse, almost every fourth word must be a dual. In Ru'ba's poem no. 32 the rhyme is -iti. Consequently, almost all the rhyme words of the 94 verses must be nouns in the genitive. In the -ita rhyme (Ru'ba, no. 10) the forms of the first person perfect of the -ita tertiae infirmae dominate, and in al-Āḍīḍādī's poem no. 40, which has the -iya rhyme and which comprises 200 verses, innumerable nomina relating (nēhīy) occur. The part of speech, the case and the grammatical person thus are largely determined by the requirements of the rhyme, and so the syntax of the verses is fixed to a high degree. It is also evident that a full sentence can only rarely be accommodated in the short lines of verse. Nowhere does enjambment occur so often as in the rādžas (cf. G.J.H. van Gelder, Breaking rules for fun ..., On enjambment in classical Arabic poetry, in The challenge of the Middle East: Middell Eastern Studies at the University of Amsterdam 1982, 25–31, 184-6; idem, Beyond the line, Leiden 1982, 123-4). The choice of words, too, depends on the requirements of the rhyme. Since the lexicon of literary speech is not sufficient for the rhymes of a long urdža, the poet searches for rare words, i.e. expressions which have become obsolete or which originate from certain dialects, or he reaches even for foreign words. In order to meet the requirements of the rhyme, the poet furthermore often has to change, to mutilate or to expand the words; he has to replace one word by another, to form irregular plurals, and so on. Metre and rhyme had to be taken into account correctly in any case, while sounds, forms and syntax could eventually be changed. All this gives the rādžas poems their unmistakable, distinctive hall-mark. They belong to the most difficult texts of Arabic literature.

4 As a term of non-metrical poetry

In some early Arabic traditions the term rādžas is used not in its metrical sense, but to denote poetry defined by "halved" (maṣḥūr), i.e. three-foot, lines without caesura. Since poetry in the rādžas metre is at least for the most part, also characterised by tripodies (see above under 1.), the two applications of the term are certainly related. The priority may lie with the maṣḥūr meaning, which would then have been narrowed down to the one metre in which maṣḥūr verses occur, the rādžas.

The first early attestation of this use is in al-Akhṭār al-Āwsaṭ (d. 215/830 or 221/836 [q.v.]; Kāwāfī, 67-8, where poetry is divided into kašīd, raḵal, and rādžas, which are defined as having lines that are 74, maṣḥūr, and maṣḥūr, i.e. "complete", "shortened by one foot per hemistich", and "halved". In terms of metres, the kašīd comprises 200, bāṣīt, kāmīl, maṣḥūr, urdža, and rādžas (sic, here meant as the rādžas hexameter with caesura), the rādžas includes everything with three feet and no caesura (thus presumably the rādžas and the munsārīth trimeter), and the raḵal [q.v.] covers everything else (thus the metres raḵal, hāṣaḏ, the metres of the Fourth [unless they are trimeters] and the Fifth Circles, and all kašīd metres, if they are maṣḥūr).”

A slightly different system is found in al-Dawāhīr (d. 393/1003 or later [q.v.]; Kāwāfī, fols. 34b-35b. Here we have the following fourfold division:

3. radjaz manthür manthūr al-radjaz, manthūr al-munsarih
4. manhuk manhuk al-radjaz, manhuk al-munsarih

The difference is the addition, in al-Djawhari, of the manhuk metres, i.e. the "emaciated" dimeters, which however do not have their own name. The rest seems to be identical, although for lack of a complete enumeration of the metres covered by each term in both authors we cannot be certain. A system similar to al-Djawhari's is quoted by al-TahanawT, Kashshaf.

In addition to the meaning of "ritual stoning as a punishment for fornication", radjim means the casting of stones at Minā, which is one of the pre-Islamic rites preserved by Muhammad and inserted among the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. See here [aqama, jam'ah and jumah] with their bibliographies.

The Kurān does not mention this rite, but it knows radjama in its Biblical sense of "stoning of prophets by unbelievers", and also radjim (= mardjum) as an epithet of Satan, "driven away and struck with projectiles of fire by the angels", and lastly (XVIII, 21) in an abstract sense which indicates a long semantic evolution.

The rite of casting stones at Minā was regulated by hadiths in the classical collections. There is a model hadīth, that of the Prophet which we find in the manuals of manāsik al-hadj, e.g. in the Risāla of Ibn Taymiyya (cf. Rifāt, i, 89 ff.). Some hadīths of archaic form (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Nikāh, bāb 2; Salam, bāb 1 and 2; 'Umda, viii, 489) show that Muhammad had to lay down rules for the essential question of the wukāf, the culmination of the hadīd. The Hums, i.e. the Kuraysh and their allies, observed it at Djam' (Muzdalīfa [q. v.]), in the haram, the others, the 'Arab, at 'Arafa, outside of the haram of Mecca. Having to choose between his companions of two different origins, the Muhādżirūn and the Anṣār [q. v.], Muḥammad decided with the latter for 'Arafa; but he retained a secondary wukāf at Muzdalīfa, and the two isdās, the new combination of rites culminating in the throwing of stones at al-`Ākaba.

Situated at the bottom of the valley of Minā, on the slope of the defile towards Mecca, al-`Ākaba is "not in Minā but it is its boundary on the side of Mecca" ("'Umda, iv, 770"). On the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, the pilgrim goes down into the valley, passes without saluting them in front of the great djāmara, 500 yards farther on the middle one, and 400 yards beyond he comes to djamrat al-'Ākaba (Rifāt, i, 328). There he throws 7 stones, and this is one of the four ceremonies which on the tenth day are intended to remove his state of sanctity. He must also have his hair shaved (halk), sacrifice a victim (nahr) and return in procession to Mecca (ifsāda). This last rite prepares the sexual deconsecration; the three others together abolish the prohibitions of the hadīd, but the legists are not agreed on the order in which they have to be accomplished. The hadīdīs say that the Prophet replied to the question whether the pilgrims who had not followed the order in which he had himself followed them, là haradja "no harm (in that)" (al-Bukhārī, Hadīdī, bāb 125, 130 etc.). It is explained that the Prophet on this day of rejoicing did not wish to hurt the feelings of the ignorant Bedouins. We may imagine that these 'Arab did not follow the customs of the Kuraysh and that Muhammad had neither the time nor the inclination to impose his own choice between the varying customs.

Muhammad began with the lapidation at al-`Ākaba. After the halk, the sacrifice and the ifsāda, he returned to spend the night in Minā. Then on the 11th, 12th and 13th days, he cast 7 stones at the three djamarāt, ending with that of al-`Ākaba. The pilgrims imitating him ought therefore to throw 7 + (7 x 3 x 3) = 70 stones. But in general, they take advantage of the liberty (rukhsa) given them by the hadīdīs to leave Minā finally on the 12th day and therefore only to throw 7 + (7 x 2 x 3) = 49 stones. It is probable that there was no ancient usage; the presence of the bodies of the sacrificial victims made Minā a horrible place. It is difficult to see how Wavell (Pilgrim, 202) threw 63 stones, i.e. 7 x 3 x 3; this is, however, the number of victims which, according to tradition, Muḥammad sacrificed with his own hand, one for each year of his life.

The stoning of al-`Ākaba is done on the 10th day by...
the pilgrims in *dhamm; those of the three days following by the deconsecrated pilgrims. The whole business is not a fundamental element of the pilgrimage (*rukh*).

Little stones are thrown, larger than a lentil, but less than a nut, what the old Arabs called *basra l-bakhshif* which were thrown either with the fingers or with a little lever of wood forming a kind of sling (*mishkhaba: al-Tirmidhi*, iv, 123). A *badshif* forbids this dangerous game, which might knock out an eye but is not strong enough to kill an enemy as the *djafl* has. It has been declared that this has something magical or pagan in its character. The stones have to be collected of the proper size and not broken from a rock. Gold, silver, precious stones, etc., are condemned; but some texts allow, in addition to date-stones, a piece of camel-dung or a dead sparrow, which we find are also the means used by the women of the *Dahiliyya* at the end of their period of isolation to remove the impurity of their widowhood and prepare a new personality. It is recommended that the seven stones for the lapidation of *al-Akaba* should be gathered at the *mashar al-baram* at Muzdalifah, outside of Minah. As a rule, the 63 others are gathered in the valley of Minah, but outside of the mosque and far from the *djamara* to avoid their having already been used (*Ibn Taymiyya*, 385). Besides, it is thought that stones accepted by Allah are carried away by angels. Stones collected but not used should be gathered together as a sacred character which makes them dangerous.

The model pilgrim of the Prophet fixed the time of the *djamra* for the day of the 10th *Dhu'l-Hijjah*. It shows him beginning the *istada* of Muzdalifah after the prayer at dawn (*fajr*) and casting the stones after sunrise. But by survival of an ancient custom more than for reasons of convenience, other times are allowed by law. *Al-Sakhih*, against the three other imams, permits the *Akaba* ceremony before sunrise (*Ri'fat*, i, 113); in general, the time is extended to the whole morning (*dahib*), till afternoon (*zaudel*), till sunset, till night, till the morning of the day following; these interruptions of the normal routine are atoned for by a sacrifice or alms, varying with the different schools. The *djamara* of the three days of the *taghr* take place in the *zaudel*; here again there are various opinions (*al-Sakhih*, *badshif*). From the third day the time of the lapidations, the law has always endeavoured to avoid any Muslim rite, e.g. prayer, coinciding with one of the three positions of the sun by day, rising, noon, setting. A. J. Wensinck asserted (in *HADJDJ*, vol. III, 326) the probability of the solar character of the pagan *hadshif*.

Muhammad made his lapidation at al-*Akaba* from the bottom of the valley, mounted on his camel, turned towards the *gumma*, with the *Ka'bah* on his left and Minah on his right, standing at a distance of five cubits (eight feet). But there are other possible positions. *Ri'fat* (i, 328) gives the *gumra* the following dimensions: 10 feet high and 6 feet broad on a rock 5 feet high (see the photographs, *ibid*.). It is said to have been removed at the beginning of Islam and replaced in 240/854-5 (al-Azraki, 212). Muhammad made the lapidations of the other two *djamara* on foot, turning towards the *kibla*. In brief, the stones are cast in the attitude one happens to be in. The position facing the Great Devil is explained by the nature of the ground, but it would also be in keeping with the idea of a curse cast in the face of a fallen deity. The position which makes the pilgrim turn towards the *Ka'bah* is due to the Muslim legend of the tempter Satan and to the rule of the *tabir*, which will be explained below.

According to the *sunna*, the stones are placed on the thumb and bent forefinger and thrown, one by one, as in the game of marbles. However, the possibility of the stones having been thrown together in a handful has been foreseen, and it was decided that this should only count as one stone and that the omission could be made good. The stone should not be thrown violently nor should one call "look out! look out!" (*al-Tirmidhi*, iv, 136), a pagan custom which the modern Bedouins still retained until quite recently (*Ri'fat*, i, 89). It seems that Muhammad put some strength into it, for he cursed his hand to the level of his right eybrow" (*al-Tirmidhi*, iv, 139) and showed his arm pit (*al-Bukhari*, *Hadjdj*, bbd 141).

In Islam, the casting of each stone is accompanied by pious formule. It is generally agreed that the *talbiya* is no longer pronounced at *Arafa* or at least before the lapidation of al-*Akaba* (*al-Bukhari*, *Hadjdj*, bbd 101); some writers however approve of it after al-*Akaba*. The *talbi* and *tafil* are permitted, but it is the *tabir* which is recommended (*Ibn Taymiyya*, 382), *al-Bukhari*, *Hadjdj*, bbd 138, 143). The spiritual evolution of the rites even seems in this the essential feature of the rite, the throwing of the stone and the figure formed in throwing it by the thumb and forefinger forming an *'ukd* which represents 70, being no more than symbolical and mnemonic gestures. "The throwing of the stones was only instituted to cause the name of God to be repeated" (*al-Tirmidhi*, iv, 139). To al-*Ghazali* (*Ihy*, i, 192), it is an act of submission to God and of resistance to Satan, who seeks to turn man away from the fatigues of the *hadshif*, but the rite is without rational explanation *min ghayr basra* *l-* *'alak* wa *l-nafs* *fihi* (cf. Goldzwehr, *Richtungen*, 252). The devout man adds a prayer (*du'a*) which is as a rule quasi-ritual. The usual one is *Allahumma 'ala hu hakum* *wa-* *l-man* *wa-* *dhu* *l-khadhf* *wa-* *saw* *wa-* *min* *aghfa* *r*- *wa* *min* *ghayr li* *m* *a* *wa* *m* *la* *wa* *m* *am* *la* *wa* *m* *la* *wa* *m* *la* *wa* *m* *la* *wa* *m* *la*. "Look! Look! O Lord, make this pilgrimage a pious one, pardon our sins and recompense our efforts!" There is, as a matter of fact, after the stoning, a halt, a *wukuf*, before the two higher *djamara*, that at the second being especially long: the duration is calculated by the recitation of the *sura* of the Cow (II), or of Joseph (XII), or of the Family of Immrân (III) by altering the indication in the *hadshif* (*al-Bukhari*, *Hadjdj*, bbd 135-7). This would take the place of an ancient ceremony of imprecation.

Breaches of the rules for the performance of these diverse ceremonies, especially as regards the number of stones thrown and the time when they are thrown (*'Unda*, iv, 767 ff.; *Ri'fat*, i, 113), are punished by atonements, the exact nature of which the legists delight to vary, from the sacrifice of an animal to the giving of a *madd* of food in alms.

The Muslim teachers have sought to explain the lapidations of Minah. Some exegetes (e.g. *al-Tabari*, *Tafsir*, xxv, 167) have seen quite clearly that they represent ancient rites and have compared the *ramy* of the tomb of Abû Ridjâl. Others are known, for example at the well of *Dhu'l-Hulayfa* (*Lammens, Bétyles*, 94). The works quoted [see HADJDJ] show the spread of this rite and the cases in which we are certain that it is a question of the driving away or the expulsion of evil. Stones used to be thrown behind an individual whom one wished never to return (*al-Hamadhani*, *Makhâmât*, ed. Beirut, 23). At Alexandria, tired people used to go and lie down on a fallen pillar, throw 7 stones behind them on a pile "like that of Minah", then go away quite recaptured (*al-Kalkhashandi*, *Subh al-ajha*, iii, 322). But comparisons would take us out of the region of Arabia (*Lods, Prophétès d'Israel*, 354).

Popular legend has connected the lapidation, like many other rites, with Abraham. It was Abraham or Hagar or Ishmael, or even Muhammad, that Satan
wished to deter from accomplishing the rites of the hadj and who chased him, whoever this was, away with stones. If we conclude that he is rağgilım, we are some way to the explanation of sûra LXVII 5 (see above).

One would like to be able to locate the lapidations among the rites of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. One would first have to have a clear idea of the meaning and details of the ceremonies and of the part played by lapidations and sacred piles of stones in Semitic and Mediterranean antiquity. Stoning seems to have been a rite of expulsion of evil which coincided with the deconsecration of the pilgrim and seems to protect his return to everyday life. It is possible that lapidations at one time followed the sacrifices which perhaps took place at 'Arafá and Muzdalifá.

To sum up, the lapidation at Miná has been by turns interpreted as a vestige of the cult of the dead (refs. in Lammens, Le culte des bêtes, 39 and esp. 96 ff.), a rite honouring protective deities, after the manner of the 'Equation (refs. in Fahd, La divination arabe, 189 n. 1); a symbol of the expulsion of malevolent spirits (aurunsurianii), in the sense given by Tradition to the rite at Miná (refs. in ibid., 189); a gesture of cursing against certain tombs of persons of sinister memory (ibid., n. 3); and, finally, as an act of scelopism born out of the hatred of the nomads for the sedentarys (see V. Chauvin, Le jet de pierres au pèlerinage à l’Amour, in Revue des études Semitiques, 74, 5th sér., iv [Antwerp 1902], 272-300, a thesis refuted by Van Vloten and Th. Houtsma; refs. in Fahd, 189 n. 4).

In regard to the basic sense of djamra [q.v.], pl. djammar, which designates, among other things, the tribe (kabila), this rite seems merely to have been in origin a simple gesture of coming together, done by means of a ballot. In practice this term denotes essentially the internal uniting of all the fractions of a tribe or a tribal group (see TÁ, iii, 129: al-djamra al-kabila in-šammat fi-jarát yahdun wakhidahm là tandaññun ilá abadu wa-lá tathabilī ghyara-hā). Thus "the secondary sense, expressed in djamra, pl. djammar, ‘pile of pebbles’, allows the gesture of union, which renewes the tribe periodically or occasionally, to be represented as being like the throwing of a pebble on a precise spot, near to a sacred site or in the midst of an encampment, done by all the members of the tribe or by the heads of the clans composing it, and thus symbolising the indissoluble unity of the tribe and its adhesion to a decision which has been taken. The standing at Miná which ends the sacred sequence of the Pilgrimage, before entry into the sacred city, lends itself well to the idea of a renewal of a pact of union between clans and tribes. In short, the basic aim of the Meccan Pilgrimage was to serve as a rallying point for all the Arab tribes, involving the exclusion of all outsiders, in order to put an end to the internal quarrels between tribes and in order to undertake common action aimed at permanently opposing all outside intervention in this inviolable centre of the Arabian peninsula" (Fahd, op. cit., 190).


(M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES [T. FAHD])

RAJDHMAL, a former city of Muslim Bengal during Mughal times, now a small town 6 km/4 miles to the east of the ruinous Mughal site, in the Santal Farganas District of Bihar Province in the Indian Union (lat. 25° 3' N, long. 87° 50' E.). To its west run the basaltic Rādjmahal Hills of central Bihār. Rādjmahal city grew up in the strategically important gap between the Hills and the right bank of the Ganges, a corridor defended in Mughal times by the fortress of Teliágarh.

When the Rādjput governor of the Mughals, Mān Singh [q.v.], had in 1500/1592 conquered Oriissa [see ORISA], he made the existing settlement Agmahal into Rādjmahal and into the capital of Bengal, and it remained the capital until this was moved to Daccá/Dhaka in 1609/1659. European travellers testify to the importance of Rādjmahal, which, with Dhaka, was one of Bengal's two minting centres. It still had probably some 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants in the early 19th century, but its prosperity was adversely affected by changes in the channels of the Ganges. It is now notable for a remarkably large number of significant monuments of Mughal architecture, many now ruined, including the Akbari mosque, the Chota ("small") mosque, the Djamra mosque, the enormous Dāmī mosque, etc. Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, xxii, 76-8; Catherine B. Asher, in G. Michel (ed.), The Islamic heritage of Bengal, UNESCO Paris 1984, 116-27, with further references. (C. E. BOSWORTH)
evidence produced by these writers for the foreign extraction of certain Radjput clans.

They base this theory of foreign descent principally upon the Agni Kula legend, for Waidya and other writers have proved this to be a myth first heard of in the Pṛthvīrāja-rāisi of the poet Čand, who could not have composed this work before the 12th century A.D. Recent research has brought to light the fact that the inscriptions of the Prathihāras and Čāhāns before the 12th century represent them as Soḷah Ρadžput, while the Śaṅkayas are represented as of the Lōḍī dynasty. The Agni Kula legend does not therefore deserve the prominence given to it by Smith and other writers. Even the contention that the Prathihāras were a branch of the Gurdjara tribe has met with much hostile criticism.

According to the orthodox Hindu view, the Ρadžput are the direct descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the Vedic polity, but this claim is based on fictitious genealogies. The Kṣatriyas of ancient India disappeared from history, and this can probably be explained by invasions from Central Asia which shattered the ancient Hindu polity. It is accepted that these invading hordes, such as the Yūche-Či and Hūnas, became rapidly Hinduised, and that their leaders assumed Kṣatriya rank and were recognised as such. Out of this chaos arose a new Hindu polity with new rulers, and the families of invaders which became supreme were recognised as Kṣatriyas or Radjput. In later times, many chief of the so-called aboriginal tribes also assumed the title of Ρadžput.

It is therefore safe to assert that the Ρadžput are a very heterogeneous body and probably contain some survivors of the older Kṣatriyas. A mass of legend arose assigning to the various clans a descent from the sun and the moon, or from the heroes of the epic poems. These are the legendary pedigrees recorded in the Śaiva and Śivān poems. The Kshatriyas of ancient India disappeared from history, and this can probably be explained by the acceptance of the Hūnas in the recognised list of Ρadžput tribes.

Whatever may be the origin of the Ρadžput, we know that disorder and political disintegration followed the death of Harāga, and that until the Muslim invasions of northern India the chief characteristic of this period was the growth and development of the Ρadžput clans. Except for about two hundred years, when the Gurdjara-Prathihāras were the paramount power in Hindustān, there was constant internecine warfare between the various Ρadžput kingdoms. This weakness considerably facilitated the Muslim conquest. It was not, however, until the days of Muḥammad of Gīsr that the Ρadžput dynasties in the plains were finally overthrown [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM, MUṢIZZ AL-DĪN]. Driven from Dīlī and Kanawḏā, they retreated to the Čhāhāns and other Tāns [see also JBBRAS, iii (1910); D.R. Bhandarkar, Treaties, and on Kshatras and the Sehat of the Gudjars, in Suppl.] where they eventually built up a strong position and were able to resist the Muslim invader, for it cannot be said that the Sultans of Dīlī ever really subdued the Ρadžputa of Rājputāna. Nevertheless, throughout this period there was constant warfare, fortresses and strongholds frequently changing hands. The Ρadžput nearest to Dīlī were naturally the weakest because the eastern frontier of Rājputāna was exposed to attack. The Sultans of Dīlī appear to have realised the value of communications with the western coast, and we find that the route between Dīlī and Gudjārāt via Ağmār was usually open to imperial armies. The chief menace to the Rājputs was not from Dīlī but from the independent Muslim kingdoms of Gudjārāt [q.v.] and Mālwā [q.v.].

The outstanding feature of the period from the end of the so-called Sayyid rule to the final invasion of Bābūr [q.v.] was the growth of Ρadžput power in northern India under Rānā Sāṅga [q.v.] of Mēwār [q.v.]. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Lōḍīs [q.v] under Ibrahim, he managed to subdue Gudjārāt and Mālwā, he had extended his sway over the greater part of modern Rājputāna. The battle of Khaṇūrā [q.v.] in 1527, when Bābūr shattered his power, marks a turning-point in the history of Muslim rule in India, for the Rājput never again attempted to regain their lost dominions on the plains and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. After Khaṇūrā [q.v.], the place of the Sodās in Rājput politics was taken by the Rāṭhors, the growth of whose power under Mādēr of Māwār was facilitated by the struggle between Humāyūn [q.v.] and Shēr Shāh. Akbar's Rājput policy was based on conquest and conciliation. The fall of ČiTāw and Ranthambhār made him master of the greater part of Rājputāna, with the exception of Mēwār [q.v.], which was not completely subdued until the reign of Djahāṅgīr [q.v.]. The reversal of Akbar's conquests produced the great Hindu reaction of Awarangzb's reign, when, faced at the same time with the Rājputs of the north and the Marāṭhās [q.v.] of the Deccan, Awarangzb [q.v.] was unable to concentrate on either campaign. But internal dissensions once more prevented the Rājputs from taking advantage of the decline of Muḥāl power, and, in the second half of the 18th century, they proved no match for the Marāṭhās, who easily overran their country. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, when the British were at war with the Marāṭhās, that they entered into political relations with the Rājput states. Before the end of the year 1818, the group of states which in British Indian times comprised Rājputāna had been taken under British protection.

In British India, in 1901, the population of 11,225,712. The native states of Rājputāna were ruled by Rājputs, with the exception of Tonk, which was Muslim, and Bharatpur and Dholpur, which was Dījāt. The chief Rājput clans in Rājputāna are the Rāṭhōr, Kāchhāwā, Cāhān, Dījādona, Ṣesodīa, Ponwar, Parihār, Tonwar and Dījāhā. Rājāsthānī is the mother tongue of 77% of the inhabitants of this area. It is interesting to note that Macaulay, in his History of the British in India, states that many of the Soḷah Rājputs have embraced Islam, as for example the Manhās, Kātīls and Salāhīr of the Pāndjāb.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard works on the history of India, see C.U. Aitchison, Treaties, engagements, and sanads, iii, 1909; D.R. Bhandarkar, Gurjaras, in JBBRAS, xxi (1902); W. Crooke, Rājputs and Marathas, in J.R. Anthropological Institute, xi (1910); K.D. Erskine, The Western Rajputana States, 1909; R.C. Majumdar, The Gurjaras,

(C. Collin Davies)

Rādākān, the site of a mediaeval Islamic monument in northern Persia. The tomb tower (Iranian National Monument 145) sits on the edge of an isolated, 1,300 metre long valley in the Alburz Mountains north of the Nīku River, 70 km/43 miles east of Nikā in the province of Māzandarān. It is best known as Rādākān West to distinguish it from another isolated, 1,300 metre long valley in the Alburz Mountains north of the Denān continued to rule in isolated localities. The tomb tower, the Mīl-i Rādākān, continued to be used for burials from Rābi‘ II 407/September-October 1016 and 411/October-November 1017, c. 1020-1. He was a member of the first branch of the Bawand dynasty, which ruled in isolated localities in-between Rābi‘ II 407/September-October 1016 and 411/October-November 1017.


(W.P. Heinrichs)

Rādwa, the name of the crags west of Medina, occasionally mentioned in connection with the mountain Ṭḥabīr (Ṣirat al-Ḥabash, 86). Lying behind Yanbu‘, between the regions of Ma’dinay [see MA’DIAN QU‘AYR] and Mecca, they were known to Ptolemy (Sprenger, Die alte Geographie, nos. 28, 30) and are mentioned in a later and more literary context which became common in the area at the time (the most striking example is the stellate tower which was ordered in 397/1006-7 at nearby Gunbadh-i Kabūs) and is remarkable for its superb inscriptions in plaited Kufic script.


(Sheila S. Blair)

Al-Rādūyānī, Muhammad b. ‘Umar, author of the first Persian treatise on rhetoric, the Kitāb Tārīkum al-balāgah. The little that can be inferred about the author’s life is known from the Tārīkum itself; no other source mentions him. According to the researches of A. Ates, he seems to have lived in Transoxania, and his book was written between 481/1098, the beginning of the Karakhanid Ahmad Khān’s incarceration at the hand of Malik Shāh, as mentioned in one of the poems quoted, and 507/1114, the date of the unique ms. of the Tārīkum, the majāfīs’ Istanbul, Fatih 5415, fols. 235a-290a.

As al-Rādūyānī explicitly states (Tārīkum, 3), his book was modelled on the Arabic Maḥāsīn al-kalām of Abu l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. al-Hāschar al-Marghindānī, recently published by G.J. van Gelder as K. al-Maḥāsīn fi ’l-naẓm wa ’l-nathr (see Bibl.). However, in spite of his assertion, there are substantial differences between the two works in size and structure, e.g. the Maḥāsīn has about 33 rhetorical figures as opposed to 73 in the Tārīkum, the figures being slightly misleading because of different taxonomies; also, the Maḥāsīn uses examples from Kurān and Hadīth, which are totally lacking in the Tārīkum (see further, Ates, ibid., 90-42).

The Tārīkum in turn was known to Rāshid al-Dīn-i Wātqāy (d. 573/1177 [q.v.]), who found it lacking and wrote his own Hādāk al-balagha fi dakāk al-dh-r to supersed it (Haddāk, 1). He does not mention the author’s name. Later sources do not seem to have had direct access to the Tārīkum and uniformly attribute it to the poet Farrukhlā (d. 429/1037-8 [q.v.]). Whereas Wātqāy adds both Persian and Arabic examples, all poetic examples in the Tārīkum are in Persian. Due to its early date it is an important source for the beginnings of Persian poetry (see Ates, Etude, and Lazard).


(W.P. Heinrichs)


(C. Collin Davies)
consonant of words (nouns and verbs) which are inflected (mu'ârad). The term indicates not a function but the position of the tone (e.g., marfu'â towards) the top of the palate in order to pronounce the vowel /u/. European grammarians see in this vowel the mark of the nominative case of nouns and the mark of the indicative mood in verbs.

Nouns “raised” (marfu'ât) by the vowel /u/ are of five kinds:

1. The inchoative (muhtâda'), which is to be connected (muhtâda' with an item of information, and which is stripped (mu'ârad, mu'âra') of any regent (âmul) which is expressed (laqef); it is “raised” by the fact of beginning of a piece of speech utterance (ibti'dâ), which is understood (ma'nauti') regent.

2. The noun which is a predicate (jâhid), to which the inchoative is connected (musnad 'lâyhi). For certain of the Bayran grammarians (including Sibawayh and Ibn al-Sarrâjî), it is “raised” at the same time by both the act of beginning and by the noun which forms this; for other Bayran grammarians, it is “raised” by the act of beginning by means of (by-âwâsia) the noun which forms this; for the Kûfâns, it is “raised” solely by the act of beginning.

3. The noun which is an agent (âfsâ') built upon a verb formed (bunîya) for it and to which it is connected; it is “raised” by this verb, which is what one is talking about (mâ yuhadathâ 'anhu).

4. The noun which is a direct object (marfûl bîhi) built upon a verb formed by it and to which it is connected, but whose agent is not named (summiya); it is “raised” by this verb, which is what one is talking about (mâ yuhadathâ 'anhu).

5. The noun which is assimilated (muqababah) to the agent in actual utterance (laqef). This noun comes after incomplete verbs, such as kâna and its sisters, which are not genuine (ba'dîrî verbs, since they express only time. It can also come after two negative particles assimilated to these verbs, such as mâ and lâa in the dialect of the Hidjâz; it is “raised” by this verb or by this particle.

As for the “similar” (mu'dâri [q.v.] verb, it is “raised” by an understood (ma'nauti') regent, which is the fact that it occupies (waâkû) the place (ma'âki') of a noun, whatever its inflexion might be.

B. TROUPEAU

2. As a technical term in the science of Muslim tradition = hadîth [q.v.].

Beside the verbal noun, the passive participle marfû' (plural marfu'ât), “lifted up”, is commonly used. An inâd [q.v.] of a tradition is marfu', when it is, as it were, “lifted up”, sc. to the level of the Prophet Muhammad, supporting a main (= text) containing either his words and/or describing some activity of him as transmitted by one of his Companions. (In contrast, when the transmission of such a tradition is put in the mouth of a Successor, who could not possibly have been present or someone who lived even later, one speaks of a mursal [q.v.] inâd; on the other hand, when the text of a tradition does not contain a mention of the Prophet, but describes the words and/or deeds of a Companion or somebody later, tradition science defines that as a muwââkîf tradition, a qualification also applied to its inâd, since it has literally “stopped” at the Companion.)

During the initial stages of hadîth transmission, a time roughly coinciding with the first three quarters of the 1st/7th century, the necessity of naming one’s sources was yet generally felt. In the course of the last few decades of that century, however, the inâd as authentication device came into use. In order to validate a report of which one claimed that it described an event of the past, one was required to call an older authority to witness. The earliest inâdâs contained only one name, mostly that of an alleged expert in legal or ritual matters, a Companion or somebody of a later generation, resulting in a muwââkîf inâd on the Prophet himself, resulting in a mursal inâd, thus without a Companion. But, as a result of inaccurate handling of inâdâs and/or because of widespread inâd fabrication, they became subject to a more sophisticated evaluation, which resulted in the course of time in fully-fledged inâdân criticism. Merely supplying muwââkîf or mursal inâdâs in an attempt to guarantee the veracity of a report which one wished to circulate was no longer sufficient, and the call for inâdân ending in a Companion, who reported on the authority of the Prophet, became louder. Muslim tradition scholars generally credit the founder of the legal school that bears his name, Muhammad b. Idrîs al-Shâfi‘î (d. 204/820 [q.v.], with the foresight of having been the first to emphasise the authority of muwââkîf inâdâs, more so than the other types of inâdâs strands. This was also underlined in western studies, notably in those of J. Schacht (cf. his The origins of Muslim jurisprudence, Oxford 1950, ch. 3). As from al-Shâfi‘î’s days, the prestige of these latter types began to diminish and traditions supported by them gradually failed to attract the attention of tradition collectors, while supplying muwââkîf inâdân, which in the beginning were vastly outnumbered by the other types as is especially clear in the pre-canonical hadîth collections, became the rule.

The qualification muwââkîf for an inâdân strand does not necessarily imply that it is at the same time beyond criticism. To be considered unassailable, the strand has to show up an uninterrupted string of names of known transmitters, from the Prophet to the collector in whose collection that strand turns up. At the same time, each pair of transmitters in that string of names must be believed to have transmitted from one another. For that reason, a strand deemed muttasil is used. Because not each muttasil strand is muwââkîf, but can “stop” at a Companion (= muttâsil muwââkîf) and because not every muwââkîf is at the same time muttasil (e.g. a munkati' muwââkîf), a strand deemed genuinely reliable has to be both muwââkîf as well as muttâsil; for both terms taken together the technical term musnadh [q.v.] came into use. It is only a tradition with a main supported by a musnad inâd strand which may have a claim to be considered sahhî [q.v.], “sound”.

The Arabic root r-f-c has given rise to yet another derivative being widely used in a technical sense in the context of hadîth. With the prestige of muwââkîf strands gradually increasing, but especially after al-Shâfi‘î’s insistence on them, many transmitters became known as râfî‘ûn, i.e. people who developed the habit of frequently “raising” inâdân strands “to the level” of muwââkîf, either by inserting the name of a Companion in mursal strands which they had, or replacing the ac-

actor in a muwââkîf-supported main by the Prophet.

In later times certain formal rules were less strictly observed. Thus the mention of the Prophet was often dropped in a saying ascribed to him by the mere addition of the adverbially used muwââkîf after the name of the Companion of that saying’s inâd strand. Alternative loose forms for this were the verbal forms yarfa' 'l-hadîth, yanmihi, yablughu bihi or riyâsaa ma-
mediately following the name of the Companion in an ḥadīth strand. Reports, furthermore, in which Muhammad’s tacit approval, in Arabic takrib (plural takrīrāt). Moreover, although Muhammad’s name is not mentioned, additional statements in a ṣanhā such as: ... while the Kur’ān was still being revealed”, or a Companion’s assertion that the role of the ṣanhā pertained to one particular situation to which he bore witness, were likewise considered to be marfuʿa-supported, but only by implication.


RAF (see Tālāk).

RAFAH, conventional modern rendering Rafah, originally a town 5 km/3 miles inland from the eastern Mediterranean (lat. 31° 18’ N, long. 34° 15’ E.), on the borders of Egypt and Palestine and now administratively divided between Egypt and the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip as two separate towns.

The name is ancient, and appears in Egyptian records of ca. 1300 BC as RPH. In Byzantine times it was part of Palestine Prima and a prosperous place, depicted on the famous Madaba map. At the time of the Arab invasions, it seems to have surrendered to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ on condition of paying the poll-tax and the waṣf (q.v.) in return for security of life and property; subsequently, it was included in the ḥudūd (q.v.) of Ḥilaṣṭin. The Arabic geographers often mention it as a stage on the route between Damascus and Egypt and as being in the zone of ḍafar, sand dunes difficult to traverse. However, water was easily available through digging, and in the 18th century Asad al-Lukayymi (d. 1765), en route for Jerusalem, compared the water from Rafah’s well to that of the Nile in its vicinity. The geographer al-Muḥallabī (d. 376/986), cited by al-Kalḵashandi, says that the population of this madīna was composed of Lakhm and Ḍūdḥām tribesmen; it had a market, a mosque with a minbar, fundūks, and was administered by a wālī al-maʿṣūma who had a force of soldiers at his disposal. Modern archaeological surveys and investigations have disclosed a number of derelict settlements in the neighbourhood, including on the coast, Tall Rafah, which served as the town’s landing-place. Yāḳūṭ describes Rafah as ruinous in his own time, and for several centuries it is hardly mentioned.

But in the 19th century it regained some of its old importance, being from 1865 a telegraph station on the Damascus-Cairo line. In 1870 the Khedive Ismāʿīl visited the place, and two granite columns were erected to define the border there of Egypt and Ottoman Syria. Subsequently, however, Rafah became a point of dispute. In 1898 Ḍūbkā Hīlī (q.v.) visited it after threats of an Ottoman annexation of the Sinai peninsula, discounted at this time by British diplomatic intervention; but in April 1906 the Ottomans occupied Rafah, removed the two columns and uprooted the telegraph poles. Negotiations followed, and the borders were defined in October 1906, with the telegraphic service restored and telephone and camel postal services introduced. During the First World War, British forces under Sir Edmund Allenby occupied Rafah in June 1917, establishing a military camp; a double-track, standard-gauge railway from al-Kantara to Rafah, thence to Beer-Sheba, was built. The town later grew by the settlement of Bedouins there and, after 1948, of Palestinian refugees; and in 1956 and 1967 it was occupied by Israeli forces. Following the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt of 1979, Palestinian Rafah was again separated from its Egyptian counterpart.


RĀFĪ b. LAYTH b. NASR b. SAYYAR, apparently the grandson of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaʿīd b. Māḥān [see IBN MAḤĀN]. As well as receiving support from the local Iranian population, Rāfī secured help
the Turks from the Inner Asian steppes, the Toghuz-Oghuz [see GHUZZ] and Karluk [q.v.]. The first application of the term appeared in the "History of Tabari" (700–818), where it is used to refer to the political move by the Turks to desert Zayd ibn al-Harith after he had rejected the first two caliphs, or both.

The name is used to refer to the proto-Imamiyya in the 9th century, particularly Mu'ta bi-rasâ'il, the celebrated traditionist in his time, in India. He died on 6 Shawwal 1233/9 August 1817, at the age of 70 (lunar years), of a stroke, and was buried in his family graveyard outside the city of Dihlī.

He wrote about 20 works, mostly in Arabic and Persian, and a few in Urdu. He is praised for the subtlety of his ideas and the conciseness of his style. Among his works in Urdu:

1. translation of the Kūrān, in the Persian style, which follows closely and faithfully. He and his brother 'Abd al-Kādir [q.v.], were the pioneers in this field, though their work was considerably facilitated by their father Shāh Wāli Allāh's Persian translation of the Kūrān (entitled Path al-Rahmān fi tārdjumāt al-Kūrān). The first edition of Shah Rafi's translation appeared in Calcutta in 1258/1838-9 and another, in 1266/1849, was published in 1847. For some of its numerous editions (from 1866 onwards) see Blumhardt, Cat. of the Hindustān printed books of the Libr. of the British Museum, London 1889, 290-1, and its Supplement, London 1909, 403.

In Arabic: 2. Tawkīl al-sinā'a or Tawkīl li-sinā'a al-ajdāḥ, dealing with a. logic, b. tahsil, i.e. principles of dialectics, teaching, learning, authorship and self-study, c. masābīḥ min al-umār al-lemma (some metaphorical discussions) and, d. tadbīr al-dīrār (i.e. an enquiry into causes and the criteria for judging conflicting opinions in religious matters). A considerable portion of the work has been quoted in the Abjad al-ulām, 127-35 and 235-70; 3. Mukaddmat al-ṣā'il, see Abjad al-ulām, 124; 4. Risālat al-Mahabba, a discourse on the all-pervading nature of love; see Abjad al-ulām, 254; 5. Tafṣīr Aṣūl al-Nār, a commentary on sūra XXIV, 35; 6. Risālat al-ʿArṭā wa l-kāfīya; see Abjad, 915; 7. Danāgh al-bāṣīl, dealing with some abstruse problems of the īlam al-bākāʾik; 8. a gloss on Mir Zāhid al-Harawi's commentary on Kūb al-Dīn al-Rāfi'i's Risālat al-Tasawwur wa l-ḥikāḥīq (see GUL, ii, 271); 9. Iḥāṣ al-barāhīn al-bikmāḥiyā 'llah wa il-ḥukmā'.

In Persian: 10. Kiyāmat-nāma (Lahore 1339; Haydarābād, undated ed.), on the last judgment also called Maḥdār-nāma (see Browne's Supplementary handlist, 189). For the two poetical versions, in Urdu, of this popular work, viz., Aghīr-i maḥdār (chronographic name, which gives 1250/1834-5 as the date of composition), and, Blumhardt, Cat., 290, and for an Urdu prose version, Kiyāmat-nāma o Dar al-ʿājadīrāt, see Blumhardt, loc. cit. 11. Fītūstā, Dihlī 1312; 12. Madmīna'ī tūl rasā'il, Dihlī 1314, small treatises on religious and mystical topics; 13. Shahr al-Sudār bi-tharb hul al-mawṣūla wa l-kūbur, an eschatological work, in a ms. copy in the Dār al-ʿUlām, Deoband, which institution also possesses the ms. of his 14. Laylat ʿal ḥamma, a mystical work (ff. 32).

Biography: Besides the references given above, Malāfīzā Shāh 'Abd al-ʿAzīz Muḥaddīd Dihlawī (composed 1233/1818), Meerut 1314, 79, 83-4; Muḥammad b. Yāhūdī (commonly known as Muḥsinī-al-Thirhti, a-ʿYānī o-ʿl-gani fi asāṣān al-Shaykh Abīl-Qāmi (litogr. on the margin of the Kūfik al-ʿasār 'an nājīl maʿānī al-ʿlāẓ̄) and composed in Medina in 1280/1863), Deoband 1349, 75; Siddīk Ḥasan Kāhan, Abjad al-ulām, Bhopāl 1295, 124, 914-15, and other works mentioned in the article; Karim al-Dīn, Faraḍ-dār dahr, Dihlī 1847, 410; Sayyid Ahmad Kāhan, Aghīr al-sanādīd, Dihlī 1270, 106; Faḵīr Muḥammad Dīhlīmān, Ḥādīth al-hanafīya, Lucknow 1891, 496; Rāhāmīn ʿAlī, Taḥkīra al-ulāma'-i Hind, Lucknow 1914, 66 and 4, 24, 51, 63, 223, 276 for notices, etc., of the Shāh's sons and pupils; Baqīr al-Dīn Ahmad, Wādīʿe Dihlī, Agra 1918, ii, 588-9; Garcin de Tassy, Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustanie, 2nd ed., Paris 1870, ii, 548-9; Saksena, History of Urdu literature, Allahābād 1927, 253; Maʿarif (an Urdu monthly published from Aʿzamgah, India) for Nov. 1928, 344 ff.; The Oriental College Magazine, Lahore (an Urdu quarterly) for Nov. 1925, 42-9 (life, including a biographical notice, of the unpublished Nuzhat al-khwāṣūṭ by Mawwī ʿAbd al-Hāvy of Lucknow, and a list of works.).

MUHAMMAD SHAFI' AL-RĀFIDA OR AL-RAWĀFI'IDAR, a term that refers to (i) the proto-Imāmiyya (and, subsequently, the Twelver Shi'a); (ii) any of a number of Shi'i sects. In this article it is used in the former sense unless otherwise indicated.

The origin of the term is a matter of dispute. 1. Early Imāmī heresiographers maintain that the name was first applied to the adherents of Dja'far al-Sādiq by al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd (executed in 119/737), immediately after they had dissociated themselves from him (see MUGHRĪYAH). 2. Other reports, in contrast, relate it to the abortive uprising of Zayd b. ʿAlī against the Umayyads (in 122/737). According to these reports (including one from the Kūfān historian Awānī b. al-Farākarn and another from Abu Mūsā al-Khāl), some Kūfāns who had initially joined Zayd's camp made their continued support conditional on his rejection (raf') of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (or of the entire sāḥāba). When Zayd refused to accede to their demands they deserted him (rafātā), thus bringing about his defeat. The term Rāfīḍa is therefore variously said to recall the desertion of Zayd, the rejection of the first two caliphs, or both.

The name is used to refer to the proto-Imāmiyya in
statements of dubious authenticity ascribed to the traditionist al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721 or 110/728), and was current by the mid-2nd/8th century, when it was reportedly used by (among others) the Zaydi notable Rauḍāt al-Maṣāḥiḥ. Not surprisingly, Hasani circles were particularly active in propagating anti-Rāfīḍī traditions. Zaydi himself is said to have quoted the Prophet as telling ‘Ali that he should kill any Rāfīḍī whom he meets; the reason given is that they are polytheists (Náhnáv al-Himyari, al-Ḥurūf al-ʿin, Cairo 1948, 185). Muhammad is also said to have declared: "At the end of time there will appear a group of people called RauḍaT al-Maṣāḥiḥ who will reject (yafundil) Islam." According to an account attributed to al-Ṣuddī (d. 127/744-5), Zaydi compared the Rāfīḍī desertion with the Khāridjī revolt against ‘Ali ( Ibn Ṭasikr, TaRīkh Kūmūd Dimāšḵ, facsimile ed., vi, 648). Detractors argue that rāfīḍ is based on Judaism; they allege that ‘Abd Allāh b. Sāba’ (q.v.) was of Jewish origin, and claim that anthropomorphism (taghḥūt), allegedly a hallmark of Judaism, was first introduced into Islam by the Rāfīḍī (cf. J. van Es, Religion und Gesellschaft, i, 399-403).

While Rāfīḍī was originally intended as a pejorative term, the Imāms soon turned it into an honorific term. The traditionist al-ʿAṣmāʾī (q.v.) quotes Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiq as explaining that it was bestowed on the Shīfīs by God and is preserved in both the Torah and the Qur’an (al-Masāʾil, ed. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ, 3 vols., al-Kūmūd, 1935, i, 126; ii, 359). Muhammad is also said to have declared: "At the end of time there will appear a group of people called RauḍaT al-Maṣāḥiḥ who will reject (yafundil) Islam." According to an account attributed to al-Ṣuddī (d. 127/744-5), Zaydi compared the Rāfīḍī desertion with the Khāridjī revolt against ‘Ali ( Ibn Ṭasikr, TaRīkh Kūmūd Dimāšḵ, facsimile ed., vi, 648). Detractors argue that rāfīḍ is based on Judaism; they allege that ‘Abd Allāh b. Sāba’ (q.v.) was of Jewish origin, and claim that anthropomorphism (taghḥūt), allegedly a hallmark of Judaism, was first introduced into Islam by the Rāfīḍī (cf. J. van Es, Religion und Gesellschaft, i, 399-403).

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Muʿtazili Bishr b. al-Mutʿamir and the third by the Zaydi al-Kasim b. Ibrahim (on which see W. Made- lung, Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim, 98, ed. B. Abrahamow, in The theological epistles of al-Kasim ibn Ibrahim, Ph.D. diss., Tel-Aviv University 1981, un-publ.). While some Sunni scholars permitted traditions to be transmitted on the authority of Rāfidis, others did not (al-Khaṭṭāb al-Baghdādī, al-Kifāya fiʿilm al-ruwaḥ, Haydarābad 1357, 120-3). Opposition to the Rāfidīs also came to the fore in the legal sphere: the term "Rāfīqīa" in Imdāmi Shīʿī usage, in JAOS, xcix (1979), 677-9; idem, Belief and law in Imdāmi Shīʿism, Alder- Cairo 1366-9/1947-50, iii, 133; al-Majdūsī, Bihār al-anwār, lixvi, 156), while one of his successors as kāfīd, the Kūfan traditionist Hāfs b. Ghiyāḥ al-Naḥḥāʾī (d. 194/809-10), is said to have denied permission to women to marry him. His stated reason was that the Rāfidīs consider a triple repudiation (tādāk) pronounced in one session to be tantamount to a single repudiation, and hence revocable; Rāfidīs who pronounced this formula therefore regarded themselves as still married (Waklān, 388, 253/867), as cited by al-Malati, refers to fifteen Rāfidīs who pronounced this formula as objectionable. Rādīddīn, and members of the Kufan family which in itself is not Alī and his descendants, therefore regarded themselves as still married (Waklān). Yet in general the term continued to denote the Kufan traditionist Hāfs b. Ghiyāḥ and his family which in itself is not objectionable. As already noted, the appellation Rāfīda had wider applications. For example, Khusayyā b. Asrām (d. 253/867), as cited by al-Malāfī, refers to fifteen Rāfīda groups, most of whom were extremist Shīʿīs, and al-Šahrastānī also includes the ghulāt in the term Rāfīda; and the Rāfīds who ascribe the ghulāt to the Zaydi leadership, to the Christian dhikr of Jesus may likewise be seen as the ghulāt. Ibn Ḥanbal (as cited in Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, Tabakāt al-anwār, i, 33), Ibn Kusayyā, ʿAbd al-Kāhir al-Baghdādī, Abuʿl-Muṣafir al-Isfaraṇīyīn and others used the term Rāfīda to refer, in- ter alia, to the Zaydis.

AL-RAGHIB AL-ISFAHANI

shot 1991; index; D. Gimaret and G. Monnot, Livre des religions et des seictes, i, Peeters-Unesco 1986, in-

dex; M. van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidscha, i, Berlin and New York 1991,

[272-403. See also §HI ABU 'L-KASIM AL-HUSAYN b. Muhammad b. al-Mu'adhdhin, religious and

Arabic literary scholar. Despite the consider-

able popularity of his works, at least a dozen of

which are extant, and his demonstrable influence on

al-Qazâli and his later figures, al-Râghib's name

is missing from almost all the standard biogra-

phical collections, and information about his life is

extremely scanty. Although late sources place him in

the 6th/12th century, more recent scholarship has

confirmed al-Suyûti's statement (Budwa, ii, 297) that he
died early in the 5th/11th. In his literary anthologies

he alludes a number of times to contemporaries who

can be identified as members of the circle of the Bûyid

vizier Ibn 'Abâbî (d. 385/995 [q. v.];) and the fact that he

refers to Ibn 'Abbâbî's successor, Abu 'l-'Abbâs al-

Dabbî (d. 399/1008), exceptionally, by his full title

suggests that he may have been writing during the lat-

ter's vizierate. There is no sound evidence that al-

Râghib ever visited Baghdad or left his native

Isfâhan.

Further knowledge of al-Râghib comes almost en-
tirely from his own works, whose variety made it dif-
ficult for later biographers to pigeonhole him; al-

Suyûtî calls him simply an "author" (jâhid al-
musannafât). His best-known work, the Muhaddîth al-

'udabâ' wa-muhaddîth al-suwarâ' wa 'l-bulaghât (2 vols.,

Beirut 1960, and earlier editions), is a comprehensive

adab encyclopaedia, organised in twenty-five chapters

covering such topics as intellect, rulership, crafts,

food, courage, love, death, and animals, and in-

cluding poetry and short prose anecdotes from all

periods of Islamic history in approximately equal pro-

portions; particularly prominent are verses by al-

Mutanabbi and al-Shanf al-Râjiî [q. v.].

The pre-eminen
c...
with the Asfâm al-balâgha mentioned by al-Suyûti and later sources.

Al-Rãghib's predilection for subtle semantic analysis, apparent in the Mâdîna' al-balâgha, is even more pronounced in his alphabetical lexicon of Kur'ânic vocabulary, the Mufradât al-fâsîk al-Kur'ân (ed. Nadîm Marraghli, Beirut 1972, and other editions). This work, whose influence can be traced in later ta'fîr as well as lexicography, was one of a series of monographs by al-Rãghib on the Kur'ân; in its introduction the author refers to his previous Risâlât manabîbî 'alâ 'arâdat al-mufradîn wa 'l-istabâr wa 'l-arâfat, al-Kubrãzi CAbd al-Rahman Ahmed Pasha (1763-1767), and, lastly, to Hekîm-zade CAbt Pasha. In 1141/1728 he returned to Tahkik mundsabdt al-interd, a study of phrases repeated in the Kur'ân in tanzil, Risdâlû munabîs/sir. This work, whose influence can be traced in later monographs by al-Rãghib on the Kur'ân; in its introduction, the author's Dâmî al-ta'fîr, which accords with other information on al-Rãghib but not on al-Iskãfî.

Al-Rãghib's ta'fîr, of which only the initial sections are known to be extant in manuscript, is quoted in the ta'fîr of al-Baydîwî (anonymously) and Fâghr al-Dîn al-Rãzî (explicitly). It may never have been completed. Most celebrated was its methodological introduction, which was often copied separately and has been printed several times (most recently, as a muhâk to al-Nãhî, al-Khawâdid [see Bibl.]). A model of clarity, this brief essay combines traditional philology with concepts derived directly from the philosophical tradition in an elegant and novel way.

The same combination of traditional religious scholarship and falsafa is even more apparent in al-Rãghib's best-known ethical work, al-Dharî a madârîn al-sharî' (ed. Abû Yazîd al-Adâmî, Cairo 1985, and earlier editions). This work is structured in terms of a Platonic-Aristotelian psychology, with separate chapters on man's faculties in general, his intellect, the concupiscent and irascible faculties, justice, labour and money, and human acts. The pervasive philosophical influence is highly reminiscent of Miskawayh [g. a.] (who died and was buried in Isfahân in 421/1030), although no textual parallels between the two authors' works have been identified (except for a brief quotation from Miskawayh in the Muhãdãrât). Al-Rãghib's falsafa is, however, considerably more Islamicised than Miskawayh's, with virtually every assertion being backed up by appropriate citations from Kur'ân and hadîth. The statement by al-Bayhâkî (Ta'ãrîkh hukmât al-Islâm, ed. M. Kûrd 'Alî, Damascus 1946, 112-13) that al-Rãghib combined the Isfahânî and Baghdadî schools in his works is particularly appeciable to the Dharî a. The work's ultimate influence was considerable, as it was al-Ghazâlî's direct source for a good half of his Mîzân al-'amal, as well as for significant sections of his îlyâsî 'ulûm al-din and Mû'ãridî al-khods. Al-Rãghib also wrote a companion piece to the Dharî a, the Ta'ãfîl al-nâzî'în wa-ta'ãfîl al-sâdî'ayn (ed. 'Abd al-Majîd al-Nâjîdhâr, Beirut 1988), which presents many of the same ideas but stresses even more explicitly the complementarity of 'akl and sharî'.

Influence from the falsafa tradition is equally apparent in a theologically treatise by al-Rãghib published (very imperfectly) under the title al-'îdãbât (ed. Shãrmân al-'Adlî, Beirut 1988). Its proper title is unknown, although one of the three known manuscripts of the work calls it (rather implausibly) Ta'ãfîl al-bayyân fi ta'ãfîl al-Kur'ân, a title referred to by the author himself in his Dharî a. In this work, al-Rãghib deals with a series of standard kalâm topics, such as the attributes of God and the problem of free will, but much of his argumentation is philosophically, including his conception of God as the Necessary Existence (wâdîgî al-wujûd bi-dhâtî) and the Unmoved Mover. Repeated attacks on the Mu'tazilis, and occasional ones on the Shî'a, show traditional questions about al-Rãghib's adherence to either of these positions to be groundless, although the existence of such questions from an early period suggests that this work was never widely known. Al-Rãghib's actual theological stance seems in fact to have been close to that of the Ash'ûrîs, although he attacks them once for denying the existence of a rational moral order in the universe; his pointed omission of Abû Hanîfah from a list of major formative figures in jurisprudence can be added to other evidence for his adherence to the Shâfi'i school in law. He also explicitly supports Sunnîsm in some form.

Al-Sârîsî has noted the existence of four brief epistles by al-Rãghib in an Istanbul manuscript (Esad Efendî 3645), with the titles R. fi anna fuqûl al-insân bi 'l-'ulûm, R. fi ãbir al-wujûd wa 'l-âhad, R. fi adåd mughãl'lât al-nâs, and R. fi marâdî al-'ulûm. The status of a few other titles in manuscript catalogues and bibliographical sources remains to be investigated. Apparently uninfluenced by his contemporary Ibn Sinâ, al-Rãghib is significant as a precursor of al-Ghazâlî in accepting and utilising a more diffuse form of falsafa in maintaining a rationalised but relatively conservative Islamic stance.

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the capital and in the following year went back to Baghdad as deputy to the reis efendi. He, but very soon received the post of chief of the petition department of the mały office in Istanbul. Two years later he accompanied the governor Ahmed Paša, who had been appointed serasker of Baghdad, as deputy of the reis efendi, and returned to the capital as chief of the poll-tax office (dişye mühasebeyii). In this capacity he went into the field in 1149/1736 and took a leading part in the peace negotiations of Nišmow. In July 1731 he was given a seat in the nishndfi-bashi office in his house, and three years later was promoted to be governor of Egypt. For five years he struggled with the factions of the Mamluks [q. v.], but had finally in Ramâdân 1161/September 1748 to yield to the superior power of the beg. He returned to the capital, and as nişhâbi-bashi was given a seat in the divân. After brief periods as governor in Rakka and Aleppo, he was appointed to the highest office in the state, the Grand Vizierate, in succession to Mustafa, who had been dismissed on 20 Rabî' I 1170/13 December 1756. He filled this office gloriously for seven years till his death, and was the last outstanding Grand Vizier of the Ottoman empire. He died in Istanbul on 24 Ramâdân 1176/8 April 1763 and was buried in the garden of the noble foundation founded by him (see J. von Hammer, GOR, viii, 249).

Mehmed Râghib Paša was not only one of the greatest of Ottoman statesmen but is one of the classical authors of Turkish literature. His works, which are distinguished by beauty of style as well as by graceful presentation, cover all possible fields (see J. von Hammer, GOR, ix, 625, nos. 3338-3653). His translations into Turkish of two Persian histories, Mîrkhânândî's [q. v.] Rawdat al-safa and 'Abd al-Razzak b. Ishak al-Samarkandi's history of the Timûrsids, Mâdad al-sa'dayn, unfortunately only survive in fragments but even in this state are masterpieces of Ottoman prose. Râghib Paša is no less highly esteemed as a poet. His Divân (printed at Krakow in 1718 and [in Bûlûk] in 1253) contains his most important poems, some of which are in praise of great contemporaries.

On mss. of his works, see Babinger, GOW, 290 (to which may be added Istanbul, Hamâdiyye, no. 598; Zagreb Acad. of Sciences, orient. coll., no. 833, 1 and 2 (with Divân), both containing his telkhisât; Uppsala, no. 706 (see Zettersen, Cat., ii, 106-7) obviously contains another work).

Bibliography: See F. Babinger, GOW, 888 ff., and the sources given on 290; LA, art. Râgup Paşa (Bekir Stukâ Baykal-Abdulkâdir Karahan)

RAGHUSA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the Dalmatian city of Ragusa, until the advent of Bonaparte a free state, the modern Dubrovnik in Croatia (see 2. below), situated in lat. 42° 40' N., long. 18° 07' E.

History up to the beginning of the 19th century.

Ragusa, the Roman Ragusium (see PW, 2, Reihe, 1.A. 1, col. 130), is situated on the south side of a peninsula which runs out into the Adriatic, picturesquely situated (50 feet) at the foot and on the slopes of Mount Srgujius, and was founded in the 7th century by Romance fugitives from Epidaurus which had been destroyed by the Slavs; it later belonged to Byzantine Dalmatia which had been settled by a Romance population.

At the end of the 10th century the town had become strong and rich through its prosperous maritime trade, was paying homage to the Venetians, under whose suzerainty it remained after various interludes continuously from 1204 to 1358. In this year, Ragusa passed to Hungary and soon attained such power through its flourishing trade that it formed a free state with an aristocratic form of government. Authority was in the hands of the nobles (Grand Council) who chose the Senate (45 members).

The latter, in 1240, was given a seat in the Grand Council (45 members) which chose every month a Rector (rettere) as head of the state. Al-Idrîsî [q. v.] mentions Ragusa in his Opus geographium (761, 769, 790, 791) as (râgus, etc. (other readings: rûgus) and is evidently quoting Frankish sources (cf. thereon W. Tomasek, Zur Kunde der Hâmus-Halbinsel. II. Die Handelswege im XII. Jahrh. nach den Erkundungen des Arabers Idriisî, in SB, Ak. Wiss. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., viii. cxxiii [1887], fasc. 1). In the Ottoman period, the Slav name Dubrovnik is found exclusively, in place of Ragusa.

Ragusa's relations with Islam, at first completely hostile, go back to a remote date. When the Arabs in the 9th century conquered Sicily and established themselves on the mainland in Bari (Apulia), they besieged Ragusa on one occasion, which defended itself bravely and was relieved by the navy of the emperor Basil I (867-86). Under the emperor Romanus III (1028-34) the Ragusans distinguished themselves in the sea-fights between Byzantines and Arabs. It was not till a later date that relations became more peaceful, when Ragusan commerce, which extended to Egypt and Syria, to Tunis and as far as the Black Sea, began to flourish. As early as the 14th century, corn was exported to Ragusa from the harbours of Anatolia and the relations to the beyliks (tâwâyîf-i mâlik) in Anatolia were well established. The first documented relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman empire belong to the period of Bayezid I Yildirim (791-805/1389-1403 [q. v.]), as the relations of the free state with Orkhan [q. v.] and Murâd I [q. v.] mentioned in later Ragusian histories will not bear serious investigation. It is, however, certain that at no time prior to 1237 was it possible for the Ragusans to remain on good terms with the Ottomans, who were advancing westward, for the sake of their trade. They were able to deal with tact and skill with their new neighbours. Ragusan trade in Turkey developed considerably as the many frontiers and customs offices of the numerous petty rulers of the Balkans, who had been dispossessed by the Turks, disappeared and the Turkish duties were uniform and low. Artisans manufactured in Ragusa itself, cloth, metal, soap, glass, wax, etc., or goods imported from Italy for the Balkan peninsula, were taken into the interior on safe roads. There was a caravan trade which went from Ragusa via Trebinje, Tienitîle, Foča, Gorađe, Plevje, Prijeplœ, Trigoviće, Novibazar, Niš [see Niš], Sofia and Plîvod to Edirne and later to Istanbul (cf. C. J. Jirecke, Die Handelsstraßen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters. Prague 1879, 74 ff.; Von Ragusa nach Niš). In the interior of the Peninsula, there were the factories of the Ragusans like Rudnik, Prizren, Novo Brdo, Priština [see Priština], Zvornik, Novibazar, Skopje and Sofia, with many other settlements extending as far as the mouths of the Danube. On 12 May 1392 the Little Council of Ragusa gave the nobleman Teodor Gisla in Novo Brdo orders to travel to the Turkish sultan and to
make representations about the capture of some Ragusan merchants. There is a Turkish safe-conduct (litera securitatis) of 20 June 1396 prepared for Ragusan merchants. In 1397 Sultan Bajazet I allowed the Ragusans to trade unhindered in the Ottoman empire, and a few years later (1399), the first Ottoman embassy led by Kefala Feriz (Firuz)-Beg arrived in Ragusa from the citadel of Zvečan (in Kosovo) (cf. F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, op. cit. below, 7). The first embassy from Ragusa to the Sublime Porte was, however, not sent until 1430. It was received by the sultan in his palace in Edirne and received from him the first extant charter of trading privileges, dated Edirne, 6 December 1430 (cf. Ćiro Truhelka, Türkenstoffsämi spomenici dubrovačke arhive, in Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, xxii [1911], no. 2). To protect her widespread trade in the Balkan Peninsula, Ragusa, after the first temporary conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans, found herself forced to offer the Porte an annual present of 1,000 ducats in silver plate (argenteria), but when Georg Branković restored the independence of Serbia in 1444 this promise was promptly withdrawn; on the final subjection of Serbia by the Turks in 1459, this tribute (korpora) became a regular institution. From 1459 it was 1,500 ducats and gradually increased to 15,000 ducats. From 1481 it was 12,500 ducats and was annually brought to the imperial court by special oratores tributi with very detailed instructions (cf. the text of one of these commissiones for the Paladins Marino de Gondola and Pietro di Luccari of 1458, and of a later one for the ambasciatore del tributo Giov. Mar. di Resti of 1572, in Ludjo Knež Vojnovic, Dubrovnik i osmansko carstvo, Prva knjiga: Od proge ugovora s portom do usvojenja Hercegovine, Belgrade 1898, 118-55, 256-66); cf. Jireček, Die Bedeutung von Ragusa, etc., no. 49. A number of the earliest documents relating to these missions have been published by F. von Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in his Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archive des Rektoren-gorc, in Festschrift fur Georg Kl. von Hammer, Berlin 1930, 346-81, with erroneous conclusions). The relationship that Ragusa cunningly used every opportunity to avoid its oppressive obligations (cf. the significant saying in the Levant quoted by von Hammer,GOR, vii, 29: Non sismo Christi, non sismo Ebrei, ma poveri Ragusi), until the peace of Carlowitz (1699) [see Karlovec] made it possible for the Ottomans to collect the tribute again (cf. von Hammer, GOR, vii, 29). From 1703 it was paid every three years and, in 1804 delivered for the last time in Istanbul by the envoys Paul Gozze and Blasius Menze.

In the Turkish wars of 1663-69 and 1714-18 the Venetians occupied the hinterland of Ragusa and Trebinje, but at the peace of Carlowitz and Passarowitz [see Passaré] the Ragusans, protected by Austria and the Porte, negotiated so skilfully that Turkey was not only left the land as far as the Ragusan frontier but also two strips of territory on the coast (Klek and Sutorina) so as not to become direct neighbours of Venice. This was the last great coup of Ragusan policy.

With the decline in Ragusan trade, which came about for the same reasons as the general decline of Italian trade in the Levant, the political decline of the republic set in, with only a final revival during the Napoleonic era (see 2. below).

The Ottoman traveller Ewliya Celebi [q.v.] in his Seyahet-nâme (vi, 443 ff., esp. 445-53) gives a full description of Dehber Venedik which he contrasts with Bundukâni Venedik, i.e. Venice proper (cf. on these terms, F. Babinger, Aus Südtürkischen Türkischen, Berlin 1927, 38 n., and H. v. Mäik, Beiträge zur Kartographie Altbaniens, in Geographia Hungarica, series geologica, tomus iii, Budapest 1929, 639-19 n. 88). In 1074/1664 he came via Ljubomir, Popovo to Dubrovnik, whence he went on to Castelnuovo (Hercegovini). On Hungarian and Serbo-Croat translations of this section, cf. Babinger, Ewliya Celebi's Reiseaue in Albanien, Berlin 1930, 1 and 2, n. B.

Statistics regarding the population of Ragusa in the older period are not available. With the prosperity and long period of peace, a literary life began; poetry—Latin and Slav—was definitely cultivated from the end of the 15th century. Latin was used in the offices for over 1,000 years, in recording the proceedings of the Senate till 1806. Within its walls there was a considerable number of foreign fugitives from Turkish persecution (e.g. Skanderbeg).

The archives of Ragusa, kept in the Rector’s palace, still await thorough study and contain a large number of unpublished Turkish documents and countless documents of value for the history of Turkish rule in southeastern Europe. Cf. F. Giese, Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archiv des Rektoren-palastes in Dubrovnik (Ragusa), in Peticstvke fur Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, Leipzig 1932, 41-56. Cf. also J. Gelich (Djelčić), Dubrovački arhiv, in Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini, xxii (1910), and Milan v. Reletar, Dubrovački arhiv, in Narodna Enciklopedija, i, 584 ff.

Ragusa had busy commercial relations with other Muslim states besides Turkey. In 1510, for example, Ragusa received from the Mamûl sultan Kânsaw al-Ghawri a charter which gave its trade with Egypt protection and freedom (cf. Giacomo Luccari, Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Rausa, Venice 1605, 126, and thereon Fr. M. Appendini, Notizie sulle istoriane critiche antichità, storia e letteratura de’ Ragusei, Ragusa 1802, i, 213, with erroneous conclusions). The relations were, it is true, not always of a peaceful nature, as the “state of war” in 1194/1780 between Ragusa and Morocco showed (cf. thereon, F. Babinger, Ein marokkanisches Staatsarchiv an den Freistaat Ragusa von...
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Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see also the older travellers in so far as they describe the road through the Balkan Peninsula (Szlownica), especially, Jean Chesneau, *Les Voyages de Monsieur d'Armand* (1547), Paris 1887, ed. Ch. Schefer; Sieur D[es Hayes de] C[journemin], *Voyage du Levant* fait par le commandement de M. de C. en l'année 1621 par le Sieur D.C.3, Paris 1632; *Les Voyages de M. Queliot à Constantinople par terre*, Paris 1664 and later printings; Sir George Wheeler, *Journey into Greece*, London 1682, or French translation, *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Amsterdam 1689, 2 vols.—A scholarly account, particularly one based on the documents, of the relations of Ragusa with the Ottoman Empire is still lacking; as is a full commercial history of the republic.—The principal work on the history of Ragusa is the Geschichte des Freistaates Ragusa, Vienna 1807, by Johann Christ. von Engel (1770-1814). On other relations between Ragusa and the lands of Islam, see Vladimir Mažuranić, *Südost im Dienste des Islam* (vom X. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert), German tr. publ. by Camilla Lucia Zagar, Zagreb 1928, 55 pp., which does, however, on every point stand the test of strict examination.—On the coinage of Ragusa, see Milan v. Reletar, *Dubrovacka numizmatika*, 2 parts, 1924-6.—Of the Ragusan historians of the older period, in addition to S. Razzi, *La storia di Ragusa*, Lucca 1588, and Jan. Resti, *Chronica Ragusina* (in the Monumenta Slav. Medii, xxv, Zagreb 1895), Giacomo di Pietro Lucciari [= Jakov Lukarević (1551-1615)] most deserves mention, but a thorough study of the probably unreliable sources of his *Cipsoo ristratto degli annali di Raua* (Venice 1605, xxxvi, 176 pp., 4°, and Ragusa 1790, xxiii, 325 pp., 8°) is still a desideratum; see for the present Vl. Mažuranić, *Izvori dubrovačkoga historika Jakova Lukarevića*, in Narodna Starina, Zagreb 1924, no. 8, 121-53.—An excellent and exhaustive bibliography on Ragusa is given in the introduction to the work of Ivan Dužek, *Avioni di Ragusa: Documenti sull'Impero turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome 1935, which is also of great importance for the history of relations between Ragusa and Turkey.—There is no collection or edition of the surviving reports of Ragusan envoys on their journeys to the Porte on the lines of the long-available Venetian relazioni. The only possible exception is the *Relazione dello stato della religione nelle parti dell'Europa sottoposte al dominio del Turco*, Paris and the Hague 1961.


RAHÀ [see tâhûk].

AL-RABA, RHABAT MÄLIK B. TAWK OF RHABAT AL-ŠÀHM, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyädin.

Hardly anything definite is known about the history of the town before the Muslim era. In the Middle Ages it was usually identified as the Rehebat han-Nahr of the Bible (Gen. xxxvi, 37) in which the river (Euphrates) especially in the Talmud and by the Syriac authors (e.g. Mich. Syr., cf. index, 63°; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, 273 and passim), who usually call it Reheboth, Rahabat (M. Hartmann, in *ZDPV*, xxiii, 42, n. 1). A. Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 340) takes it to be the Thapsakos of Ptolemy, which he—certainly wrongly—wants to distinguish from the well-known town of the name at the bend of the Euphrates (ibid., 318-20), instead of seeing only an erroneous location by the Alexandrine geographers (cf. the article *Thapsakos*, in *Paulus-Wissowa, RE*, v. a, cols. 1272-80). The name al-Rahba is explained by Yakût (*Maqâm*, ii, 764, following the grammarian al-Naḍr b. ʿUmamī) as the flat part of a wadi, where the water collects (E. Herzfeld, *Anthologie des Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii, 382; cf. A. Socin in *ZDPV*, xxv, 43).

According to Arabic accounts, it was at one time called Furdat Nuʿm (al-Tabarî, i, 917) or simply al-Furda (Musâkawaih, *Tafhîr*, ed. Caetani, 87); in the vicinity was a monastery, Dayr Nuʿm (*Yâkût*, ii, 704, iv, 797).

According to al-Baladhurî, *Filîh*, 180, there was no evidence that al-Rahba below Karkisîya is an old town; on the contrary it was only founded by Mâlik b. Tawk b. Ṭirâb al-Talghibi (cf. Ibn Taghribird,
Nudjum, ed. Popper, ii, 34) in the caliphate of al-Ma’mun (198-218/813-33) (a legendary embellishment of the story of its foundation by Umar al-Bistami, in Yahya, ii, 764). The new foundation was in the form of a long, rectangular head cloth (tajlasan). After the death of its founder (Ibn al-Addajib, vii, 188) in 260/873-4, he was succeeded as ruler of the town by his son Ahmad, who was, however, driven out of it in 270/883 by Muhammad b. Ali ‘l-Sadiq, lord of al-Anbir, Tarik al-Furat and Rabatb Tawk (al-Tabari, ibid., 394).

The Karmafi Abu Tahir al-Djaunibi took the town on 8 Muharram 316/3 March 928 and killed many of its inhabitants (Miskawayh, Taqfird, ed. Amedroz, i, 182-3; al-Masudi, Tanbih, 384-5; Ibn al-Addajib, vii, 132; ‘Arib, 134). In the following decades, the town suffered much from civil wars until ‘Adil, who had been sent from Baghdaid by Badjkan, in 330/941-2 took possession of the town and the whole province of Tarik al-Furat and a part of al-Khabur (Ibn al-Addajib, ii, x, 267). In the reign of the Hizam Najar al-Dawla, the Taghlibi Djamibl rebelled in al-Rahba, and the town suffered very much; he was finally driven out and was drowned in the Euphrates (op. cit., 357-8).

After the death of Najar al-Dawla (330/941-2), his sons Hizam, Abu ‘l-Barakat and Abu Taghibl disputed for the possession of the town, which finally remained lord of al-Rahba, Ahmad b. ‘Shadi of Dwin, Sa’lal al-Din’s uncle, in 559/1164, al-Rahba and Hims (Mich. Syr., iii, 325; Barhebr., Chron. syr., 330). The latter entrusted the government of al-Rahba to an officer named Yusuf b. Mallah. Shirkib built al-Rahba of al-Djafora with a citadel around 1055, and also provided the town with the Euphrates, because the town of Rabatbl Malik b. Tawk was then in ruins (Abu ‘l-Fida’, Takvim al-buldan, ed. Reinaud, 281; Hadijih Khalifa, Dykhun-nima, Istanbul 444). The new town of al-Rahba became an important caravan station between Syria and the ‘Irak, as we learn from Ibn Bati’ta amongst others (iv, 315) who travelled from there via al-Suhkma to Tadmur.

The town remained for a century in Shirkib’s family until in 662/1264 Baybars installed an Egyptian governor there (Ibn al-Addajib, xi, 341, xii, 189; Abu ‘l-Fida’, Annals of Islam, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv, 142, v, 16). Sunkur al-Ashkar of Damascus, who rebelled against Kala’un in 678/1279, fled after a defeat to al-Rahba to the amir ‘Issa and from there appealed to the Mongol Abaka for protection (Barhebr., Chron. syr., 543).

The Mongols under Kharbanda besieged al-Rahba in 712/1312-13 on their way to Syria. On his return, Kharbanda (1273) occupied the town without resistance, and it was taken by the defenders of the town into the citadel (Abu ‘l-Fida’, v, 268-9; al-Hasan b. Habib b. ‘Umar, Durat ul-aslak fit dauat al-atrak, in H.E. Weijers, in Orientalia, ed. Juvnibol, ii, Amsterdam 1846, 319). Its government at the time, Ibn al-Arakabhi, died in 715/1315-16 in Damascus (Abu ‘l-Fida’, v, 300). Al-Muhannia and his family, the ‘Issa, were driven from the district of Salamiyya in the spring of 720/1320 and pursued by the Syrian troops as far as Rabah and ‘Ana (Abu ‘l-Fida’, v, 340-1); the town was perhaps destroyed on this occasion.

In 731/1331 the Euphrates inundated the country round al-Rahba (Ibn al-Addajib, Vienna ms. in Musil, The Middle Euphrates, 3, n. 3). According to the Muslim geographers, al-Rahba lay on the Euphrates (Kudama, 233; al-Mukaddasi, 130; al-Idrisi, tr. J. Massaert, ii, 137; al-Dinmaqubhi, ed. Mehren, 93; Abu ‘l-Fida’, ed. Reinaud, 51) and also on the canal Sa’id led off from it at Fam Sa’id on the right bank, which rejoined the Euphrates below the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281).

The town lay 3 farsakhs from Karshiyas (al-Addajibi, ‘Ana, in Abu ‘l-Fida’, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Daliya also called Daliyat Malik b. Tawk (Suhrab, ed. Reinaud, 281) and, as the historian of the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above
According to al-Mukaddasi, 149, a day's journey each from this town, al-Daliya and Bīrā (the latter statement is quite inaccurate; cf. Musil, op. cit., 253-4). Musil (ibid., 250) wrongly takes al-Daliya to be al-Sālibiyya, which is impossible, as 8-10 miles above it the Euphrates flows close to the foot of Djabal Abu 'l-Kāsim, so that the Sa'id canal must have flowed north of it back into the Euphrates (cf. the 

The town of al-Rahba was a Jacobite bishopric (a list of the bishops in Mich. Syr., iii, 502); that it—for a time at least—was also a Nestorian bishopric is shown from a life of the Catholica Eliyā I (on him, see Baumstark, Geschichte der syr. Literatur, 266-7) who, shortly before his death on 6 May 1049, appointed a bishop to this town (Assemani, in iii, 263).

In the statements of the Arab geographers, it is clear that the old Rabbbā Mālīk b. Tawk lay by the town on 6 February 1588 on the Euphrates, according to Abu 'l-Fida" (ed. Reinaud, 281), towers were still standing among the ruins of the old town. Opposite al-Rahba on the left bank of the Euphrates stood a fortress taken by Marwān II (127-32/744-50) in the fighting with Ḥishām (Māhbi b. Manbijū, Kītāb al-'Unwān, ed. Vasiliev, in Patr. Orient., viii, 517-18). In this fortress Musil (op. cit., 338-9) has recognised al-Zaytūna (al-Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 180; al-Tabarī, ii, 1467-8; Ibn Khurarādādībih, 74) and the ancient Zūdā which is still called al-Marwānīyya after this caliph, but is not really opposite al-Miyyadīn but four or five days' journey down.

Ibn Hawkāl, 155, praises the fertility of the well-watered region of Rahba, where the orchards on the east bank of Euphrates also produced date-palms; their quinces were also famous (al-Mukaddasi, 145). The Karte von Mesopotamien (1 : 400,000) marks at 90), with a detailed bibliography. The mediaeval Arabic texts on al-Rahba have now been published over the last half-century. For the period 64-1060, for which no further publication of importance is to be expected, a tentative sketch of its history has been made by Th. Bianquis, Rabba and les tribus arabes avant les Croisades, in BEO, xliii (1899-90), with a detailed bibliography.

Numerous projects have been carried out since 1970 on the material culture of the region in mediaeval and post-mediaeval times. Archaeological excavations have been made on the site from 1976 to 1981 by the General Directorate of the Syrian Museum of Antiquities, the Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas and the University of Lyons II. Recently, some 20-25 American multi-disciplinary teams, working on the societies of the desert margins, have carried out surveys on both banks of the Euphrates and on those of the Ḥabūr. Our knowledge of the past of al-Rahba and its region has thus been considerably enlarged, but the sparse publications so far available are still only provisional. Work has been carried out at three sites. To the south of the town of al-Miyyadīn, a stretch of territory on the banks of the Euphrates, near an old Ottoman caravanserai, was excavated from 1976 to 1981, mainly revealing dwellings from the Ayyubid period and with abundant material. The excavation had to be relinquished in the face of contemporary building operations just when an old level, probably 'Abbasid (4th/10th century) had been uncovered beneath a layer of material abandoned when irrigated gardens were laid out, corresponding to an urban decline in the 5th/11th century. The coins discovered at this site have been published by A. Nègre, Les monnaies de Mayādīn, in BEO, xxxii-xxxiii (1980-1), and the pottery will shortly be published also. Some urban life then continued along the Euphrates banks long after the earthquake of 531/1156.

The great citadel on a cliff some 2.5 miles/4 km from the Euphrates (for earlier illustrations of this, see
Musil, The Middle Euphrates, 7, fig. 2, and Sarre-Herzfeld, Arch. Reise, iii, pls. LXXIX ff.) is now deteriorating rapidly, with erosion eating away the supports of the walls. A study made 1976-78 allowed the drawing up of plans and elevations of the site, bringing out the complexity of the building, which was destroyed, rebuilt and enlarged on several occasions; see J.L. Paillet, Le chateau de Rahba, Etude d'architecture militaire islamique médiévale, diss. Univ. of Lyons II 1983, unpubl. Large numbers of feathers for arrows, cut out of the paper of registers, have been found at Rahba. From the end of the Abbasid period onwards, the building no longer had any military value and provided shelter for sheep-raising villagers.

From 1976 to 1978, work was undertaken at the foot of this fortress in the abandoned ruins of an urban settlement. A great enclosure, quadrangular in shape with sides of some 30 m, surrounded by a wall one metre thick, restored on various occasions and in some places more than 4 m in height, has been partially revealed. One can guess at an ensemble comprising a public building—a khân, a cavalry barracks or a great mosque, probably including a small oratory—with a complex network of canals for the bringing in of fresh water and for carrying away waste and dirty water. The pottery and coins which have been analysed are mainly Mamluk, with some Ayyubid sherds in the deeper layers. The houses around this great building have not yet been excavated but offer a clearly more rural aspect than the houses spread along the Euphrates banks.

Until the end of the 5th/11th century al-Rahba was a riverine port to which came caravans arriving via Tadmur or Palmyra from Damascus, Hims, Salamiyya and Hamât. After then, this river traffic declined, for reasons not yet clear; lack of wood for the construction of river craft? Decrease in the amount of water through desiccation? Insecurity? Caravan traffic running parallel to the river, on the plateau above the right bank, now enjoyed a corresponding increase. The ability to survey the steppe lands, which stretch as far as eye can see, always justified the building of a progressively stronger citadel on the river banks. To the north-east, it dominated the valley and could easily block or hold up the advance of an army venturing into the 4 km wide plain along the right bank of the Euphrates. The fortress being at a lower level, on the edge of the cliff, on the alluvial plain, and unable to command a view of the steppes at a higher level, lost some of its value.

al-Rahba formed part of various types of regional groupings: the Euphrates valley in the context of the administration of the tarîk al-Farûq, the Dîyarizân principality of Mawsil under the Ilkhânid Nasr al-Dawla, Fâtimid Egypt and southern Syria at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, northern Syria under the Killâbi Mirdâsids after 416/1025, the Saljûq principality of Damascus at the end of the 5th/11th century and the Syrian steppe principality extending from Salamiyya to the Euphrates in the Zangid and Ayyubid periods. Under the Mamluks, the citadel was rebuilt and held an important garrison, and it protected the new town which had grown up right at its feet. The commanding officer of the Mongols had a horse at the military hierarchy. It played a notable role at the time of the Turco-Mongol invasions between 1260 and 1400, forcing these invaders to detach from their fighting force powerful contingents to watch over and besiege the fortress. There are several mentions of al-Rahba in the Ta'rikh of Ibn Kâdi Shuhaba, ed. Adnan Darwich, Damascus 1977; on p. 479 the author states that, in 795/1392-3, when Timûr Lang had conquered Mesopotamia, he sent messages to the nâhib of al-Rahba, who after having read them, put the Turco-Mongol emissaries to death.


H. Honigmann-[Th. Bianquis]

RAHBÂNYIYYA (a.), monasticism. The term is derived from nabi [g. v.] "anchoive, monk"; it occurs in the Kurâ'ân only once, in a complicated passage (sûra LVII, 27) that has given rise to divergent interpretations: "And we put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compass and mercy, and the monastic state (rahbânîyya); they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God. Yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed, their reward; but many of them have been doers of evil."

According to some of the exegesis, the verb "we put" has two objects only, viz. compassion and mercy, whereas the words "and the monastic state" are the object of "they instituted". Accordingly, the monastic state or rahbânîyya appears here as a purely human institution, which, moreover, has been perverted by evil-doers.

According to others, however, the object of the words "and we put" is compassion, mercy and the monastic state. According to this exegesis, monasticism is called a divine institution, although not prescribed for mankind. But it has been perverted by evil-doers. This exegesis seems preferable to the other, although the juxtaposition of compassion, mercy and the monastic state seems rather unnatural. Of the two, the first interpretation displays a much less favourable view of the monastic state than the second. L. Massignon pointed out that this latter exegesis is the older one; the younger one expresses a feeling hostile to monasticism, which coined the tradi-

This tradition does not occur in the canonical collections. Yet it is being prepared there. When the wife of ʿUṯmān b. Maʿzûn [g. v.] complained of being neglected by her husband, Muḥammad took her part,
saying: “Monasticism (rahbaniyya) was not prescribed for us” (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 226; al-Dārīmī, Nīkāb, bāb 3). The following tradition is less exclusive: “Do not trouble yourselves and God will trouble you. Some have troubled themselves and God has troubled them. Their successors are in the hermitages and monasteries, ‘an institution we have not prescribed for them’” (Abū Dāwūd, Adab, bāb 44).

Islam, thus rejecting monasticism, has replaced it by the ḥadīth: “Every prophet has some kind of fahr, and that its interpretation as a journey to the djihād: “Every prophet has some kind of djihād” (a tradition ascribed to Muhammad, in al-Bukhārī, ii, 205; Muslim, trad. 46, 47; Tirmidhī, trad. 73; al-Nasāʾī, ed. Eisenberg, 155-6, 160, tr. W. M. Thackston, The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾ, Boston 1978, 165, 167, 181; Neumann Ede, A muhammedān jōzef monda, Budapest 1891, 12, 39-40; Grünbaum, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde, ed. F. Perles, Berlin 1901, 523, 534-8, 548; W. Bacher, Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrānī, Budapest 1907, 119. See also ḫusūb and yūsūf. (B. Heller)

RAHIL (A.), “travelling by camel”, a term applied in Arabic poetry to themes involving a desert journey. In its specific meaning it denotes a section of the ploythematic kasida [q.v.], following the nasīh [q.v.], which is divided into nasīb, kasida [q.v.], following the maddīh [q.v.], introducing it, like other themes of poetry, nor is the term used in a technical sense. Mediaeval critics usually paraphrase the theme (cf. Ibn Kutayba, ḥurr, 14). In the ḥusla [q.v.], poets allude to the perilous desert journey at the beginning of their self-praise [see muqāfāhah], introducing it, like other themes of fahr, by way rubba (‘and many a...’) or by kad preceding a verb in the imperfect tense (‘and often I...’). But already in early texts, there is a tendency to connect the rahil with the nasīh. The poet, after his disappointment in love, turns to his camel for consolation, or he asks whether it will be strong enough to carry him to his beloved. Then usually follows a detailed description of the camel’s trip across the sands, embellished by scenes of animal life, introduced as comparisons, the camel being compared to a wild bull, an onager, an ostrich, and, very rarely, to an eagle. If the oed ends with a maddīh [q.v.], the poet sometimes adds, by way of transition (taṭalluf), that he is travelling towards the maddīh, the addressee of his panegyric. From the corpus of pre-Islamic verse it appears that the rahil originally formed a theme of fahr, and that its interpretation as a journey to the

555, al-Zamakhshāri, al-Baydāwī, Ibn al-Q̄ārī, etc. Al-Kiṣāʾi even thinks that Yaʾkūb only married Rahlī after the death of Liyā and of his two concubines. Here again Muslim legend differs from the Bible, in making him not marry Rahlī until after 14 years of service; in the Bible, Jacob serves seven years, marries Leah and, after the wedding week, Rachel and serves another seven years. Yaʾkūb’s wooing and Lābān’s trick by which he substitutes Liyā for Rahlī as ‘neither lamp nor candle-light’ illuminate the bridal chamber, is embellished in Muslim legend. Rahlī is also of importance in the story of Yūsuf. Yūsuf inherits his beauty from Rahlī; they had half of all the beauty in the world, according to others two-thirds, or even according to the old Haggadic scheme (Kidduṣin, 49b), nine-tenths (al-Thālābī, 69). When Yaʾkūb left Lābān, he had no funds for the journey; at Rachel’s suggestion, Yūsuf steals Lābān’s idols. As Yūsuf, sold by his brothers, passes the tomb of Rahlī he throws himself from his camel on the grave and laments: ‘O mother, look on thy child, I have been deprived of my coat, thrown into a pit, stoned and sold as a slave.’ Then he hears a voice: ‘Trust in God.’ The old Haggada does not know this touching scene. But it has found its way into the late mediaeval book of stories Sefir Hayyāḥ (ed. Goldschmidt, 150). The Judeo-Persian poet Shaḥīn (13th century) adapts this motif from Firdawṣ’s Yūsuf u Zulaykha in his book Zwei judisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrānī, Budapest 1907, 119. See also ḫusūb and yūsūf. (B. Heller)

RAHIL, in the Bible Rachel, wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, is not mentioned in the Kurʾān. There is, however, a reference to her in sūrā IV, 27: ‘Ye may not have two sisters to wife at the same time; if it has been done formerly, God now makes an exception for the pious individuals, it is evident that there was nothing odious about it then; see, however, the article RAHBANIYYA.

In Hadīth, the rahīb is frequently encountered in stories of the nature of the kisas al-anbiyāʾ (see al-Bukhārī, Anbiyāʾ, bāb 54; Muslim, Zuhd, trad. 73; Tazabba, ed. Eisenberg, 46, 47; al-Tirmīzhī, Tafsīr, sūrā LXXV, trad. 2; Manṣūkh, trad. 1; al-Bayḍawī, Abū al-Nasrār, Masādīq, trad. 2; al-Māṣūkhanī, Fitān, trad. 20, 23; al-Dārīmī, Faddalīl al-Kurʾān, trad. 16; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 461; ii, 434; iii, 337, 347, v, 4; vi, 17 bi).

From the fact that in the Islamic literature of the early century A. H. the epithet rahīb was given to various pious individuals, it is evident that there was nothing odious about it then; see, however, the article RAHBANIYYA.

In the Kasida [q.v.], the theme of travel, rahil, is of considerable importance. It is not classified among the ‘genres’ (aḥrāf) of poetry, nor is the term used in a technical sense. Mediaeval critics usually paraphrase the theme (cf. Ibn Kutayba, ḥurr, 14). In the ḫusla [q.v.], poets allude to the perilous desert journey at the beginning of their self-praise [see muqāfāhah], introducing it, like other themes of fahr, by way rubba (‘and many a...’) or by kad preceding a verb in the imperfect tense (‘and often I...’). But already in early texts, there is a tendency to connect the rahil with the nasīh. The poet, after his disappointment in love, turns to his camel for consolation, or he asks whether it will be strong enough to carry him to his beloved. Then usually follows a detailed description of the camel’s trip across the sands, embellished by scenes of animal life, introduced as comparisons, the camel being compared to a wild bull, an onager, an ostrich, and, very rarely, to an eagle. If the oed ends with a maddīh [q.v.], the poet sometimes adds, by way of transition (taṭalluf), that he is travelling towards the maddīh, the addressee of his panegyric. From the corpus of pre-Islamic verse it appears that the rahil originally formed a theme of fahr, and that its interpretation as a journey to the
mandāh is a secondary development. For poets in the Djahiliyya do not travel towards a destination; ... applied to God, it means “beneficence and generosity” (inḍum wa-ifḍal) (al-ZadjdjadjI, Ishtikdk, 41, 8-9). Al-

During the first part of the 7th century, a transformation of the camel-section sets in, which is continued in the Umayyad period. As a result, the traditional description of the poet's camel is replaced by a rahil by the mandāh, by which the poet emphasises the dangers and hardships which he took upon himself on his way. In the Umayyad rahil, the destination is always stated, and the length of the way dwelled upon. The poet mentions a group of travellers and their mounts, and describes their state of weariness and exhaustion. Some odes begin with a rahil, which is often blended with the madīth in an ingenious way. Thus the rahil is now entirely determined by the panegyrical function of the ode, as described by Ibn Kutayba (loc. cit.), who evidently had the Umayyad kaṣida in mind, when explaining the genre (cf. R. Jacobi, The camel-section of the panegyrical ode, in JAL, xiii (1982), 1-22).

In the early ’Abbasid period, the rahil is gradually reduced in length or omitted altogether (Jacobi, op. cit., 32-21). ’Abbasid ode-writing is a rule bigraphy, a structure, a development already beginning in the Umayyad period. However, later poets occasionally fall back upon traditional patterns, and there are some original variations of the travel theme. As part of the panegyrical ode, the rahil survives until modern times.

_Bibliography:_ In general works, the rahil is treated in connection with the kaṣida, cf. GAP, ii (index), CHAL, ii (index); E. Wagner, Grundzüge der klasischen arabischen Dichtung, i-ii, Darmstadt 1987-8 (Index). Studies limited to the Qāhīyya: R. Jacobi, Studien zur Poetik der alarabischen Qasidé, Wiesbaden 1971, cf. 49-65; A. Hamori, The poet as hero, in _On the art of medieval Arabic literature_, Princeton 1974, 3-30; W. Rümiyya, al-Rihla fi ’i-kasida al-Qāhīyya, 1975. (R. Jacobi)

RAHIM [see ALLAH].

RAHMA (a., a transliter. of a Kurānic term (attested 114 times), denoting either kindness, benevolence (synonym of ra‘a) or—more frequently—an act of kindness, a favour (synonym of ni‘ma or faḍl). Almost invariably, the term is applied to God; in only three verses is there reference to the rahma which humans have, or should have, in their relationships with others: sons towards their father and mother (XXV, 24), married couples between themselves (XXX, 21), Christians among themselves (LVII, 27).

The French translation by “miséricorde”, although often used, is misleading, since in current usage, particularly in religious vocabulary, “miséricorde” essentially includes the notion of forgiveness, this being the kindness whereby God forgives men for their sins (the same observation applies moreover, although less precisely, to the English “mercy” and the German “Gnade”). It is true that the qiyād, left out with regard to animals, is an eminent form of his kindness, and in fact in some instances the Kurānic associates the two notions (cf. for example XVIII, 58; XXXIX, 53; XL, 7). It is also possible to understand in this sense (although not necessarily, cf. al-Ṭabarṣ’s commentary) the formula of VI, 12 and 34: kataba ’aḍā nafṣik al-rahma. But in the majority of cases, the notion of the forgiveness of sins is totally absent from Kurānic usages of rahma. As previously stated, this term is to be understood most often as a simple equivalent of ni‘ma. It represents a “kindness” which God grants (āḏā, waḥāb) to men (cf. III, 8; XI, 28; XVIII, 10, 65), a good which He makes them taste (ṣafā), or which He in fact, it is an affliction (ṣa‘d, ṭarār) which He wills upon them, and sometimes a rahma (cf. XXXIII, 17, and XXXIX, 38).

These rahma which God gives as benefits to men, or to one or another individual, are of various kinds. There is the “Book given to Moses”, described as hūd wa-rahma (VI, 154; VII, 154), ʿinān wa-rahma (XI, 17; XLVI, 12); the Kurānic itself, also frequently described as hūd wa-rahma (XXVII, 77; XXXI, 3; etc.) or as ʿaṭā‘a wa-rahma (XVII, 82); Jesus (XIX, 21); Muhammad (XXI, 107). Also a rahma is the fact of having given to Moses, to assist him, his brother Aaron (XIX, 53), to Zachariah a son (XIX, 2); of having saved from annihilation Hūd and his supporters (VII, 12; XI, 58). Rahma is furthermore the treasure destined to the two orphans of XVIII, 82; the wall erected by Dhu ’l-Karnayn (XVIII, 98); the maintenance (riżk) which the Prophet awaits from God (XVII, 28); the rain (VII, 57; XXV, 48; XXVII, 63; XXX, 50); and the alternation of day and night (nāfak al-dam). Rahma also passes for “mercy” and the German “Gnade”). It is true that, regarding the original meaning of the term, a disagreement which essentially divides, it seems, lexicographers from theologians. For the former, rahma denotes at the outset an aggregate of related emotional states, of which the most characteristic is that of ṣa‘d al-kalb, which may be translated, for want of a better choice, by “sensitivity”, the “fact of having a sensitive heart”. Al-Mubarrad would define rahma by tabāhnun (“tenderness”) wa-riżk (according to al-Za’idjadi, Iṣhtikhār asmā‘ Allāh, Beirut 1986, 41, 8), ṭa‘āf ṭarāf (“benevolence”) (according to Abū Hātim al-Rāzī, al-Zina, ii, Cairo 1958, 23, 7-8; cf. also LA). In his “exoteric” commentary on the bashmāla, al-Shahrastānī gives the following definition: “In Arabic, rahma denotes sensitivity (ṣa‘d al-kalb), compassion (ṣafā), softness (רָקֵק), tenderness (רָקַק). This term has for antonyms hardness (faṣṣa) and severity (ghilzat al-kalb)” (Maftūḥ al-asrār, facsim. ed. Tehran 1989, fol. 33b). Lending force to this interpretation is a saying of Ibn ʿAbbās, glossing rahmān with ṭa‘āf ṭarāf and rahmān with ṭa‘āf (cf. Gimaret, _Les noms divins en Islam_, Paris 1988, 379). The question which is posed is, for a theologian, whether, thus understood, rahma can truly be used in connection with God. On account, no doubt, of what this term implies in the sense of vulnerability, fragility, it is generally reckoned in fact that ṭa‘āf could not be counted among the divine attributes (thus al-Khaṭṭābī and the Husayn b. al-Faḍl al-Baghdālī, according to al-Bayhākī, al-ʿAsmā‘ wa-l-ṭifār, Cairo 1939, 51, 13-18). A ṭa‘āf, explains al-Ghazālī, is a cause of suffering, and it is in order to alleviate this suffering that the “sensitive” man performs an act of benevolence; God, on the other hand, is not susceptible to suffering (al-Maṣṣūl al-arzān, Beirut 1961, 66, 1-11). For this reason al-Zamakhshāri considers that, when rahma is applied to God, it is to be taken in a figurative sense, signifying His benevolence (inṭām) towards His creatures (al-Kashaf, Cairo 1385/1966, i, 44-5). For al-Mubarrad, the term is frankly ambiguous. Applied to men, it signifies “tenderness and sensibility”; applied to God, it means “benevolence and generosity” (inṭām wa-ṭifār) (al-Zaddjādji, Iṣhtikhār, 41, 8-9). Al-
Djubba'i, for his part, goes further; for him, the true sense of rahma is that which makes it an...

The question of the origin and meaning of the divine name al-Rahmān, as well as of the formula al-Rahmān al-Rahim, has already been discussed [see BASMALA; KURGAN].

Some, including the...certain, al-Ash'ari, according to Ibn Furak, attributed this name to God, while al-Asmā', according to Ibn Babawayh [q. v.], claims that only God has, in addition, the power of removing this sufficiency and is said to have at one time been called Nadjaf 1387/1968, 203-4). However, later authorities—these being the majority—attribute to rahmān a stronger precision, precisely because the word is applied only to God, and because, according to a frequent exegesis, rahmān is reckoned to have a broader "extension" than rahim.

It is said that God is rahmān while rahim, the only difference being that rahmān is applied to believers (in conformity with Kurān, D 9:1), and is said to have at one time been called Gashtul-T al-Djurdjurl al-Azharl Abu Kabrayn, who after, and from the following year, though the order continued to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ayt Smā'il to the succession of al-Hāджj Baghīr, another Maghribī. In spite of the support of the amīr 'Abd al-Kādīr [q. v.], he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of 'Abī b. Ḥāṣā, who, however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the zuwīya, had ultimately to summon Baghīr back.

Meanwhile, the founders of other zuwīyas were assuming independence. After the death of Baghīr in 1259/1843, the widow's son-in-law al-Hāджj Annār succeeded to the headship of the order. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organised by Bū Baghīr, in Dhu '1-Hijājah 1272/August 1856 he called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was, however, compelled to surrender in the following year, together with his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred khālaq shortly afterwards.

Annār retired to Tunisia, where he endeavoured to give up the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognised as head of the order, and his place among the Ayt Smā'il was taken by Muhammad Amezzyan b. al-Haddad of Sadduk, who at the age of 80 on 8 April 1871 proclaimed dijahī against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on 13 July Ibn al-Haddād surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original zuwīya was closed as a precautionary measure.

His son 'Azīz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djouda, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various mulkaddams who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of zuwīyas, asserted their independence. Lists have been given by Depont and Coppola...the people of the zuwīyas, which extended into Tunisia and the Sahara. In their work, the numbers of the adherents to the order were reckoned at 156,214 (1897). In 1954, L. Massignon revised this number to 156,000 adherents, with 177 zuwīyas, whilst in 1961 Fauque estimated them at 230,000. It should be said that the Rahmāniyya constitute the most important Šūfi order in Algeria, with more than one-half of the khālaq of the land. It predominates in the towns of the Constan-

Reference:

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(D. GIMARET)

RAHMA b. DJĪBĪR [see KURŚAN, iii].

RAHMĀN [see BASMALA; KURŚAN]...

RAHMĀNIYYA, Algerian Šūfi order (arṭika) called after Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Gaḥṭulī al-Djurdjurl al-Azhārī Abū Kabrayn, who died in 1208/1793-4. It is a branch of the Khalwatiyya [q. v.] and is said to have at one time been called Bakhīyya after Muḥṭafa al-Bakrī al-Shāmī, at Naṭṭa al-Ayt Saḥīl, and in Tunisia, and some other places it is called Azzuzyiyya after Muḥṭafa b. Muhammad b. 'Azūzī.

Life of the founder. His family belonged to the tribe Ayt Smā'il, part of the Gashṭula confederation in the Kābiyya Djuḍurjura; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152/1740, and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muhammad b. Sinan al-Hājjī taught (al-Tawhid, Beirut 1987, 47, 21-3; al-Djuwaym, iv, 1950, 145, 4-6). However, later authorities—these being the majority—attribute to rahmān a stronger precision, precisely because the word is applied only to God, and because, according to a frequent exegesis, rahmān is reckoned to have a broader "extension" than rahim.

It is said that God is rahmān while rahim, the only difference being that rahmān could be applied only to God (thus, in particular, al-Ādhārī, according to Ibn Fūrāk, Muṣṭarada, Beirut 1987, 47, 21-3; al-Djuwaymī, Irthā', Cairo 1950, 145, 4-6). However, later authorities—these being the majority—attribute to rahmān a stronger precision, precisely because the word is applied only to God, and because, according to a frequent exegesis, rahmān is reckoned to have a broader "extension" than rahim.

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tunous such as Constantine, Annaba, Souk-Ahrag; Batna, Biskra, etc., and naturally in Kabylia, where it originated. Rinn noticed that the Rahmaniyya of Tolga regularly maintained good relations with the French authorities.

Practices of the order. The training of the murid consists in teaching him a series of seven "names", of which the first is the formula la išrāt ila 'llāh, to be repeated from 12,000 to 70,000 times in a day and night, and followed by the others, if the sheykh is satisfied with the neophyte's progress; these are: 2. A'llāh three times; 3. Allāh-A'llāh three times; 5. kyllām three times; 6. kabhār three times (Rinn's list differs slightly from this). Rinn stated that the dhikr of the order consists in repeating at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to that of Friday the prayer ascribed to al-Shāfi‘ī (q.v.), and on the other weekdays the formula la išrāt ila 'llāh. Favourite lessons are the "Verse of the Throne" followed by sūras 1, CXII-CXIV (prescribed in the Founder's diploma, translated by A. Delpech, in RA (1874), and the Seven Visions mentioned above (translated by Rinn, 467).

Literature of the order. Most of this would seem to be still in ms.; the founder is credited with several books. A. Cherbonneau, in JA (1852), 517, describes, [q.v.], at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to the following day, and if the preparation of a written document is overdue or is not paid. Mortgage is unknown, as well as a graded series of rights to the same object of pledge. To be distinguished from the pledge is the detention (habis) of a thing to enforce fulfilment of a legal claim, which represents a concrete right afforded by the law in individual cases so that it has contacts with the legal right to pledge.


AL-RAĪ (A.), pledge, security; rāihān, the giver and murshīn, the taker of the pledge. The Kurān (II, 283), obviously in confirmation of pre-Islamic legal usage, provides for the giving of pledges (rāihān marakibā) in business in which a definite period is concerned, if the preparation of a written document is impossible. The part here played by the security as evidence of the existence of an obligation is in Islamic law much less important than that of securing the fulfilment of a demand. From the latter point of view, the traditions are mainly concerned with two questions: a. whether the security in case of non-fulfilment passes without more ado into the ownership of the creditor or not (the two answers are crystallised in the legal maxims al-rahn bi-mdījih and al-rahn laṣṣ̱āla); and b. who is entitled to use it and is bound to maintain it (the answer is given in the earlier authorities that the taker of the pledge may enjoy its use if he sees to its maintenance, later fell out into disuse). According to the doctrine of Islamic law, the giver of the pledge is bound to maintain it, but can enjoy the use of it only according to the Shāfi‘ī; its use by the taker of the pledge is also forbidden (except by the Hanbals); the yield (increase) belongs to the giver of the pledge but also becomes part of the security (except with the Shāfi‘īs); the taker of the pledge is responsible for it according to the Hanafis and (with limitations) the Mālikis. A. Cherbonneau mentioned that the Al-Raī's agreement regarding the security is regarded as a bailment relationship (with much less responsibility). The basis for the condition of a pledge must be a claim (dāyān); the accessory character of the security is in general allowed; but exceptional cases are recognised in which the debt is extinguished by the disappearance of the security, i.e. the risk passes to the taker of the pledge. When the ownership of the pledge remains with the debtor, the latter is in no position to dispose over it and possession passes to the creditor; the latter has the right to sell to satisfy his claim if the debt becomes overdue or is not paid. Mortgage is unknown, as well as a graded series of rights to the same object of pledge. To be distinguished from the pledge is the detention (habis) of a thing to enforce fulfilment of a legal claim, which represents a concrete right afforded by the law in individual cases so that it has contacts with the legal right to pledge.


AL-RAĪ, Jakob of a poet of the Banū Numayr (q.v.) who lived in the 1st/7th century. His real name was ʿUbayd b. Husayn (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbi, Dīnakarāt al-nasab, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, Taf. 92 and 112; for other sources see R. Weipert, Studien, 27-8), but he was commonly known as al-Ra‘ī al-Numayrī. His kuṣūf Abū Dīnjal refers to his son Dīnjal, who inherited his father's poetical talent and produced some poems (for a collection of some fragments see N.H. al-Kaysī and H. Nādi, ʿShīr al-Ra‘ī, 8-13).

Al-Ra‘ī was a sayyid of his tribe and commanded great respect. He spent a considerable part of his life in ʿIrāk, especially in Basra, where he lived in good terms with Umayyad rulers and governors, e.g. Bishr and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Yazīd and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (q.v.), Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asid and Sa‘īd b. ʿAbd al-Ra‘īm b. ʿAttāb, to whom he addressed his panegyrical odes. It is evident that he kept these close relations with wealthy men of political influence for his personal profit, because, as many of his invectives against other tribes and poets like ʿAdī b. al-Rīkā, al-Aḥkāl, and Dījārī (q.v.) show, he did not get on easily with neighbours or fellow poets. When he interfered in the nābīd (q.v.) between Dījārī and al-Farazdak (q.v.) and gave preference to the latter, Dījārī was deeply hurt and reacted by composing his famous kasida "al-dammāgha" (see his Dīnān, ed. Nufmān Muhammad Amin Tahā, Cairo 1969 f., ii, 815 ff. no. 3), in which he slighted Dījārī and the Banū Numayr entirely. This poem silenced al-Ra‘ī at once and, as many traditions say, led to his premature death less than a year after this event (see M.N. Ḥidājāb, al-Ra‘ī, 76-7, who fixes the date of his death in 96/714 or 97/715).

Al-Ra‘ī's verses are a typical example of Old Arabian Bedouin poetry; he excels in the description of the camel and its shepherd (hence his nick-name), the wild bull, the oryx, the wild ass, and other animals of the desert. The Arab literary critics highly esteemed
al-Rāʾi's qualities and ranked him besides Humayd b. Thawr and Ibn Mukbil [q. vv.]... capacity as controlling Minister (mubdshir) and as Prime Minister.

During the peasant insurrection of 1864, led by Ibn [17x514](see the index). Other recensions ed the first philological recension of his Muntahd 'l-talab min ashlar al-^arab for his (ms.

Weipert and, less critically, by N.H. al-KaysiT and H. ANBARI, ABU BARK], and Tha[17x437]lab's recension and com-

About a century later, al-Asma [17x497]c[17x471]tions of al-Ra[17x273]r asruhu, haydtuhu, shi^ruhu, ... al-Rāʾid al-Numayri ...

The contents of al-Rāʾid fell under two major headings: an official section (kišm rasmi), devoted to national news and scientific items. Sources were Beylical governmental ordinances for the kism rasmi, and European, principally French journals, for international news.

Although providing strictly-regulated information, and in spite of three intermissions (1867-8, 1875 and 1890-2), al-Rāʾid is of undeniable documentary and historical interest for the pre-colonial period of Tunisia (1860-81); it was definitely the chronicler of the constitutional era, from 1860 to 1864 (promulgation in April 1861 of the first Tunisian constitution [see DUSTUR] and the lavish festivities which marked the event), and of the reforms of Khayr al-Din between 1870 and 1877, in his capacity as controlling Minister (mubāshir) and as Prime Minister.

During the peasant insurrection of 1864, led by Ibn
Ghâdhâmum [q.v. in Suppl.], al-Râ'îd, although experiencing a few very brief interruptions, displayed objectivity and calmness, all relative of course, but worthy of recognition.

It compensated for the interruption of the publication of the texts of laws and decrees relating to reforms with the publication of literary articles, consisting in most cases of excerpts from works published by the masha'â (some 70 titles, from 1860 to 1880).

Thus, as admitted by the eminent historian Ibn Abî 'l-Diyyâf, Ihâf ahl al-zamân bi-âkhâr mulâk Tûnis wa-'âshîd al-amân, Tunis 1964, iv, 31-2, vii, 117-40; M. Chenoufi, Le problème des origines de l'imprimerie et de la presse arabes en Tunisie dans sa relation avec la renaissance "Nahda" (1847-1887), i-li, thesis reproduction service, University of Lille III, 1974, passim.


Râ'îka, a slave singing-girl (kayna [q.v.]) in the earliest days of Islam. She is mentioned as being in the poesy and music-making circles of Medina in 'Ujîmân's caliphate, i.e. the middle years of the 7th century A.D., and as being the teacher (ustâdîya) of the celebrated singer "Azza al-Maylâ [q.v.].

Bibliography: Aghâni, xvi, 13 - xvi, 162.

Râ'îs (â.), pl. ru'âsâ, from ru', "head", denotes the "chief, leader" of a recognisable group (political, religious, juridical, tribal, or other). The term goes back to pre-Islamic times and was used in various senses at different periods of Islamic history, either to circumscribe specific functions of the holder of the office of "leadership" (ru'âsâ) or as a honorific title (ru'âsâ [q.v.]).

In the sense of "mayor" in the central Arab lands.

Here, the ru'âs is most commonly referred to was the head of a village, a city, or a city-region. He emerged as a kind of local "mayor" and was particularly active from the 4th/10th to the 6th/12th centuries. Although references to such ru'âsâ well before that time do exist, the exact date of origin, as well as its place, remains open to question. The areas of activity of the ru'âsâ were located in 'Irâk and the Persian regions, in Syria and the Dîjâzrâ. Thus ru'âsâ (in the sense of mayors) established their position mainly in territories under Bûyûd, Fâtîmîd and Saljûq rule.

The degree of power exercised by the ru'âs was dependent on the weakness or strength of the political authorities. Just as, if not more, important were groups of the local population who lent support to the ru'âs. Most famous were native-born, non-professional militias of "young men", the âdhâb [q.v.], as they were called in Syria and the Dîjâzrâ, and the fitûn [see Fâtâ] or ayyûrân [see A'Yîrû], in 'Irâk and Persia. Together with such popular elements, the ru'âs, himself as a rule of local origin, constituted a dynamic force of urban self-representation vis-à-vis the central rulers, usually foreigners. This situation was most evident in Syrian cities, in Damascus more than in Alepppo, when the ru'âs succeeded in transforming "classical" government offices, such as that of the police (ghâras [q.v.]), the supervision of the market and public order (âshîtâ [q.v.]), and the vizierate (wa'âs [q.v.]), into local self-representative institutions. Things evolved so far that the ru'âsâ complemented or even replaced the official rulers and their garrisons.

In time, they became institutionalised collaborators within the régimes. By forcing the authorities to recognise the ru'âs al-âdhâbâ as the ru'âs al-balâd ("mayor of the city"), symbolised through the grant of robes of honour (sexârâ) and estates, the latter rose to a semi-official position. Competition even cooperation between the ru'âs and the central government became more frequent than resistance by local leaders against foreign rule (which earlier had been the case when the ru'âs was only leader of the âdhâbâ). An illustrative example of this new arrangement of power was the appointment of several ru'âsâ in Damascus to the office of vizier. Another was the political and military cooperation against common enemies from outside. With the increase of functions attributed to or gained by the ru'âs, some cities established hereditary dynasties of ru'âsâ, comparable with the dynasties of kâdîs [q.v.] in Syrian coastal cities (Tyre, Tripoli) at that time, but lacking in their degree of "urban independence". Concerning the social origin of the ru'âsâ, it seems that some of them came from low social milieu, even from rural background. This holds true for those ru'âsâ who did not acquire official recognition through the rulers. On the other hand, most ru'âsâ obviously were members of wealthy families—a fact which also may have eased their access to a semi-official position.

After the middle of the 6th/12th century, the urban office of the ru'âs started to experience a gradual, but irresistible decline. Due to a new policy of centralising rule by the Saljûkids and their successors, who installed military commanders (âshîtâ [q.v.]) at the head of each city, the ru'âs was doomed to political insignificance. Military, political, and administrative functions were now exercised by the âshîtâ, and the control of the urban economy was returned to the classical holder of this office, the muhtâsib. The ru'âs as mayor of the city became much more rarely mentioned by the sources, only to disappear from them altogether during the second half of the 7th/13th century.

With regard to 'Irâk also and Persia, many cities also had a ru'âsâ who appears sometimes to have been the ru'âs of the fitûn or ayyûrân in his place. Parallels to conditions in Syria are existent, but just as important are dissimilarities which also must be seriously taken into consideration, if one wants to understand the varieties of the institutional history of Islamic cities.


(A. Havemann)

2. In the sense of "mayor" in the Eastern Islamic lands. As the lands further west also, the rijâsa was an office that was concerned to both the state and to the urban bourgeoisie and notables what Bulliet has styled, with regard to Nishâpûr, the patriciate although the actual functions of a ra'si were less easy to pinpoint than those of e.g. the kâhid and the kâtîf, who were in a similar, dual position as state nominees and as socially significant members of the local a'yân or notables. In general, the ra'sa of the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries seem to have been prominent in those towns which did not form normally the residences or courts of rulers; thus they are seldom mentioned for the courts of rulers; thus they are seldom mentioned for 1. In the mediaeval Islamic world.

KurDânic use of the verb racâ and its derivatives


In the larger towns, although under the Buyûds, the ra'sa of quite small towns in provinces like rural Pars and Gurgân could play significant political roles (see R.P. Mottahedeh, Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society, Princeton 1980, 150-3).

In Khurāsân, the position of the ra'sa of Nishâpûr is quite well known to us because of the plethora of biographical information on its scholars and notables. One of the greatest of Nishâpûr families, the Mîktâfs [q.v.], who were the confidantes of and diplomatic representatives for princes, held the office there for most of the Mâsûdî period and that of the Ghanâwids, i.e. ca. 431/1040, interspersed with members of the Hanâfî Sâ'dî family and one Ibn Râmiš, equally from top Nishâpûr families. From the pages of the Ghanâwids historian Abu 'l-Fadl Bayhâkî, it emerges that, during Sultan Mâsûdî's reign at least, when firm control over Khurāsân in the face of the Turkmen incursions was vital to the ruler, the state nominated or at least approved the ra'si and marked him out by the award of official robes, a fine horse, etc., the ra'si being responsible to the central government for the town's internal security and taxation (see Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 180 ff., 184-5; R.W. Bulliet, The patricians of Nishâpûr. A study in medieval Islamic social history, Camb., Mass. 1972, 66-8).

In Saljuq times, the central government certainly appointed the ra'si on some occasions, e.g. the vizier Nîgam al-Mulk [q.v.] appointed to Nishâpûr an outsider from Marw al-Rûgh Abu 'Ali Hasûn al-Mânsî, as ghâykh al-İslâm and ra'sî of the town, intending to use him as the agent for favouring Ashârî theology and Şâfi'i law there, with Abu 'Ali holding office there ca. 465-82/1073-89; but after Al-Mansî's death, the office of ghâykh al-İslâm reverted to a member of the Şâfi'î family, a former persecutor of the Ashârîs in Nishâpûr (Bulliet, op. cit., 45, 52 n. 13; 66, 68, 74, 170). During the Mâsûdî period, the Saljuq sultans continued to nominate ra'sâs for the larger towns, although in the smaller ones, the ra'sâs tended to emerge from the local urban notables without any outside interference. We possess the texts of various administrative documents nominating these heads of towns or regions, such as that for Tâdj al-Dîn Abu 'l-Mâkârim Ahmed as ra'sî over Mazândarân, Gurgân and Dihistan during Sandjâr's reign, in which Tâdj al-Dîn is granted by the sultan's dîwan full civil powers over the populations there and is invested with splendid insignia of office consonant with the exaltedness of his office. As before, the ra'sî, whether appointed by an outside ruling body or not, was not simply a salaried official of the state but the representative of his town and its interests vis-à-vis the provincial or central government, above all, over questions of the taxation due from the town, and he could report back to the sultan's dîwan if any of the state officials were grossly abusing their power locally. The ra'sî seems often to have had an office or dîwan of his own and to have been paid for his official duties by dues (ru'sâm) levied locally; but most ru'sâs were men of substance anyway (see A.K.S. Lambton, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 251-2; eadem, The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the 'Atabat al-kataba, in BSOAS, xx [1957], 383-7; H. Horst, Die Staatsverwaltung der Großseßighäfen und Häfnzmächte (1038-1231), Wiesbaden 1964, 53-6 and index s.nn. ra'si, rijâsi).

The ra'sîs recede from mention in the history of the Persian lands by the time of the Mongol invasions, but it should be noted that the Âl-i Burhân, the line of Hanâfî ru'sâs in the Transoxanian city of Bûkhârâ, held hereditary office there from the mid-6th/12th century well into the middle years of the 7th/13th one, with the additional title, expressive of their religious leadership also in the city, of sadîr al-sadur [q.v.] or sadr-i qâldâh (see Bosworth, Efr art. Âl-i Burhân).

Within Persia, during Âk Koyunlu, Safawid and subsequent times, up to the 19th century, many of the functions of the earlier ra'sîs were assumed, as the link between the central government and the taxpayers, by the headman of a town or district, who was then known as the kalântar [q.v.], although the parallels are not completely exact.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

3. In the sense of "sea captain".

Here ra'sî, in Turkish re'sî, with its derivation from ra's "head", followed the same semantic process as "captain" from capit "head", and came to mean "ship's captain" in Ottoman Turkish. The names of most major figures of the empire's naval history from the 15th and 16th centuries are followed by this epithet: Kemâl Re'sî, Piri Re'sî, Selmân Re'sî, Seyyid Re'sî, Turgut Re'sî [q.v.]. Towards the end of the 16th centuries, however, re'sîs began to be restricted to captains of single units, while kapûdan or kapûdan was applied to those who commanded fleets (see Kapûdan Pâsha). Meanwhile, in the semi-independent beylerbeylik of Algiers [see AL-DJAZAIR], the term became associated with commanders of corsair ships (the sipahi of the ru'sâm), an institution that died with the Turkish âjâbât of Janissaries or their off-spring (the kul-âğhâs [q.v.]) for political power. In modern Turkish, the word, spelt rêsi, means "captain of a small merchant vessel, skipper; able-bodied seaman" (Redhouse Yeni türkçe-ingilizce sözlük, Istanbul 1974, 953). For the completely different usage in Ottoman bureaucracy, see re'sî ul-küttâb.


(S. Soucek)

RA'IYYA (A.), pl. ra'âyâ, literally "pasturing herd of cattle, sheep, etc.", a term which in later Islam came to designate the mass of subjects, the tax-paying common people, as opposed to the ruling military and learned classes.

1. In the mediaeval Islamic world.

Kur'ânic use of the verb ra'sî and its derivatives

RA'IS — RA'IYYA

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covers the two semantic fields of ‘to pasture flocks’ (e.g. XX, 56/54; XXVIII, 23) and ‘to tend, look after someone’, withrestes (e.g. XXIII, 8; LVII, 27: LXX, 32). Since other Near Eastern religions and cultures have evolved the image of the ruler, in both a theocratic and a secular sense, as the shepherd superintending his flock, sc. the subjects (the obvious example being that of Christianity with Jesus as the Good Shepherd), it is not surprising that Islam evolved similar ideas. In the later developments of the personality and role of Muhammad—development which were in many cases influenced by the figure of Christ, his characteristics and his miracles, in Eastern Christianity—the Prophet is said by the Kādī ʿIyāḍ al-Yaḥṣūbī (d. 544/1149 [q. v.]) to have been awarded the epithets al-raʾiyya ‘the kindly one’ and al-rāḥīm ‘the merciful one’ by God from amongst His own Most Beautiful Names [see AL-ĂSMĀʾ-AL-HUSNĀ (al-Șifāʾ bi-taʾrîf ḥukūk al-Maṣāfqa, cited in T. Andrae, Die Person Mohammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde, Upsala 1917, 254), and he is described by the mystic Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Hakim al-Tirmidhī (flor. later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries, see Brockelmann, I, 216, S 1, 353-7, and Sezgin, i, 653-9) as the shepherd of mankind, whose sheep the latter are: he guides them in the right way, gives them pure water, provides them with winter and summer pasture, keeps them from the wolves,рошес the newly-born lambs, etc. (Nawādīr al-ʿasf, fi muʿṣaf akhkhār al-raʾiyy, cited in Andrae, op. cit., 254-5).

Both the image from Islamic ethics of the secular ruler (as opposed to the Prophet) as rāʾi “shepherd” and that of his subjects as raʾiyya “flock” appear in the manuals of constitutional law and the “mirrors for princes” literature [see NASBĀT AL-MUʿLŪK]. But there further developed, in the eastern Islamic world in particular, the additional concept—foreign to the emirates of early Islam on piety and worthiness of God’s grace as ideally determining the conduct of worldly-affairs—that the raʾiyya were the lowest stratum of a hierarchical social structure, the taxable classes of traders and cultivators, whilst above them were the ruling military and civilian classes, the ahl al-raʾiyya l-ašlaam. The roots of this conception probably lay in Sasanid Persia, where such a stratum had been divided into the military aristocracy; the secretaries; the Zoroastrian clergy; and finally, the peasants, artisans and merchants, who paid taxes. Certainly, the duties of treating the raʾiyya with benevolence and equity are stressed in the mirrors and in other sententious and moralising literature. Thus ch. 5 of Niẓām al-Mulk’s [q. v.] ʿAṣbāt al-ʿasf deals with the holders of land grants, muṣarāt, and the need for their enquiring into the condition of the raʾiyya, and solicitude for the interests of the taxpayers who financed the armies and administration of the Mongol Il-Khāns is expressed by Raḡḥūd al-Dīn [q. v.] in the maxim ‘there are no raʾiyya if there is no justice.’

But the ethical aspect of the ruler-subject relationship, the ruler’s duty to further agriculture and trade and the prosperity of the cultivators and artisans, tended to fall into the background in the face of non-taxable groups such as the military and in some cases even the duties of the docile taxpayers were emphasised but not the reciprocal duties of the rulers. The lot of the peasantry in particular deteriorated in the Saldjūq and Mongol periods, not least from the incessant warfare in the lands stretching from northern Syria to Transoxania and from the alienation of much land to feuatories, with a consequent loss of direct control by the ruler [see ÎBTĀʾ]. Although legally free in status, their freedom was in practice a fiction, and they were op-presssed and ill-treated, liable e.g. for forced labour (būgdi, buhdi); for housing and feeding officials, messengers, soldiers, etc. and their stalls (nasādī); and for providing mounts for the postal couriers (ṣuqā). These requirements had, of course, existed before, but they became much more onerous in the central and eastern lands of Islam from the 5th/12th century onwards (see A.K.S. Lambton, Landlord and peasant in Persia, London 1953, chs. II-IV; I.P. Petrushevsky, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 492-514, 515, 527 ff.; 535 ff.; B. Fraeger, in ibid., vi, ch. 9).

Hence it was during these centuries that the word raʾiyya became narrowed down in the eastern lands to its present meaning in Persia, sc. that of ‘peasantry’ pure and simple, and this meaning was carried into Indo-Muslim society, yielding the Anglo-Indian term ryot = “farmer, cultivator” (see Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, new ed. London 1903, 777). Raʾiyya also tended increasingly, in the central and eastern Islamic lands of the later mediaeval period, to have the connotation of “those classes in society who were not allowed to bear arms”, and this usage passed into Ottoman official terminology, for which see section 2. below.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Here, the plural raʾiyya and the singular raʾiyya has been commonly used. In the Ottoman context down to and including the 12th/18th century, the term denotes the tax-paying subject population as opposed to the servitors of the Ottoman state (sakrīs). The reʾiyya paid taxes and possessed few opportunities for legitimate political activity. From the 12th/18th century onwards, the term is increasingly used for the Christian taxpayers only; 13th/19th century population counts distinguish between reʾiyya and Islâm; all statements in the present context refer to members of the subject population regardless of religion. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, reʾiyya status was proven by showing that the person in question or his father had been recorded in the Ottoman tax registers as one of the reʾiyya. In later periods, the evidence of witnesses was regarded as decisive.

Reʾiyā and the sakrīs: boundaries and boundary crossing.

Exemption from certain taxes, particularly the ʿawārid-i divānīyye [q. v.], were quite readily granted to reʾiyya performing special services to the Ottoman state, such as the guarding of dangerous passes, the repairing of bridges or auxiliary services to the military. Down to the 10th/16th century, reʾiyya soldiers formed special corps in the Ottoman army, known as y 판단 and müsâlem [q. v.]. Certain members of those corps performed military service, while others engaged in agriculture on special landholdings (fīlīkhū [q. v.]) to finance their fellows’ campaign expenses. Detribalised nomads in the Balkans (yürüks [q. v.]) also were originally employed as soldiers. But from the late 10th/16th century onwards, the yûrûs and müsâlem corps were abolished and their members denoted to the status of ordinary peasants, while the yûrûs increasingly were confined to guard duties. In principle, tax exemptions for special services did not place a reʾiyya classified as muʾāṣar (or muʾāṣar wa müsâlem) in the šakrī category. However, certain reʾiyya doubly used tax-exempt status as an opportunity to claim the privileges of the ruling group.

From the point of view of established šakrīs, people born as reʾiyya could only under very specific conditions legitimately abandon their station. The study of religious law and subsequent careers as kâdi, müfti and müdarris were open to all Muslims. While
minor mosque personnel often were reconsidered *'askeri* only for the duration of their appointments, the higher ranks of the *ti'miyye* (q.v.) permanently left their subject status behind. More problematic was the position of *ázimadrise* in charge of the numerous Ot-
toman dervish convents; in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, they could sometimes claim *'askeri* status by default, if able to demonstrate that in the contemporary tax registers they had not been recorded as *rajîyed*. Dervishes suspected of herodoxy were occasionally reclassified as *reşâyâ* by way of punishment. Down to the 11th/17th century, the levies of boys (*devûrîmê* (q.v.) normally permitted the young men thus recruited unchallenged entry into the Ottoman ruling group, provided they survived the often arduous training period. In later centuries, it was possible to enter the ranks of the *'askeri* by service in the household of a high official. In particular, the sultan could move the young men he called into his service from their humble status as *reşâyâ* to a position of power. More problematic was the status of mercenaries of *reşâyâ* background who were awarded *timdrâs* (q.v.) for service on the frontiers. Such promotions occurred, for instance during the Habsburg-
Ottoman "Long War" (1001-15/1593-1606), but the beneficiaries might find their status challenged at a later time. *'Askeri* could frequently count upon support from the Ottoman sultans in their attempts to limit upward mobility on the part of the *reşâyâ*. In the later 10th/16th and throughout the 11th/17th century, the *reşâyâ* best placed to wage a struggle for *'askeri* privileges were the musket-armed mercenaries who now constituted the bulk of Ottoman armed forces on the Habsburg and Persian frontiers. Time and again, the attempts of these former peasants turned mercenaries to obtain the regular pay and privileges of Janissaries and other regular military corps resulted in full-scale civil war. The authorities armed peasant militias (*il erleri*) against the rebellious mercenaries, and in extreme cases mobilised militias over entire provinces (*nefr-i ğâmê* (see *nefîr*)). Some mercenaries of *reşâyâ* background doubtlessly gained admission to the *'askeri* class in the course of this unrest, but most were unable to shake off their subject status. From the 11th/17th century onwards, merchants and craftsmen increasingly protected themselves from unforeseeable demands for supplementary taxes by joining the Janissary and other military corps of the major cities. By paying fixed dues to the corps to which they adhered, the Muslim merchants and ar-
tisans of *reşât* origins became pro-forma soldiers and joined the lowest ranks of the *'askeri*. This process has been particularly well studied in the case of Cairo, where it was virtually completed by the middle of the 12th/18th century.

*Competition for economic resources.*

The *reşât* constituted a political and not an economic category. In terms of economic activity, this group was extremely diverse; town dwellers, nomads and peasants all counted as *reşât*. Disparities of wealth were equally great. While rich merchants of *reşât* status were active in 9th/15th century Bursa of 10th-11th/16th-17th century Aleppo and Cairo, the majority of *reşât* were peasants of modest income, who, from the evidence of their estate inventories, must have reproduced their families with great diffi-
culty. Moreover, in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th cen-
turies substantial merchants of *reşât* status could not compare in wealth with even quite modest *'askeris*.

In principle, *reşât* were able to transfer their wealth to their descendants, while the inheritances of *'askeris* were largely confiscated. However, debts to the fisc, incurred particularly by tax farmers, led to the confis-
cation (mûcûdere (see *muşaddârê*) of *reşât* estates as well. Heirless estates reverted to the state; the right to collect these properties was often farmed out and sometimes gave rise to major abuses. Toward the end of the 12th/18th century, previous rules concerning mûcûdere were frequently disregarded, as the central administration confiscated the estates of wealthy *reşât* in an effort to raise cash.

The competition between *reşât* and *'askeri* for the control of economic resources constitutes an impor-
tant aspect of Ottoman commercial history. While substantial merchants of *reşât* status engaged both in internal and external trade, governors and other im-
port officials had the grains, cotton and other pro-
ducts of their *khâss* (q.v.) marketed, and gained economic advantage from their political position. Ot-
man officials sometimes also used their political
power to make loans to peasants, or to market peasant produce. After the institution of the *mâlûkàne* (q.v.) (life-time tax form) in 1106/1695, *'askeri* gained a fur-
ther advantage over their *reşât* competitors, as the latter were barred from direct access to this form of in-
vestment. The attempts of Christian *reşât* merchants to gain tax-exempt status by association with Euro-
pean consulates thus may be seen as a move in their challenge to the economic supremacy of the *'askeri*.

The Ottoman system of taxation depended upon the marketing of peasant produce. Peasants were obliged to carry the *timdrâ* holders' grain to the nearest market, while tax farmers supplied provincial towns and thereby remitted to the central administration in money taxes which they had collected in kind. In the 9th/15th century, low-level administrative districts (*kaşfâ* generally possessed a single market; but by the end of the 10th/16th century, markets in villages, and in some areas even in the open countryside, multiplied. In Thessaly and Thrace during the same period, minor local fairs developed into centres for inter-regional and at times even international ex-
change. Pious foundations profited by this upsurge of rural trade by providing shops and booths and by col-
lecting rents in return. From the later 10th/16th cen-
tury onwards, peasants also made money by selling, often illegally, grain, cotton or raw silk to European
merchants.

However, the profits from this trade were not for the most part retained by the peasantry but collected by the central government or local administrators in the shape of taxes or interest on loans. In addition, a 10th/16th century peasant paid at least 15% and up to 50% of his gains from agriculture in the form of tithes and other taxes; this percentage does not in-
clude the money which he needed to set aside for dues such as *awari* and *vûsat*, whose level was not predetermined as it depended on the demands of cur-
rent campaigns. When comparing the estates of peasants and townspeople from one and the same area, the substantially lower standard of living in the villages immediately strikes the eye. (On farming and peasant tenure, see *öğmânîl*. II. Social and
economic history.)

*Peasant *reşât* and local government.*

Most Ottoman peasants ran their smallholdings inde-
pendently, with minimal involvement on the part of *timdrâ* holders and other tax grantees. But since the tax registers specified that taxes in kind were levied on specific crops, and the taxes were assessed on the village as a whole, the pressure to conform to locally established crop patterns was very strong. This situa-
tion did not, however, preclude changes in response to
market conditions. The expansion of a town or city encouraged the conversion of fields into gardens and vineyards, and from the 11th/17th century onwards the villages surrounding Bursa switched over to mulberry orchards and silk cultivation.

Disputes between peasants and local administrators focussed on taxes and the manner of their collection. Frequent tours of inspection on the part of governors, accompanied by numerous armed men, resulted in spoliation of the re'âyâ, concern about peasant flight and erosion of the tax base caused Sultan Murâd III to totally prohibit these named incursions in the 990s/1580s. This prohibition did not last long, but re'âyâ complaints continued to refer to their existence for a much longer time. Monetisation of the economy formed another source of complaints, as tax collectors increasingly demanded payments in coin from peasants whose access to markets remained limited. Re'âyâ at times sought redress of their grievances by complaining to the Dîwân-i kâmûyên [q.v.] and demanding an official commission in charge of redressing grievances (mekhidyifmufettishi). At the height of the Dîjâli rebellions [see qâlalâ] in Suppl., some villages also built strongholds for use in emergencies. Others fled to neighbouring provinces, the cities or remote areas. The frequent flight of re'âyâ to some degree checked the abuses committed by local administrators, as such events were considered "bad points" in the official's record on the part of the central government. However, financial considerations often induced the latter to allow governors and tax farmers notorious for their oppression of the re'âyâ to go unpunished. The abolition of re'âyâ status. With the Khuṭṭâ'ī'l-šerîf [q.v.] of Gûlûhâne, promulgated in 1255/1839, all subjects of the Ottoman sultans were accorded equal rights, and the disappearance of 'sâkeri privileges entailed the abolition of the re'âyâ as a special legal category. However, increasing nationalist and communal rivalries among the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and the political, economic and cultural interventions of the various European powers nullified the attempt to create a unified Ottoman citizen body irrespective of social, religious and national differences.


(Suraiya Faroqhi)

RAK'Â (a.), literally "the act of bowing, bending", a sequence of utterances and actions performed by the Muslim believer as part of the act of worship or salât, involving utterance of the takâbir and Fâtîha, then the bending of the body from an upright position (râkî) and then two prostrations (sudjâd). See further SALât. (Ed.)

AL-RAKâSHI [see ABîN B. 'ABBâD AL-HAMîD]

RAKÎB (a.), from a root signifying "to guard", "to wait", "to observe, watch over", is one of the names of God, with the sense of "guardian, vigilant one who knows everything that takes place", but it is especially familiar as a term in Arabic love poetry, ghâzal [q.v.], where it denotes the person who, by watching or simply being present, prevents the lovers from communicating with each other. The character first appears in the amorous poetry of the Umayyad period (B. Blachère, Les principaux thèmes de la poésie érotique au siècle des Umayyades de Darnas, in AIEO, v [1954-41], 82-128 = Analecta, Damascus 1975, 333-78), in particular, in the poetry which Blachère (Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV° ds. J.-C., iii, 620 ff.) calls "of Hijâzîan spirit", in company with other enemies of lovers, such as the kâshîh, "secret, spiteful enemy", the wâqîj, "slanderer" and the ًhâdil, "censorious person", who, in the poems of 'Umar b. Abî Ra'îba' [q.v.], appear to make reference to real individuals (Ibn Abî 'Aitîk [q.v.], for example), but who, very soon, became pure fictional characters inhabiting the world of the lovers.

In this early period, the figure of the rakîb appears relatively infrequently (it does not appear in the diṭānî of Qâmil al-‘Udrî [q.v.]), in comparison with that of the kâshîh and especially that of the wâqîj. The same applies to the poetry of al-‘Abbâs b. al-Hâfîd (d. 193/808 [q.v.] but, in the course of the 3rd/9th century, through the influence, perhaps, of amorous narratives and the romanticised biographies of love poets, the rakîb becomes one of the principal obstacles to the union of the lovers. He appears as such in the treatises on love written by the Arabs, in particular in the work of those authors who are more interested in the psychology of love or in the situations in which lovers find themselves (Ibn Dâwûd, Ibn Hazm and Ibn Abî Ḥâjîdâ [q.v.]), than in the ethical problems posed by unrestrained love. Ibn Hazm, in the concluding chapters of the Ta’kw al-hâmāma to the ًhâdil, the wâqîj and the rakîb, classifies the last-mentioned according to three categories: the unobtrusive, but not malevolent witness to the meeting of the lovers; the curious who seeks to discover, by observing the lovers, whether his suspicions are justified; the guardian charged with watching over the loved one—this last being, in his opinion, the one about whom the poets complain. The similarity between this type of


**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(Theresa Garulo)

**RĀKID** (A.) "the sleeping child". This term (in Maghribi dialects, ráged or bā mergud) is used to indicate a foetus which is considered to have stopped its development, continuing to stay in the womb in an unchanged condition for an indefinite period of time, after which it may "wake up" again and resume its development until it is born. The "falling asleep" and "waking up" may either take place spontaneously or (at least in the Maghrib) be induced by a religious scholar (jāhid) or by a midwife (kūbab) with the help of charms (a written charm to that effect is found in ms. Leiden Or. 14048, B2 fol. 12b) and herbs (see Gaudry, *Societé féminine*, 370).

This belief is firmly rooted in Islamic culture as far back as the earliest Islamic times, and has been incorporated into the systems of four legal heads of maghābās. Some famous cases are mentioned by Ibn Kutayba (K. al-Maṣārīj, Cairo 1960, 594-5), among them Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the Mālikī law school; by Mālik himself (Mauzaṭa, Cairo 1951, 740, = K. al-Adiyā, no. 21), where a case is discussed that dates back to Dāhiliyya days; and by ‘Arīb b. Sa’īd al-Kurṭūbī, *Kabk al-dīwān*, 32. The latter text, which is of a medical nature, also illustrates the fact that Islamic physicians were little inclined to include the idea of the rakīd in their theoretical considerations; they took their ideas from the Greek rather than from the ancient Arabian tradition, which implied that the eleven-month pregnancies sometimes allowed for by Hippocrates were the maximum that they were prepared to consider.

From early Islamic times onwards, jurists have disagreed about the possible duration of the prolonged pregnancy; some saw two years as a maximum, but according to others it could last much longer. Even in the midst of the 20th century, Libyan Courts of Appeal were prepared to accept pregnancies of up to twelve years, as A. Layish’s research into the practice of Libyan ḥari’a courts (which have yielded a number of cases of children legally born after prolonged pregnancies) has shown (*Divorce in the Libyan family, New York etc. 1991, 161*). Recent law reforms in Muslim countries have generally abolished the practice and have put the maximum duration of pregnancy at one year, although sometimes allowing for extension, as for instance in the Moroccan Civil Code of 1958, the *Mudawwana* (arts. 76, 84).

Although the idea of the rakīd is accepted by all four Sunni law schools, it seems to have taken root mainly under Mālikī law, especially in North Africa, where until very recent times it was firmly incorporated into the social system, thus creating a device to protect women as well as children against the sanctions attached to illegitimacy and births out of wedlock: a rakīd might be born legally long after its parents’ marriage had come to an end by death or divorce. At the same time, the system offered barren wives an escape from the odium of infertility and the practical and psychological consequences attached to it, such as depression, loss of social status and reputation.


(Odile Verbrckmoes and Remke Kruk)

**AL-RĀKIK** AL-ḴĀṬRAWĀNĪ [see ibn al-Rakīk].

**AL-RĀKIM** [see Adil al-Karbān].

**RAKK, Ragg, rakk, rakk, or rakk, parchment**

1. History of the use of parchment in the Islamic world.

Rakk is the term employed by the Arabs to denote parchment, alongside certain other terms used in a less specific manner, such as kīrītā [q.v.] (from the Greek χάρτης, through the intermediary of Aramaic) denoting papyrus, a sheet of papyrus or even a scroll of papyrus; warak, which was later to be reserved for paper; and qidāl [q.v.] (leather). Furthermore, all these words occur from time to time, in reference to the early years of Islam, to denote writing materials in general, whereas ḥarḍ or warak al-ḥarḍī was the particular term for papyrus [see PAPYRUS] and rakk the particular term for parchment. The latter is derived from the verb rakka "to be thin, fine" (hence the ex- planatory terms observed at a later stage, such as qidāl rakk, or "leather paper"). Parchment (on the subject of which Grohmann wrote a very fine article, see Bibl.) was fashioned initially, in most cases, from the hide of certain animals such as sheep, goats or calves, but sometimes also from the hide of gazelles (see below).

Its usage in Arabia may conceivably be attested from the 7th century A.D., as may be observed in the *Kasidah of Kudam b. Kādim* (A. D. 400-80) (on this see Griffini, *Il poemetto*, 352, v. 56), if this is not—as
seems very probable—later 'Ali or 'Abbásid propaganda (Caskel); at a later stage, Tarafa speaks of kirtds al-Shdm, and Labid mentions a tīr nātāk ("speaking parchment"). Tīr is a palimpsest, of which only a few exist dating from the Arabic period. Such a fragment is preserved in the papyrological collection of Florence: on the recto is a Latin fragment of the Bible, Exodus xviii, 16, and on the verso an Arabic economic text of the 1st century A.H. (on this, see Vaccari, and on Labid, see A. von Kremer, Über die Geschichte des Labid, 383).

Before the time of the Arabs, parchment had been in use among the ancient Babylonians, and, in particular, among the Egyptians from the 2nd century B.C., and it was subsequently to become ever more important. The Prophet Muhammad is said to have used, alongside leather, a very fine variety of parchment for his correspondence; evidence of this is a document allocating territory to the Tamlm tribe, written by ʿAll and mentioned by Ibn Durayd, K. al-Iṣlahād, ed. Wüstenfeld, 226, n.b. The Kurʾān itself (LIL, 2) declares that it is written on rakk manshūr (LII, 2-3) declares that it is written on "unfolded parchment"). It is known that certain fragments (rīḵā), containing what the Prophet left behind, must have contained verses of the Kurʾān, some of them written on parchment (cf. al-Suyūṭī, Itkān, 137, ii, 11-13; idem, Mukaddimatān, i, 36, l. 22; 49, i. 8; L. Marraccius, Prodromus, ii, 257; A. Sprenger, Das Leben, iii, 39); the corpus of the Holy Book of Islam, the assembly of which was undertaken by Zayd b. Thābit, must have been written on parchment, warak (on this, see Sprenger, ibid., iii, 40; al-Suyūṭī, Itkān, 138, l. 3); the ancient sections of the Kurʾān which have survived provide convincing evidence of this (see e.g. the Vienna collection, published by Loebenstein).

This tradition was continued under the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, as is noted by Ibn Khaldūn (see Mukaddima, index; cf. Karabacek, MPER, ii/3, 1887, 119), since by this means their correspondence, their instructions and their edicts had a more artistic and attractive appearance, and were better assured of long-term survival; furthermore, use of this material added to the renown of the scribes. The earliest known and datable Arabic parchment is a leaf which belonged to a Kurʾānic manuscript, the material has been dyed or if this is merely the effect of long-term storage. On the other hand, there is at least one undisputed example of the use of blue dye: this is a leaf which belonged to a Kurʾānic manuscript of Maghīd (Persia) datable to the 2nd/8th century. In addition, manuscripts on purple parchment are well known among mediaeval Latin documents.

Initially, it was usually the recto, this being the smoother surface, which was written on; when space was insufficient, the verso was used. Judicial documents were often bound up with a strip of leather or a thread of some kind. The dimensions of parchments vary between 85.2 × 82 cm (see P. Lond. B.M. Or. 4684/III) and 4.8 × 1.8 cm (see PER Inv. Perg. Ar., 35). Some of the Vienna fragments are safīf, that is, from colouring and from dyed by the material has been dyed or if this is merely the effect of long-term storage. On the other hand, there is at least one undisputed example of the use of blue dye: this is a leaf which belonged to a Kurʾānic manuscript of Maghīd (Persia) datable to the 2nd/8th century. In addition, manuscripts on purple parchment are well known among mediaeval Latin documents. The earliest known and datable Arabic parchment is a fragment which Ernst Kühnel saw in the possession of a German consul in Luxor, of which neither Grohmann, during his stay in Egypt, nor the writer of this article, have succeeded in finding any trace. The most recent is from the year 498/1105 (P. Berol. 9160). Naturally, these observations apply to known parchments; it is possible that there are others which will come to light in the future, either in private collections or in the unclassified stocks of certain libraries. The "Papyrus" in the article (Bibliotheca arabica) was used as writing material (see the article: 1. Sources. Djawhari, Tāǧ al-lugha wa-sīlah al-ʿarabīya, Cairo 1282/1865; Manūfī, Lāṭā'yf al-ʿawwal fi man ṣaṣāraṣ fi Misr min arāb al-duṣūl, ms.; Suyūṭī, al-Ītikāf fi ʿulūm al-Kurʾān, al-Carkutta 1857; idem, Mukaddimatān fi ʿulūm al-Kurʾān, ed. A. Jef- fery, Cairo 1954; Tarafa, Muʿallaka, in Zawzānī, Sharḥ al-Muʿallakāt al-sabī, Beirut 1963, v. 31 (cf. the lexicographer al-Djawhari, Sībakī, ii, 28-15, 28, provides testimony in support of the use of these two words. And when the diwāns were ransacked, under Muhammad b. Zubayda, the caliph al-Amin [q.e.], the parchments taken from them, from which the texts had been obliterated, were used as writing materials (tīr). At Kūfa and Edessa (al-Ruḥā [q.e.]), parchment of the finest quality was produced. But as paper progressively gained acceptance in administrative circles, the use of parchment declined, before coming to a definitive end. In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. it was still being used alongside paper (see Umād al-kuḥīd, Codex gothanus 1537, fol. 11b).

In al-Andalus, as late as the time of al-Mukaddasī, who composed his work after 373/985, parchment was still being used for all copies of the Kurʾān and books of accounts (Aḥsan al-takāsīm, 239). As for the Maghībī, the situation there was the same, as has been proved by the discovery of hundreds of literary codices on parchment in the mosque of Stīʿ Ukbā at Kayrawān (on this, see Sprenger, Das Leben, iii, 43; see also ibn al-ʿArabī, karawani). Recent discoveries in the Great Mosque of ʿAṣṣā ṣā ʿii confirm this well-established tradition. Besides the other types of hide described above, the fine hide of gazelles was also used for the making of parchment, especially for copies of the Kurʾān, as is attested by codices preserved e.g. in Cairo (see Fīhrīs al-kuḥīd al-ʿarabīyya, i, 2; Ahmed Moussa, Zur Geschichte der islamischen Buchmalerei, 45-6; Muhammad Tahir al-Makki al-Khaṭṭāʿī, 81) or in Medina (Spies, 102-3). Furthermore, in the various collections of papyrus, which contain not only documents on paper but also texts written on hide and all other kinds of ancient material, striking examples of all types of parchment are to be found (see A. Grohmann, Einführung, 3; Khoury, art. Papyrus in EP, 7; Chrestomathia, 7).

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2. The production of parchment and modern

Islamic parchment

Parchment was used in the early Islamic period as one of the more durable writing materials for books, chancery documents, letters and registers, the less durable material being papyrus. In Europe, it remained in use till well in the 15th century. In Ethiopia, which may have given Islam the term mushaf [q.v.], parchment remained in use as a writing material for religious and superstitious texts till well in the 20th century. Although its primary and main use in the Middle East was as a writing material, it was used for other purposes as well. Most notable in this respect is its use in musical instruments and in puppets for shadow plays [see KHYAL AL-ZILL]. For these uses, parchment may have been made of the skin of other, larger, animals as well.

Parchment is manufactured by cleaning the skin from hair and impurities, by applying lime or certain other preserving materials to it and by then letting it dry under tension, the skin being pasted on a frame. This stretching and the absence of tanning make parchment different from leather. In many parchments it is still possible to discern the flesh side from the hair side, the latter being recognisable from its grained appearance caused by the roots of the hairs. Techniques were developed in mediaeval times visually to diminish this difference as much as possible. This was done either by finely thinning and scrubbing or chafing the skin or by splitting it. The use of the skin of unborn animals also vouches for a soft and minimally hairy appearance of the parchment.

Being of natural origin, parchment had its limit in size determined by the size of the animal it was made of. Many of the large Kur'ānic manuscripts of the early period consist of single or at best double leaves of parchment only. For smaller-sized books, the parchment may have been folded once or twice more, thereby making quarto or octavo arrangements. Depending on whether the first fold was in the length or in the width, the end result from this operation would be oblong shaped or not. The square shape of Maghribi books on parchment may be explained by supposing that the animal-shaped material was first folded two times in the width and then once in the length, whereby a quire of six almost square leaves of moderate size was produced. In the Middle East, Gregory's rule, by which parchment leaves in a quire are so arranged that flesh sides would only face flesh sides and hair sides only hair sides, was as often as not unobserved. This rule apparently did not matter as much in the Middle East as it did in Europe.

The basic tools for a comprehensive study of the Middle Eastern parchment book are lacking. A catalogue of a corpus of parchment codices does not exist. There are a few large collections of parchments books and fragments that together would constitute the main elements of such a corpus. The most important of these are the Kur'ānic fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (a varied collection which served as the source of the typology of the graphics of the early Kur'ān codex as developed by François Déroche); the Nasser D. Khalili collection in London, which contains coloured fragments as well (extensively described by Déroche), the fragments that were discovered in ca. 1970 in the Great Mosque of Shanṣa'a and that are now kept in the Dār al-Makhāṭir in Shanṣa'a (studied by G.-H. Puin, H.C. Graf von Bothmer and Ursula Dreibholz; no major description published as yet); and, finally, the Shanṣa'evaki, the Kur'ānic fragments that were transferred some one hundred years ago from the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus to Istanbul and that are now kept in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul (studied by Déroche; no major description published as yet). The library of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai contains an important number of Christian Arabic codices on parchment. It would seem that the use of parchment persisted longer with the Oriental Christians than among Muslims. Parchment of several types has continued to be used for religious reasons by Oriental Jewry till the present day. Their extensive technical literature on the subject is also of relevance to the study of Islamic parchment. Many parchment fragments of the Kur'ān, and to a limited extent also of other Islamic texts, have surfaced since ca. 1970 in the international art market, a fact witnessed by their frequent appearance in the auction catalogues of Christie's and Sotheby's of London. Parchment material is present in virtually all larger collections of Middle Eastern manuscripts.
AL-RAKKA, a mediaeval Islamic town on the left bank of the Middle Euphrates, at the junction of its tributary the Nahr al-Balikh. Today it is the administrative centre of the al-Rakka governorate of the Arab Republic of Syria; in mediaeval Islamic historic toponography it was considered to be the capital of Diyār Muhtar [q.v.] in al-Dżazira/Northern Mesopotamia.

The origin of settlement on opposite sides of the Nahr al-Balikh is attested by the Tall Zaydān and the Tall al-Bī'a, the latter identified with the Babylonian city of Tuttul (excavated since 1980; reports published in MDOG, cxii [1981] and later). To the south of the Tall al-Bī'a, on the edge of the Euphrates, Seleucos I Nikator (301-281 B.C.) founded the Hellenistic city of Nikephorion, later probably enlarged by Seleucos II Kallinikos (246-226 B.C.) and named Kallinikos/Callinicum after him. Destroyed in A.D. 542 by the Sāsānid Khusraw I Anūšhrīwān [q.v.], the emperor Justinian (527-65) soon after rebuilt the town in the course of an extensive fortification programme at the Byzantine border alongside the Euphrates (on the pre-Islamic city, see the article by M. al-Khalaf and K. Kohlmeier in Damaszener Mitteilungen, ii [1985], 133-62).

The classical city was conquered in 18/639 or 19/640 by the Muslim army under ʿīyād b. Ghānūm, who became the first governor of the Dżazira (in this connection, see W. E. Kaegi, Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests, Cambridge 1992). Renamed al-Rakka, the Muslim faith was heralded by a congregational mosque, founded by the succeeding governor Saʿād b. ʿAmīr b. Ḥidhyam, which was subsequently enlarged to monumental dimensions of c. 73 x 108 m. Recorded by the German scholar Ernst Herzfeld in 1907, the mosque, together with the square brick minaret (Pl. XXVI, 1), supposedly a later addition from the mid-4th/10th century, has since vanished completely.

In 36/656 ʿAlī crossed the Euphrates at al-Rakka on his way to Siffin [q.v.], the place of the battle with Muʿawiyah b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Located near the village of Abī Hurayra opposite the mediaeval citadel of Kaʿfāt Dżāl bar [q.v.] ca. 45 km/28 miles west of al-Rakka, the burials of ʿAlī’s followers remained. Continuing when, in 158/775, al-Mahdī was summoned to the construction of an entire new city about 200 m/660 feet west of al-Rakka. Named al-Rāfīka, “the companion (of al-Rakka)”, the city, according to ʿAlī’s death of his father. Purposely modelled after the construction of the city, which was eventually implemented by his son and heir-apparent al-Mahdī, as quoted by al-Baladhurī, 173-4, stipulated that the Christians should retain their places of worship but were not allowed to build new churches, the non-Muslim community is recorded to have thrived well into the Middle Ages. Till the 6th/12th century a bishop is attested to have resided there, and at least four monasteries are frequently mentioned in the sources, the most famous of which, the Dayr Zakkā, can be identified with recently excavated ruins on the Tall al-Bī’a (on the Christian sources and the newly-detected remains, see M. Krebernik, in MDOG, cxxiii [1991], 41-57). To this monastery belonged the estate of al-Sālābiyya, a favourite hunting place for hunting expeditions (described by al-Bakri, iii, 582, and Yākūt, ii, 644-5), possibly to be associated with the ruins of al-Suwayla near the river al-Balikh, ca. 4 km/2.5 miles to the northeast of al-Rakka (recently investigated archaeologically and recorded in Damaszener Mitteilungen, ii [1985], 98-9). There also existed a large Jewish community maintaining an ancient synagogue, still operating during the visit of Benjamin of Tudela in about 1167 (see his Travels, tr. M. N. Adler, London 1907, 32).

The early ʿAbbāsīd period. Early in the ʿAbbāsīd programme of border fortifications in all of the Muslim empire resulted in the construction of an entire new city about 200 m/660 feet west of al-Rakka. Named al-Rāfīka, “the companion (of al-Rakka)”, the city, according to al-Yaʿqūbī (Taḥrif, i, 238) was already conceived in the time of the first ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Ṣaffāḥ (132-6749-54); nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī attributes the foundation of al-Rāfīka to his brother and successor al-Manṣūr (136- 58/754-75), who in 158/770-1 decided on the construction of the city, which was eventually implemented by his son and heir-apparent al-Mahdī from 155/771-2 onwards. Construction work was still continuing when, in 158/775, al-Mahdī was summoned to Bagdad to be invested as caliph upon the sudden death of his father. Purposely modelled after the only recently completed residential city of Bagdad, the partly surviving city fortifications testify to the military might of the ʿAbbāsīd empire. In the form of a parallelogram surmounted by a half circle with a width of 9000 m/4,265 feet, the city was protected by a massive wall of almost 5000 m/16,400 feet in length (Pl. XXV, 1). Fortified by 132 round projecting towers, an advance wall and a moat further improved the defence system (see Murhaf al-Khalaf, in Damaszener Mitteilungen, ii [1985], 123-31). Originally accessible by three axial entrances, the recently ex-
cavated northern gate (Pl. XXV, 2) has revealed stately dimensions, with a portal opening of four metres/13 feet. Remains of iron door posts attest the existence of massive or metal-plated doors, which attracted special praise in the Arabic chronicles. One of the doors, according to the mediaeval tradition, is identified with spoils from the Byzantine city of Amorion or 'Ammiyya [g.e.] in Asia Minor, transported by al-Mu'tasim (218-27/833-42) in 223/838 to his newly-founded residence at Sāmarrā'; in central Mesopotamia, from where it supposedly reached al-Rakka towards the end of the 8th/9th century. Only about half a century later, the door was again dismantled in 353/964 on behalf of the Hamdanid Sayf al-Dawla al-Ali (333-56/945-67), to be later incorporated in the Bāb al-Kinnasīn at Aleppo (E. Herzfeld, CIA, part ii, Northern Syria, Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep, i, 60).

In the centre of al-Rāfiqah another Great Mosque was constructed with monumental proportions of 310 x 290/1,014 x 954 feet in a central position opposite the residence of soldiers from Kūrāshān (Pl. XXVI, 3). Built with massive mud brick walls, strengthened by burnt brick facing and encircled by a chain of round towers, the plan layout is characterised by triple aisles on brick piers in the prayer hall and by double arcades on the three other sides of the interior courtyard (see Creswell, Early Muslim architecture, ii, Oxford 1940, 45-8, and recent project reports). This first pillar mosque in Islamic architecture obviously served as a model for later Friday mosques at Bagdād (enlarged from 192/808 till 193/809 by Hārūn al-Rashīd), Sāmarrā' (both mosques of al-Mutawakkil, inaugurated in 237/852 and 247/861 respectively) and at Cairo (Mosque of Ahmad b. Tūlūn, completed in 265/879).

Al-Rakka as capital of the 'Abbāsid empire. The new city al-Rāfiqah alone almost matches the traditional Syrian capital Damascus in size; but the two sister cities of al-Rakka and al-Rafīqah together formed the largest urban entity in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, probably only surpassed by the 'Abbāsid centre of power, Bagdād, in central Mesopotamia. Therefore, it was a logical choice that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), when searching for an alternative residence in 180/796, settled on al-Rakka/al-Rafīqah, which remained his base for a dozen years till 192/808. This resulted not only in a new city, but also in a monumental complex, on the eastern gate of al-Rakka, the Bāb al-Sibāl, quoted by Ibn Shaddād, iii/1, 71), but more importantly, in the construction of an extensive palatial quarter to the north of the twin cities. This caliphal residence of almost 10 km², as attested by aerial photographs, includes about twenty large-size complexes, of which the most monumental of ca. 350 x 300 m/1,150 x 984 feet in a central position obviously served as the main residence of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Pl. XXVII, 1), probably to be identified with the Kaṣr al-Salām mentioned by Yāqūt. The other structures were evidently used for housing the family members and court officials residing with Hārūn al-Rashīd at al-Rakka, or else were devoted to service functions.

The huge area of ruins outside the twin cities has since 1944 attracted archaeological investigations. First trial soundings were conducted by the Syrian Antiquities Service at the Main Palace, but were soon discontinued due to the poor state of preservation. Instead, another major complex of ca. 120 x 150 m/393 x 492 feet, only 400 m/1,312 feet north of the city wall of al-Rakīfa, named Palace A, was partly excavated. Excavations eventually continued at three other complexes to the east of the Main Palace: Palace B (1950-52), Palace C (1953), and Palace D (1954 and 1958), all of rather monumental dimensions measuring ca. 170 x 250 m/557 x 246 feet, 150 x 110 m/492 x 360 feet and 100 x 100 m/328 x 328 feet respectively; (see the series of reports by Nassib Sāliby in Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie, iv- [1954-5], 205-12, Arabic part 69-76; vi [1956], Arabic part 23-40). Additionally, further soundings in the vicinity of and at Palace A were implemented between 1966 and 1970 (summarised by Kassem Touier in the excavation review by P.H.E. Voûte [ed.], in Anatolica, iv [1971-2], 122-3). Since the modern town development has encroached the overbuilding of most of the palace city, the German Archaeological Institute in Damascus has conducted ten seasons of rescue excavations from 1982 till 1992. At the eastern fringes of the site, four larger buildings bordering on a public square were investigated: the so-called Western Palace of ca. 110 x 90 m/360 x 295 feet divided into representative, living and infrastructural units; the North Complex of ca. 150 x 150 m/492 x 492 feet, probably the barracks of the imperial guards; the East Complex of ca. 75 x 50 m/246 x 164 feet, mostly of recreational functions; and the Eastern Palace of ca. 70 x 40 m/230 x 131 feet, reserved entirely for representative purposes. On the northeastern limits of the palace area, another large-size complex with an extension of ca. 300 x 400 m/984 x 1,312 feet was also partly excavated, revealing an elongated double courtyard structure enclosed by round towers, which was obviously left unfinished (see the reports by J.-Chr. Heusch and M. Meinecke).

All the investigated buildings depended on mud as the major construction material, either in the form of sun-dried bricks or of stamped mud, only occasionally strengthened by burnt bricks. The ground plans, on the other hand, are generally characterised by precisely calculated geometrical subdivisions, indicating the careful laying-out of the built fabric. The publicly visible parts, on the exterior as well as in the interior, received a coating of white plaster, masking and protecting the mud core of the walls. On the representative units the buildings were decorated by stucco friezes in deep relief (Pl. XXVII, 2-3), depicting mostly vine ornament in numerous variations (partly documented by Meinecke, in Rezeption in der islamischen Kunst, ed. B. Finster, forthcoming). Genetically, these patterns are only very sparingly related to the classical models. Instead, the dependence on classical models indicates an intended revival of the ornamental corpus of the monuments from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. at Palmyra (see Meinecke and A. Schmidt-Colinet, in the exhibition catalogue by E.M. Ruprechtsberger [ed.], Syrien. Von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen, Linz 1993, 352-9). Selections of excavation finds and decorative elements from the Rakka palaces are exhibited at the Damascus National Museum and at the archaeological museum at al-Rakka.

Though the investigated complexes lack building inscriptions pointing to their original function or to the patron, their history can be clearly defined by the numismatic evidence. Among the coins collected during the recent excavations on the eastern border structures of the palace belt, items minted at al-Rāfiqah in the year 189/804-5 in the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd are particularly interesting, while only individual items minted at al-Rakka in the names of the succeeding sons al-Ma'mūn (208/823-4 and 210/825-6) and al-Mu'tasim (226/840-1) have been recorded (on the 'Abbāsid mint at al-Rāfiqah, see now L. Llisch, in Numismatica - witness to history. IAPN publication, viii [1986], 101-21). Consequently, those structures
investigated recently must have been in use towards the end of Harun al-Rashid's tenure of power at al-Rakka. After the removal of the court back to Baghdad on the death of Harun al-Rashid in 193/809, the palace were obviously in use briefly and occasionally.

This extensive residential city was evidently founded in 180/796 by Harun al-Rashid and continuously further enlarged for over a decade. These buildings formed the backbone of the political events of this period, described in great detail by al-Tabari and others. From there, the yearly raids (saudd') into the Byzantine empire and the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina were organised. In these palaces lived the family of the caliph, including his wife Zubayda and his heirs apparent, al-Amin, al-Ma'mun and al-Kasim, and also al-Mut'asim, for much of their youth (as described by N. Abbott, Two Queens of Baghdad, Chicago 1946). Here was the military centre with the army command and the administrative centre of the vast 'Abbasid empire, where the treasuries and the material wealth of the caliph were safeguarded (al-Tabari, iii, 654). Here the members of the Barmakid family managed the affairs of the state until they were executed or imprisoned in 187/803.

For his periodic centre of administration, Harun al-Rashid also improved the infrastructure decisively. For the irrigation of the palace city, two canals were laid out: one channeling the water of the Euphrates from about 15 km/9 miles further west, and another of over 100 km/62 miles collecting water from the Anatolian mountains to the north. According to Yâkût, one of these (probably the Euphrates canal) was named Nahar al-Nil (described by Kassem Toueir, in Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en damoiselles de l'Arabie, ed. B. Geyer, Paris 1990, 217-20).

About 8 km/5 miles to the west of the city, the Euphrates canal passes by another monument to be investigated. Round buttons and four portals on the cardinal points, the centre is occupied by a massive square building of ca. 100 m/328 feet for each side, with two vaulted stately halls on the main axis, from where ramps lead to the upper storey, which was not, however, completed. This curious stone structure was investigated archaeologically, with the traditional name of Hirakla obviously alluding to the characteristic slant cut and related ornamental patterns of the city of al-Rafika received a new stucco decoration with incised or moulded decoration, as well as the fragile glass vessels featuring incised, relief or lustre decoration, which are known from the inventories of the excavated palaces, were thus evidently for the most part fabricated locally.

The later 'Abbâsîd period. Shortly after the sudden death of Harûn al-Rashîd, his widow Zubayda in 193/809 organised the transfer of the vast state treasures to Baghdad, where her son al-Amin (193-809-13) was enthroned as ruler of the Abassid empire (al-Tabari, iii, 775). Here was the reinstallation of Baghdad as the administrative centre of the Muslim world, and the city of al-Rakka remained of regional importance as seat of the governor of the Qâdirî province until the mid-4th/10th century.

In opposition to al-Ma'mûn (198-218/813-33), who succeeded in capturing Baghdad from his brother al-Amin, a revolt caused the destruction by fire of the market quarter between the sister cities of al-Rakka and al-Rafika in 198/813 (Michael Syrus, ed. J.-B. Chabot, iii, 26). To police the situation, al-Ma'mûn sent the general Tâhir b. al-Husayn as governor of the Qâdirî to al-Rakka, followed by his son 'Abd Allâh b. 'Tâhir until 210/825-6, when he was nominated governor of Egypt. In the time of the Tâhirîs, the palace belt outside the city walls was already evidently falling into disrepair. Nevertheless, a last reactivation is attested for the time of al-Mu'tasim on the basis of fresco inscriptions with the written name found at the Palace B to the east of Harûn al-Rashîd's central residence (A. Grohmann, Arabische Paläographie, ii, Vienna 1971, pl. 18). This is to be connected with the last military campaign into the Byzantine empire conducted from al-Rakka, which resulted in the conquest of the city of 'Ammoriyyâ/Amorium in 223/838 (Ibn Shaddâd, ii/1, 941). From there, the caliph carried off the famous iron doors to his newly-founded capital of Sâmarrâ', to be set up at the main entrance, the Bâb al-'Amma, of his residential palace, then under construction.

Instead of utilising the palace city of Harûn al-Rashîd, new structures were built up on top of the suburb between the sister cities; soundings conducted by the Syrian Service of Antiquities (1953 and 1959) have revealed that these structures are founded on the remains of the site of Sâmarrâ' from the mid-3rd/9th century. About the same time also, the prayer-niche of the Great Mosque at al-Râfîka received a new stucco decoration with similar features. A series of stone capitals, now scattered to many museum collections, featuring the characteristic slant cut and related ornamental patterns, bear witness to continuous building activities (M.S. Dimand, in Ars Islamica, iv [1937], 308-24; Meinecke, in Bilâd al-Shâm during the Abbasid period, in Proceedings of the fifth International Conference on the History of Bilâd al-Shâm, 232-5).

Though the size of the inhabited area became drastically diminished, the city of al-Rakka remained the only real antipode to Baghdad. Therefore, it was the obvious alternative for caliphs in exile or seeking refuge, as it was the case with al-Mustâfîn in 251/865, al-Mu'tamid in 269/882, al-Mu'ta'qid in 286/899 and 287/900, and finally with al-MutÂ'akî in 332-3/944, as recorded by al-Tabârî and other historians. But the fame of the city at that period did not result from political might or artistic achievements but from the scholars living and teaching at al-Rakka, for instance the famous astronomer Abu 'Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Battânî (d. 317/929 [g.e.]), or Muhammad b. Sâ'id al-Kušâyî (d. 334/945), the author of Ta'rikh al-Rakkâ, ed. Tâhir al-Nâšînî, Hama 1959.

The first period of decline. The decline of the
List of monuments

1. Dayr Zakki
2. City Walls of al-Rakka/Nikephorion
3. Umayyad Great Mosque
4. Mausoleum of Uways al-Karani
5. City Walls of al-Rafika
6. North Gate of al-Rafika
7. Abbadid Great Mosque
8. Palace A
9. Main Palace of Harun al-Rashid/Kay al-Salâm
10. Palace B
11. Palace C
12. Palace D
13. North Complex
14. Western Palace
15. Eastern Palace
16. East Complex
17. Northeast Complex
18. North Canal
19. West Canal/Nahr al-Nil
20. Hiraqa
21. Race Course
22. Tall Aswad
23. Glass Tall
24. Tiberiad Residence
25. Bibl Baghda
d
26. Palace of Djamal al-Din Muhammad al-Iftahabin/Kay al-Banat

Medieval Cities of al-Rakka and al-Rafika. Topographical map based on aerial photographs, in scale 1:15,000 (drawing by Silke Vry and others/German Archaeological Institute Damascus 1995); extension of modern city indicated in gray.
central administration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate affected also the city of al-Rakka. Since the conquest by the Hamdanids in 330/942, the urban centre on the Euphrates was contested between the rulers of Mawsil and Aleppo, as being the gate for supremacy in Northern Mesopotamia. The founder of the Aleppo branch of the Hamdanid dynasty, Sayf al-Dawla ʿAli, (333-356/945-967) is blamed by Ibn Hawkal and Ibn Ṣaddād for the devastation of the Ḍazira and the former capital al-Rakka. Political instability caused, for example, the destruction by fire of part of the city of al-Rakka/Nikephorion in 332/944, resulting in a gradual depopulation of the initial urban settlement. The dismantling in 353/964 of the iron doors from an entrance gate to the city is another proof for a marked reduction of the population (on the history of this period in general, see M. Canard, Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides de Jazira et de Syrie, i, Algiers-Paris 1951). This development is also mirrored by the Umayyad Great Mosque, which, according to the position of the minaret in the interior courtyard, only remained in use with part of the initial prayer hall.

After the Hamdanids there followed a century of turmoil, when the governorship of al-Rakka was fought over by the Arab tribal dynasties of the Numayrids, the Mirdāsids and the ʿUkaylids (described in great detail by Ibn Ṣaddād, iii/1, 74-8). Nothing is attested of any significant constructions in the urban fabric; on the contrary, the shrinking population retreated increasingly from the initial city al-Rakka to the ʿAbbāsid foundation of al-Rāfīqa, according to Yaḥyā, followed by al-Dimāghki, eventually also took over the name of the sister city.

The revival of al-Rakka in the Zangid and Ayyūbid periods. The fate of the city only changed with the appearance of the Zangids in the region (on the history of that period, see C. Altekin, The reign of Zangi (521-541/1127-1146), Erzurum 1978). Conquered by ʿImād al-Dīn Zangi in 529/1135, al-Rakka was soon to regain importance, as attested by building activities (listed partly by Ibn Ṣaddād, iii/1, 71). When Zangi was murdered in 541/1146 whilst besieging Kafr ʿAṭībar further up the Euphrates, he was first buried in a crater, but his corpse was transferred to a domed mausoleum constructed for this purpose in the Maḥshad quarter of al-Rakka (Ibn ʿAdīm, ii, 285). Following the death of Zangi, his ważir Djamāl al-Dīn Mūhammad al-Īsfāḥānī, organised from al-Rakka the succession of Zangi’s son, Nūr al-Dīn Muhāmmād (N. Elisséeff, Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus 1967, 390-2). In this connection a palace is mentioned, which may eventually be identified with the Čašqar (al-Banāt (Pi. XXVII, 2), a ruined structure from that period (on the archaeological investigation since 1977, see Toureir, in Damasenzer Mitteilungen, ii (1985), 297-319). Ibn Ṣaddād in addition also mentions a kḥāmsah of the same patron, as well as another commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn Muhāmmād, together with a hospital (ḥimārsan) and two madrasas, one for Ṣaffā’īs and the other for Ḥanāfīs, presumably all erected by or in the name of the same ruler. Most indicative for the reactivation of the city during this period is the ʿAbbāsid Great Mosque of al-Rāfīqa, which already attracted minor construction and decoration activities in 541/1146-7 and 553/1158, as recorded on re-used inscription fragments (photographed by G.L. Bell in 1909) and on newly-discovered inscription panels (excavated in 1986, now on display at the Rakka Museum). The surviving parts of the mosque, the façade of the ḥabl al-musṭaqb, and the cylindrical minaret (Pi. XXVI, 1), are due to the reconstruction programme of Nūr al-Dīn Muhāmmād, completed in 561/1165-6. The reduced size of the reactivated mosque, limited to the former prayer hall, mirrors the comparatively modest period on the eastern half of the ʿAbbāsid city, where evidently most of the lost other religious buildings mentioned were also located. As the main entrance to the mediaeval city, there functioned the Bāb Bahgādhād at the southeast corner of the ʿAbbāsid city walls, according to the brick decoration erected at this time (Pl. XXVIII, 1) (re-dated by J. Warren, in Art and Archaeology: Islamic Art, ii [1989], 22-3; and R. Hillenbrand, in The art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250, ed. J. Raby, Oxford 1985, 27-36).

With the conquest by Schālāb al-Dīn in 578/1182, the city passed into the control of the Ayyūbids. As one of the chief towns of the principality of Dīyār ʿUṯmān, al-Rakka was especially favoured by the Ayyūbid prince al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abī Bakr, who took up residence at the city between 597/1201 and 625/1228. He is attested to have constructed palaces and bath complexes, and laid out many gardens with extensive plantations (Ibn Ṣaddād, iii/1, 71-2). Of these Ayyūbid additions to the town, nothing has survived. But in this period, al-Rakka emerged as a major production centre for glazed ceramics of high artistic perfection, which were exported widely. Most frequent among these are figural or vegetal designs in black under a transparent turquoise glaze, but other variations with lustre on turquoise and purple glazes, or coloured designs, including red, under a colourless glaze, are also recorded (see the detailed studies by E.J. Grube, in Kunst des Orients, iv [1963], 42-78; V. Porter, Medieval Syrian pottery (Raqqah ware), Oxford 1981; and also the extensive bibliography by Cr. Tonghini and Grube, in Islamica, iii [1989], 59-93). The pottery workshops were located in the immediate vicinity of the urban settlement, even partly within the ʿAbbāsid city walls to the south of the Great Mosque (on a kiln excavated in 1924 immediately outside the east wall of the city, see J. Sauvaget in Art Islamica, xiii-xiv [1948], 31-45).

The Ayyūbids successfully repulsed occasional attacks on the city by the Saljuqs of Asia Minor and the Khwarazmians, but finally had to yield to the Mongol forces, who lowered northern Mesopotamia in 657/1259 (on the history of that period, see R.S. Humphreys, From Saladin to the Mongols, Albany 1977). Urban settlement at Dīyār ʿUṯmān ceased in the early years of the Mamluk era, when in 663/1265 all the fortified cities on the middle Euphrates were destroyed for tactical reasons, including al-Rakka (L. Ilisch, Geschichte der Artusdienenherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260-1410 AD, Münster 1984, 51-2).

The Ottoman period. Throughout the Mamluk period, al-Rakka remained practically deserted, as certified by Abu ʿl-Fida. Only after the Syrian campaign of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (918-26/1512-20), which resulted in the downfall of the entire Mamluk empire in 923/1517, was it reactivated as a military outpost. In the time of Sultan Süleyman I (926-74/1520-66), al-Rakka was the nominal capital of a province of the Ottoman empire, probably in memory of its past glory. A building inscription commemorating the restoration of a castle and a sacred building (bāram) by Sultan Süleyman b. Selim Khan remains the only testimony to this limited reactivation as a military and administrative centre (originally located at the Mausoleum of ʿUways al-Karant, now on display in the archaeological museum of the modern city). Due to destruction by Türkmen and Kurdish tribes, the governorship was transferred
to the city of al-Ruha/Urfa ca. 135 km/84 miles further north (according to Ewliya Celebi, Seydhat-ndme, tr. J. von Hammer, v. 1, London 1834, 95, 101, 104, 110; tr. Danisman, v. 1, Istanbul 1970, 41, 52-3). On the visit of Ewliya Celebi in winter 1059/1649, the place was deserted following recent raids, though the ruins of the glorious past and formerly-irrigated gardens still remained visible.

The site was only repopulated in the late 19th century, when the Turkish government settled there a group of Circassians in order to police the region. Initially a village of about 1,000 persons, in southsouthwest corner of the ʿAbbāsid city, the population grew slowly but steadily, counting somewhat less than 5,000 in 1937.


1. Palace City of Hārūn al-Rashīd, main palace and neighbouring structures on the southeast, aerial view ca. 1930 (reproduced from M. Dunand, De l’Amanus au Sinai, 1953); for identification see map.

2. Western Palace, stucco frieze (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).


A few traces of the Aghlabid foundation are still to be seen at the present day. A great rectangular reservoir with thick walls strengthened by buttresses may be identified with the lake (bahr) which gave its name to one of the palaces. A pavilion (?) of four stories stood in the centre. Nothing is left of it, but on the west side of the reservoir may be seen the remains of a building which must have been reflected in the great mirror of water. Three rooms may still be distinguished with their mosaic pavements. The technique and style of decoration closely connect these Islamic buildings of the 3rd/9th century with the Christian art of the country.

Excavations under the auspices of the National Institute of Archaeology of Tunisia have been carried on at the site since 1962. The finds have only been very partially studied until now (1993), but are preserved in a rich National Museum of Islamic Art established not far from the ruins, whilst awaiting a fuller examination.


RAKKÂS (a.), in French rakkas, a term which has several meanings but which only merits an entry in the EI because, amongst several technical senses, it particularly denotes, in the Muslim West, a messenger who travels on foot long distances in order to carry official or private mail. The name is derived from the noun raks meaning "trotting" (of a horse or camel; see LA, s.v.), but is also applied to a man who "trots", as is the case with the rakkâs. The development of various means of communication has put an end to this calling, now unnecessary, and the word rakkâs can now only denote an occasional messenger, above all in time of war.

Dozy, Supplément, s.v., gathered together a certain number of references in the Arabic sources (notably al-Maâkârî, Analectes, i, 557, since the term was used in Spain, as P. de Alcala indicates in his Voaulistula and also in the accounts of Western travellers, and also indicated various other technical senses of rakkâs, notably "pendulum", "hand of a watch" (cf. Fr. "trotteuse"), "trigger of a fire-arm" and, after Mehren in Acts of the Royal Society of Scienas, Copenhagen 1872, 286), "part of a mill which produces a noise through the movement of the millstone". It is nevertheless also useful to note that the Kabyle arkękas (with de-emphasis of the sibilant) is equally applied to the hand of a watch and the pendulum of a clock, as well as to a piece better described by J. Dallet (Dict. des langues berbères, Paris 1982, 732) than by Mehren: "a simple contrivance of a water-wheel, formed from a pin fixed on a small stick floating above the moving mill-stone; this pin, fixed to the trough containing grain, transmits a vibration to it which ensures the regular feeding of the grain into the mouth of the mill."

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)
dances, which might end in a frenzied group ecstasy (as the poet Djami [q. v.] describes it ironically in his Sufi lyrics). The Persian world, as Shafi' in whirlings, dances, with their long sleeves resembling wings. The normative believer disliked the fact that the presence of a shahid, a handsome young man, was regarded as necessary during the sama'i; in fact, the very contemplation of such a person might induce the Sufi involuntarily to dance (as would any overwhelming experience).

It is related that al-Hallâlî [q. v.] (executed in 309/922) went dancing in his letters to the execution, and a "dance in chains" occurs as a literary cliché, as does the Persian expression of the raks-i bismi'îl, the "dance" of a ritually slaughtered bird, that is, the convulsions of the lover who resembles "a headless chicken".

Although dance as part of the sama'i occurred in various dervish groups, especially among the Chîgîtîyâ [q. v.], it was institutionalised only in the Mewlewî order [see MAHALWAHY]. Mâlvânâ Dîâbîl âl-Dîn Rûmî (604-72/1207-73 [q. v.]) had composed most of his lyrical poetry while listening to music, and many of his ghazals [q. v.] can easily be accompanied by rhythmical handclapping. Terms like "clapping" and "stamping" and the like abound in his lyrics, especially in his rubbâ'îyât [q. v.], for the rubbâ'î was the poetical form generally used in sama'i sessions. For Rûmî, the whole universe is moving in a wonderful dance, from the moment that Not-Being heard God's primordial address "Am I not your Lord?" ( sûrû VII, 172) and came into existence by dancing (Dâruyn, no. 1852), an idea alluded to as early as in Dîjunayd's sayings. Dance and sama'i are the ladder to heaven, that is, the true mi'ribîl, and angels and demons participate in it. Stamping the ground makes the water of life gush forth; it is like treading the grapes out of which the spiritual wine is made. The trees, touched by the spring breeze, move their twigs in happy dance. Rûmî's son Sultân Walad [q. v.] institutionalised the music and dance from which his father had drawn much of his inspiration. Thus the dance of the Mewlewîs is by no means a wild ecstatic act but rather a well-organised "ballet" in which the individual derivations of al-qâfûl, and numerous miniatures, mainly an ecstatic rapture. But it is "a dance for God", a way of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God. The whirling is often compared to the movement of the stars around the central sun, or of praising God.

Bibliography: H. Corbin, Quietude et inquiétude de l'âme dans le soufisme de Râbizâbî Bâqî, in Erans Jahrbuch, xxvii (1958); S. Haq, Samî (in veröffentlichter, among the western Persia. Râm-Hurmuz lies about 53 miles southeast of Ahwâz, 65 miles south-south-east of Shûhîr, and 60 miles north-east of Bibbihân. Ibn Khurredâdhbih, 43, reckons it 17 farasâğhs from Ahwâz to Râm-Hurmuz and 22 farasâğhs from Râm-Hurmuz to Arrâdân. Kudâmâ, 194, who gives a more detailed list of stages, counts it 50 farasâğhs from Wäsi't to Bâshra, thence 35 farasâğhs to Ahwâz, thence 20 farasâghs to Râm-Hurmuz, and then 24 farasâghs to Ar-râdân. The importance of Râm-Hurmuz lay in the fact that it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Ahwâz, Shûhîr, Ispâhân and Fârs (via Arrâdân); that it is the natural market for the Bakhtiyârî and Küh-gülî tribes [see LUR] and that there is oil in its vicinity. The town lies between the rivers Âbî KurDISTâN and Gûpûl. The first of these (also called Dîjûr) is made up of the following streams: Âbî Gilâl (Âbî Zard), Âbî Aflâ (coming from Mungasht), Rûd-i Pûtag and Âbî Darra-yi Kûl. A canal is led from the right bank of the Dîjûr to supply the town of Râm-Hurmuz. Further down, the Dîjûr joins the Âbî Mârûn which comes from the southeast in the region of Bibbihân and of the old town of Ar-radân [q. v.]. Their combined waters are known as the Dîjarâbî. The other little river (Gûpûl) runs north of Râm-Hurmuz and is lost in marshes. Râm-Hurmuz (160 m/500 feet above sea-level, in lat. 31° 15 'N., 41° 10 'E.) is situated above the plain to the northeast of which rise the hills of Tûl-Gorgûn 490 m/1,600 feet high.

The town is rarely mentioned by historians. The Pahlavi list of the towns of Iran, § 46 (ed. Markwart), A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Eranshahr, 19, 98) attributes the building of Râm-Hurmuz to Hurmuz b. Shâhpûhr (272-3) (cf. also al-'Tabârî, i, 833). Accord-
ing to Hamza, ed. Gottwald, 46-47, the town was built by Ardashir I and its name was Râm-(i) Hurmuz (Asak, Bustan, Sasan, kuras). According to the researches of S.F. Goitein, Zur Entstehung des Ra.


RAMADAN (א.), name of the ninth month of the Jewish calendar. The name from the root r-m-d refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavoured to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months [see Nasi].

Ramadm is the only month of the year to be mentioned in the Kur'an (II, 181/185). "The month of Ramadn is (that) in which the Kurgan was sent down", we are told in connection with the establishment of the fast of Ramadn. Concerning the origins of this, to what is said in E'I. Šawm should be added the researches of S.F. Goitein, Zur Entstehung des Ra.

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fast, within a very short time) and although the final settlement of the term as a whole month is not thereby satisfactorily explained. On the other hand, to strengthen Goitein’s position, it ought perhaps to be pointed out that the Laylat al-Bara’ (on which see G.E. von Grunebaum, Muhannadun festivals, repr. London and Ottawa 1976, 53-4) precedes Ramadan in the middle of the preceding month of Sha`b`an. The ideas and practices described by Wensinck in El’art. sha`ban, which are associated with this night, really to some extent resemble Jewish conceptions associated with the New Year—which precedes the Day of Atonement by a rather shorter interval than the Laylat al-Bara’ precedes Ramadan—that the connection between the latter and the Day of Atonement is thereby strengthened. If we try to connect the so far unexplained word bara’ with the Hebrew br’i’ (‘creation’) and reflect that, according to the Jewish idea, the world was created on New Year’s Day (numerous references in the liturgy of the festival), we have perhaps a further link in the chain of proof; but first of all the age of the ideas associated with the Laylat al-Bara’ must be ascertained.

The legal regulations connected with the fast of Ramadan are given in sawm [see also tarawih]. Of important days of the month, al-Biruni, among others, mentions the 6th as birthday of the martyr al-Hasan b. ‘Alī, the 10th as the day of death of Khadija, the 17th as the day of the battle of Badr, the 19th as the day of the occupation of Mecca, the 21st as the day of ‘Alī’s death, and of the Imām ‘Alī al-Rida’s, the 22nd as birthday of ‘Ali and finally the night of the 27th as Laylat al-Kadr [q.v.].

The name of this night is Kur`anic; sūra XVII is dedicated to it. It is there described as a night ‘better than a 1,000 months’ in which the angels ascend free and (bi-idhn Allah min hull amr) which means blessing till the appearance of the red of dawn. The revelation of the Kur`an, as already mentioned, is expressly located in it. The same night is obviously referred to in sūra XLIV, 2, as a ‘blessed’ one. The date, the 27th, is not, however, absolutely certain: the piou therefore use all the odd nights of the last ten days of Ramadan for good works, as one of them at any rate is the Laylat al-Kadr [see MKT].

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### Genealogical Table (After F. Siimer)

1. Ramadan Beg
2. Šārīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 785)
3. Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmed (d. 819)
4. Šārīm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 831)
5. Izz al-Dīn Hamza ‘Ali
6. Mehmed
7. Dāwūd (d. 885)
8. ‘Aīl
9. ‘Omēr
10. Selim
11. ‘Aīmndar (Beg in 861)
12. ‘Alīşdīr (Beg in 861)
13. Kubād
14. Pīr (d. 976)
15. Derwīsh
16. Ibrāhīm (d. 994 or 997)
17. Mehmed
18. Pir Mansūr

### Notes


### Bibliography

*C.A., Künn i-akhbdr*, repeated in *Pečevi, Ta’rīh*, i, 44; *Sidīl-i şʊmānī*, iv, 120; *Bursa, Meḥmed Ta’hīr, ʿOthmānî mu‘alliflər*, iii, 53; Babinger, *GOW*, 103-5; *IA*, art. *s.v.* (‘sizeseddīn Turān). (F. Babinger)

### AL-RAMĀDI

ABU ‘Umār YUSUFL B. HARUN AL-KINDI AL-KURTUBI AL-RAMĀDI, poet of Muslim Spain, who lived in the 4th/10th century and died in 403/1013, according to Ibn Hayyān (in Ibn Baškuwāl, cf. *Bibl.*), in 413/1022-3 according to al-Makki (quoting the same Ibn Hayyān); he was buried in the cemetery of Cordova known as Makbarat Kala†.

The ethnic al-Ramādī is explained in two ways: 1. the poet is said to have come from al-Rammāda, a little town between Alexandria and Barka; this explanation is to be rejected, for this toponym would not give an ethnic like al-Ramādi (with one *m*); 2. the second explanation, which derives Ramādī from ramād “ordinary ashes” or “ashes for washing”, is the only possible one; the poet perhaps in his youth followed the trade of an ash-merchant; in confirm-
tion of this we may call attention to the Romance surname which was originally given to him of Abu Ḥanīfah (wrongly: Abu Sabīlī in the Yātimat al-dahr, i.e. padre cinder, father cinder or the man with the cinders).

Al-Ramādī, a native of Cordova, spent all his life in his native town except for a brief period of exile in Saragossa. His life was dominated by three great factors: his attachment to al-Kālīf [q.v.], his devotion to the cause of the hājījī al-Muṣṭafā [q.v.] and his love for Khalwa.

All Al-Ramādī, summoned from the east to Spain by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir (300-5/912-61) had from his arrival in Cordova in 330/942 no more faithful disciple than al-Ramādī, who studied under his direction the Kitāb al-Nawādir. This young scholar’s admiration found expression in a poem which has remained famous ( rhyme -li, metre kāmil) of which some thirty lines are preserved in the Yātimat al-dahr of al-Thaʾālibī and the Muṣāhaf al-anfus of al-Ṭāfī b. Khākān. It is this poem which gained him the title of Mutanabbi al-Qibārī which had already been given to Ibn Ḥānī al-Andalusī and which was later to be given to Ibn Dārāḏ al-Kastālī and to Abū Taḥīb ʿAbd al-Jabārī. Al-Ramādī studied also under an Andalusian scholar named Abū Bakr Yāḥyā b. Ḥudhayl al-Kalīfī or al-Aṣmāʾ (the blind), of whom we know very little.

When at the height of his powers, al-Ramādī became laureate to the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II al-Mustanṣīr (350-66/961-76), then to his son and successor Ḥishām II al-Muʿayyad (366-99/976-1009); but his attachment to the cause of the hājījī Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafā and his participation in the plot fomented by the eunuch Dāwḏār to overthrow Hakam II and proclaim a caliph other than his son Ḥishām brought down upon him the wrath of the great minister al-Mansūr Ibn Abī ʿAmīr [q.v.]. Thrown into prison at al-Zahrāʾ, he suffered all sorts of ill-treatment; during his imprisonment, he wrote the most touching verses (including a poem in -ki, metre tawīl, and another in -luḥu, metre tawīl) and he prepared a poetical work on birds, the description of which concluded with a poem in praise of the heir-presumptive Ḥishām II. Liberated through the intervention of friends, he had to go into exile. He went to Saragossa to the governor ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mūhammad al-Tudžībī, whose merits he celebrated in a poem in -mi. Amnestied by al-Mansūr, he was able to return to Cordova, but on condition that he did not go into society. Finally pardoned, he entered the entourage of the all-powerful hājījī as a recipient of allowances (muṣatāzak) and it was in this capacity that he took part in an expedition against Barcelona in 375/985. During the fits which were to lead to the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of petty independent states ruled by the muḥākāt al-tawīl [q.v.], al-Ramādī led a miserable existence and it was in the greatest distress that he died in the early years of the 5th/11th century.

Al-Ramādī became celebrated chiefly for his chaste love for the enigmatic Khalwa (wrongly: Halwa or Hulwa), whom he met one Friday in the public garden of Cordova, at the time when the fairs which were to lead to the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate at the end of the bridge but was never able to see again. It was Abū Mūhammad Ibn Ḥazm, whose ascetic tendencies on this subject are well known, who did most to spread this lovesong; but it seems that the memory of Khalwa occupied the heart or mind of the poet only very little. If it still possessed him at Saragossa to the extent of inspiring all the nasīb of the panegyric in honour of the Tudžībī governor, on his return to Cordova, it disappeared completely, for we see al-Ramādī henceforth completely overwhelmed by a new passion, the object of which is not a woman but a Mozarab boy to whom the poet gives the name of Yahyā (John) or Nuṣayr (Victor?).


Al-RAMĀHURMUZĪ, Abu Mūhammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Khallād, often referred to in mediaeval Arabic literature as Ibn al-Khallād, kādi and author of various works of adāb [q.v.]
who died in 360/971. His date of birth is unknown, but judging by the death dates of his alleged tradition masters, he must have been born some one hundred years earlier, if credence were to be granted at all to the usual longevity ascribed to transmitters of that period. For references to biographical notices on him, see CAS, 1, 193. Of the poetry attributed to him a few lines have been preserved in Yatimah al-dahr, ed. Cairo, iii, 423-7, by al-Dh’ufalib [q.v.], also al-Yakub, irshad, iii, 140-4. Of his prose works, only two seem to have survived, both related to hadith. In 1968, a collection called Amgil al-nabi, which comprises some 140 proverbs and other assorted wise sayings attributed to the Prophet and moulded in the form of hadith, cf. the editions of Amatul Karim Qureshi, Haydaraband (Sind) 1968, and A.A. al-A’azzmi, Bombay 1983. For the amgil genre in general, see R. Sellheim, Die klassischen Arabischen Sprichwortensammlungen insbesondere die des Aba’ Ubaid, The Hague 1954. Rammurmuza’s fame squarely rests, however, on a comprehensive, theoretical work on the science of hadith entitled Al-Muhaddith al-fasiy bayna l-‘rawi wa l-‘ara’i, the first such work to be written in Islam, which exerted a lasting influence on all theoretical hadith works to follow.

The title refers to two sorts of hadith transmitters which he distinguishes from one another: those who merely transmit without paying proper heed to all aspects of a tradition, whose transmission they call risa’ayu; and those who have learned to discern between all transmission minutiae, whose activities he summarises under the term diraya. Examples of these minutiae are (1) the proper distinction between namesakes and people bearing names with (nearly) the same consonantal pattern (rasam); (2) the identification of transmitters not known by their patronymics but by forefathers, other forebears or (grand-) mothers; (3) the identification of transmitters who share kunyas or nisbas, etc. Rammurmuza’s exploration of this thorny terrain is exemplary and constitutes to this day an indispensable tool for any approach towards isnad analysis. His is in fact the first systematic attempt to unravel an, until his time ever-present, array of traditions, together with the (possible) Persian origin of ramal, the possible Persian origin of ramal, which he identifies as containing the basic structures of transmitting traditions in order to collect traditions (fi islab al-tur [q.v.] is the first such survey and is remarkable for its exhaustiveness as well as the relatively late chronology he proposes for its onset. Moreover, Rammurmuza is fully aware of what Islam owes to its musallat of the first hour by emphasising time and again their undeniably important role in the development of juridical thinking and in transmitting traditions in order to derive fikh precepts from them. This book is available in the reliable edition of Muhammad A’zadi-Khatib, Beirut 1971. Bibliography: Given in the article. See further, G.H.A. Juynboll, Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early hadith, Cambridge 1983, 29, 47, 66, 135, 141. (G.H.A. Juynboll)

RAMAL (a.). 1. As a poetical metre. This is the name of the eighth metre in Arabic prosody [see aruq], based on the foot fas’ilatuin in which the first syllable may be either long or short (\( \varepsilon \)). Of the two current types, one has three feet to the hemistich with 22 syllables to the line (\( \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \)). The other one, called magziz al-ramal (ramal shortened by a foot or qussa), has 16 syllables to the line: \( \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \). The final syllable of the line is normally long, but occasionally poems with overlapping last syllables are found. In modern poetry, so-called “free verse” (al-shi’r al-lurr) in ramal is built on the fas’ilatuin foot, but shows lines of unequal length.

Ramal poems are few in pre-Islamic poetry, but some are ascribed to Imru’ al-Kays [q.v.] and Abib b. al-‘Abbas [q.v.]. (cf. Ibn al-Sarradj, Misiyir fi dawzan al-aghar, ed. M.R. al-Daya, 1979, 156-7). One of the three Muwadda’iz sayyid [q.v.] in ramal is by al-Muhabib Mubarak, ed. M. A’zadi-Khatib, Arab al-Awast [q.v.] (Kitab al-Arid, ed. S. al-Bahrivaz, in Fusul vi/vi [1986], 152) a lot of ramal poetry was practised by the Bedouins, but this may refer to ramal as a genre name for “poetry which is neither kashid nor radda’” (al-Akhshab, Kitab al-Kawafi, ed. ‘Izza Hasan, Damasco 1970, 68; Lane, s.v. r-m-f), apparently referring to magziz poetry. This fits in with al-Tahmawi’s division of Arabic poetry into four classes (al-ka’ida, al-ramal, al-ra’ga’ and al-khaffi) in Kitab fi sittidat al-funun, Calcutta 1862, 745, where a poet who writes mainly verse of the second class is called a rimil (cf. W. Stoetzer, Theory and practice in Arabic metrics, Leiden 1989, 61-73). Al-Djwari [q.v.] labels both variations of ramal as ancient (kadim) (see Arud al-waraka, ed. Muhammad al-Alami, Casablanca 1984, 52). As from the Umayyad period, both types of ramal are regularly found in monostrophic poems, in muwashshah and zaghal (cf. M. Ben Cheneb, Tahfat al-adab, Paris 1954, 117 and 131), popular ballads (cf. P. Cachia, Popular narrative ballads of modern Egypt, Oxford 1989, 103) and modern poetry, where it has gained popularity over the years (S.K. Jayyusi, Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry, Leiden 1977, 608 n.).


According to Hāzim al-Karīadjānī [q.v.], ramal, together with madīd, comes, aesthetically, after jauwil, basīṣ, wafir and khaffi and is characterised by “smoothness and harmony, therefore more suitable for elegies and the like” (see his Minhād al-balqilāh, ed. M.H. Belkhodja, Tunis 1966, 268-9).

For the role of ramal in the relationship between music and verse, see O. Wright, in Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period (= The Cambridge history of Arabic literature, i) Cambridge 1983, 450-9. One of the indigenous explanations of the name is precisely that ramal is a kind of music characterised by this pattern (yakhrudju’ alā li khdja’t w-awzn) (see Ibn Barri, Shahr al-ghumār min masā’il al-‘arād, ms. Esorial 288, fol. 46a = 410, fol. 171a). See also section 2. below.

For a discussion of the arguments for and against the possible Persian origin of ramal, see E. Wagner, op. cit., 47-8.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Stoetzer)
the mnemonic syllables tanna tan tan which represent the length of the notes (and also correspond to the metric scheme of the prosodic ramal):

\[
\begin{align*}
(3/2) & \quad \text{tanna tan + fāsiла} \\
(2/2) & \quad \text{tan tan tananan} \\
(2/2 + 3/2) & \quad \text{. . .}
\end{align*}
\]

Ibn Sinā’s disciple Ibn Zayla (d. 440/1048) added the alternative form of (3/2) which was confirmed later by Šafi al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) and his successors up to the 9th/15th century. They transcribed it by substituting a consonant for each quaver, and define the length of the notes by the number of syllables:

\[
(3/2) \quad \text{tan tan tananan}
\]

Simple ternary patterns such as these were also attested in Muslim Spain and still survive in the naqsha [q.v.] of North Africa, though the name ramal vanished there long ago.

As a result of “duplication” (taqżif), the ramal developed into the very popular form of (6/2) j j j j j j which was called a Persian variety and first occurs in 7th/13th century sources. ʿAbd al-Kādīr al-Marāḡī (d. 838/1435) expanded this pattern in his own compositions, as he says, from 12 to 48 and even 96 units per period.

Another sophisticated form developed in Ottoman Turkey (al-ramal al-turki; remel). Its basic scheme consists of 28 units per period (or 56 units, when “doubled”):

\[
(2/2 + 3/2) \quad \text{. . .}
\]

Here, the mnemonic syllables represent the quality but no longer the length of the beats.

The “light” version of ramal had a basic pattern of (3/4) j j j, plus some variant forms, as listed in Arabic sources from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/13th centuries. From Ibn Sinā’s time on, a “limping” (aṣṣaṭ) variety (2/8 + 3/8), j j j, is also recorded. In al-Urmawī’s school, both patterns were transmitted side by side.


(E. Neubauer)

RĀMĪ MEHMED PASHA, an Ottoman Grand Vizier and poet, was born in 1065 or 1066/1654 in Eyyūb, a suburb of Istanbul, the son of a certain Hasan Ağha. He entered the chancellery of the Reṣū Efendi as a probationer (ṣawād), and through the poet Yusuf Nābi [q.v.] received an appointment as maṣraf kābīrī, i.e. secretary for the expenditure of the palace. In 1098/1684 through the influence of his patron, the newly-appointed Kapudān Paşa [q.v.] Mustafā Paşa, he became diwan efendi, i.e. chancellor of the Admiralty. He took part in his chief’s journeys and campaigns (against Chios) and on his return to Istanbul became reʾūs kesadārī, i.e. pursuverage to the Reṣū Efendi. In 1102/1690 he was promoted to Beylukdāy, i.e. Vice-Chancellor, and four years later, Reʾūs Efendi in place of Abū Bakr, in which office he was succeeded in 1108/1694 by Kökük Mehmed Çelebi the sources of the back of Zenta (12 September 1697), he became Reʾūs Efendi for a second time and was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of Carlowitz [see Karlovoa], by the conclusion of which “he put an end to the ravages of the Ten Years War but also for ever to the conquering power of the Ottomans” (J. von Hammer). As a reward for his services at the peace negotiations, he was appointed a vizier of the dome with 3 horse-tails (tugh) in 1114/1703, and in Ramāḏān 6, 1114/24 January 1703, appointed to the highest office in the kingdom in succession to the Great Vizier Daltaban Mustafā Paşa. In this office he devoted particular attention to the thorough reform of the civil administration, through the abuses in which he saw the security of the state threatened (cf. von Hammer, GOR, vii, 64). “By lessening the burden of fortresses on the frontiers in east and west, by raising militia against the rebel Arabs, by securing the pay of the army from the revenues of certain estates, by making aqueducts, by restoring ruined mosques, by taking measures for the safety of the pilgrim caravans and for the security of Asia Minor, by settling Turkmen tribes, by ordering the Jewish cloth manufacturers in Selānīk and the Greek silk manufacturers in Bursa in future to make the stuffs that hitherto imported into Turkey from Europe”, he exercised a most beneficent activity, which however soon aroused envy and hatred, and, especially as Rāmī Mehmēd Paşa, as a man of the pen entirely and not of the sword, was unpopular with the army, particularly the Janissaries, finally was bound to lead to his fall (cf. GOR, vii, 72). In the great rising in Istanbul which lasted four weeks, beginning with the enthronement of Sultan Muṣṭāfā II and ending with his deposition (9 Rabīʿ II, 1115/22 August 1703), his career came to an end. He was disgraced, but pardoned in the same year and appointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (October 1704). His governorship there terminated as unhappily as his grand viziership (cf. GOR, vii, 133, following Rashīd and La Motraye). In Djamādā 1 1118/September 1706 he was dismissed and sent to the island of Arz, and in the same year he was made pointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (October 1706). Finally was bound to lead to his fall (cf. GOR, vii, 134, quoting the internuntius Talman). Rāmī Mehmēd Paşa is regarded as a brilliant stylist, as the two collections of his official documents (inšāʾ) containing no less than 1,400 pieces, distinguished by their simple clear and elevated style, amply show (cf. the ms. in Vienna, Nat. Bibl. nos. 296 and 297, in G. Flügel, De arab., pers. u. türk. His., i, 271-2). Rāmī Mehmēd Paşa also left a complete Diwān, of which specimens are available in the printed Tadhkīrāt of Sālim (cf. F. Babyger, GOW, 272-3: Istanbul 1315). His poetical gifts were inherited by his son ʿAbd Allāh Reʾṣī (cf. Bursal Mehmēd Tāhir, ʿOṭmānī māʾṣūlīleri, i, 187). His son-in-law was the taḥkīrātī Sālim [q.v.].

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, GOR vii, passim; the history of the Istanbul rising was written by Mehmēd Shēfīk; Bursal Mehmēd Tāhir, ʿOṭmānī māʾṣūlīleri, ii, 186-7; Sālim, Tadhkīrāt, 252-8; ʿOṭmān-zādeḥ Ahmad Tābī, Hodakīt al-ussāda, Istanbul 1271, at the end; Ahmed Resmi, Kāḥīfīt al-ruʿāda, Istanbul 1269, 47 ff.; Sādīq-i ʿalāmāt, i, 367-8; von Hammer, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, iv, 26 ff.; Fāhir İz, Eski türk edebiyatında nazar, Istanbul 1966-7, i, 367-8; IA art. s.v. (Bekir Sürekli Babyger).
flourished in the middle of the 8th/14th century. Very little is known about his life and the few chronological indications that we possess are either imprecise or unreliable. Dawlathān states that he was the poet laureate (mlk l-thuʿrā) [q. v.] of ʿIrāq during the reign of the Muzzafarrād Shāh Manṣūr (reigned 789-95/1387-93), but dedications in his two most important works prove that he attended the court of Sultan Abū ʿl-Fath Uways Bahādūr or Shaykh Uways (757-761/1356-74) of the Djalāyirids [q. v.], presumably after the latter's conquest of Ḡdār ābāyān in 761/1360. In his Mathnawi-mashūk, Ḡuṭrat al-matadādīn (d. 738/1337) as a contemporary and Ḥasan b. Ṣalih Kāšī, who died as early as 710/1310, as his teacher (cf. Ikbr, introd., p. ḏāl). A late and unlikely dating for his death is 795/1392-3 (see Storey, iii, 182-3).

His most original work is Anīs al-ʿusḥshāk, a short treatise on the poetical description, "from head to foot"; of a beautiful person. According to his own statement, the author made up his mind to compile this book while he was in Maʿrāgha on a visit to the observatory of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ťūsī [q. v.]. He dedicated it to Shaykh Uways. In this treatise, Rāmī discusses the conventions of ghazal poetry, as well as of romantic mathnawis, in depicting the charms of a maʿṣūkūn, male or female (see Efr, iv, s.v. Beloved). Twelve of the nineteen chapters deal with parts of the head: the hair, the temple, the eyebrows, the eyes, the eye lashes, the nose, the face, the down on the cheeks (khāṭṭ), the beauty spot (kħāf), the lips, the teeth, the mouth and the chin; then follow the neck, the breasts, the fore-arm, the fingers and finally the stature, the waist and the legs. The Persian text, preserved in a great number of manuscripts, was published by ʿAbbas Ikbr (Tehran 1325 Sh/1946, with a short introd.) and was translated into French by Cl. Huart (Anīs al-ʿusḥḥāk. Traité des termes figurés relatifs à la description de la beauté, Paris 1975).

Under the title Ḥadāʾik al-ḥadāʾik (erroneously called Ḥadāʾik al-hakāʾik) by Dawlathān, Rāmī prepared a commentary on the well-known textbook of rhetorical figures Ḥadāʾik al-sihr fr dāʾik al-šūrī by Ṣaḥḥī al-Dīn Watwāt [q. v.]. To the order of Shaykh Uways, he removed the Arabic quotations from the basic text. This work was edited by Sāyīd Mīr, Dowlathān (Tehran 1341 Sh/1962, with an introd. and extensive notes).

Rāmī's Diwan, containing ḵaṣīdas, muʾṭaṣāfāt and quatrains, was in the days of Dowlathān still available in western Persia but now seems to have disappeared. Only a few poems are preserved in anthologies (cf. Imām, introd. 12 ff.). Other works ascribed to Rāmī are known to exist only in very few copies: Badāʾik al-sānaʾī or Tafsīl al-fakhir, treating of sixteen figures of speech (Munznw, iii, 2127-9); Dāʾik fārī, a mathnawis in the metre of Djalāī al-Dīn Rūmī's Mathnawi-yi maʿnawi (Munznw, iv, 2817-8); Sīfāt i ʿamār-i išīʿ wa ʿalā āmār-i (Munznw, iii, 2142) and Muhkhasar-i sānaʾī-i išīʿ. About Ḫulayt al-maddādā, a work also attributed to Rāmī (Hāddīd Ḵallafla, iii, 112) nothing else is known.

Bibliography: Dowlathān, 308; Pavet de Couflès, in J.A., vii (1876), 588-91; Browne, LHP, ii, 83-4; M.ʿA. Tarbiyah, Dānantmandān-i Aḏḡar ābāyān, Tehran 1314 Sh./1933, 189-91; Munznw, Fihrist-i nukhk-ḵah-i Ḵhaft-i farsi, iii, Tehran 1350 Ṣh./1971, 2133-4 (s.v. Ḥadāʾik al-ḥakāʾik), v, Tehran 1351 Ṣh./1972, 3275-30 (s.v. Anīs al-ʿusḥshāk); ʿAbd al-Husayn Zarnākī, Nāḏīk-i adabī, ʿy Tehrān 1361 Ṣh./1982, i, 250-1; Storey, iii, 182-3 (on Ḥadāʾik al-ḥadāʾik).

(E. BERTHELS-J.T.P. DE BRUIN)
country, those of a position in the plain with the pro-
ximity of hills and sea, of places of pilgrimage like
Jerusalem and whose splendid minaret was much
admired. Figs were the chief export of al-Ramla. The
name of the province of Filastîn was also given to
the capital al-Ramla (Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d'Arch.
ner., vi, 101).
Salâh al-Dîn in 583/1187 destroyed the town so that
it might never again fall into the hands of the Franks
and it remained in ruins (Yâkût, i, 818; Safî al-Dîn,
Marâsid, i, 483). Ibn Banût'â visited it in 756/1355; he
mentions the Dîmâtî al-Abyad, the mihrab of which
was regarded as the largest of all that were
known, the pulpit of which was second only to that in
Jerusalem and whose splendid minaret was much
admired.
Whether there had been an older town on the site
of al-Ramla is problematic. The old attempts to iden-
tify it with Arimathia, Ramathâ or Ramatham have
now been generally abandoned. An ancient Παμε-
βόλη, "Camp" (> al-Ramla, the initial Greek p
being interpreted as the Coptic article, as in ushuf (< εψαυφος), should rather be considered, a place-name
particularly frequent in Palestine, which was borne
for example by the camp of Jerusalem (Hebr., xiii,
11, 13; Acts, xxii, 34-xxiii, 32) and bishops and
bishops in Palestine I. (now Bijr al-Zarâ'a, cf. Féderlin
in Génér., Vie de S. Euthyme le Grand, 104-11) and in
Phoinike Libanesia (R. Aigrin, art. Arabie, in Dict.
d'hist. et de géogr. eccles. iii, 1194-6); for the Egyptian
al-Ramla four miles to the north-east of Alexandria
corresponds to an ancient Nicopolis and later Parem-
bole. But the Arabic writers say there was no town
previously on this site but only a sandy area, after
which the town was named (al-Baladhuri, 143, etc.).
The population of al-Ramla was in the time of al-
Yâkób (Buildân, 327) a mixture of Arabs and Pers-
ians (on the settlement of Persians in Syria, cf. al-
Kindî, Governors of Egypt, ed. Guest, 19); the clients
were Samaritans.
The great cistern 'Unayziyya ("Anâziyey" to the
north-west of al-Ramla near the road to Yâfsa, called
as the cistern of St. Helena, has a Kûfic inscription of
Dhu 'l-Hiddjâ 172/My 789, i.e. of the time of
Hârûn al-Rashîd (van Berchem, Inscr. arabo de Syrie,
Cairo 1897, 4-7; M. de Vogüé, La citerne de Ramla,
in Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Insér. et Belles-
lettres, xxix [1911], 362-3, 495-4).
By the Frankish pilgrims the town is first mentioned
in 870 as "Ramrala". The Crusaders made it a
bishops and in the centre of its market-place was the
chief mosque, Dîmâtî al-Abyad, the mihrab of which
was a noted building stone and brick. The town's wares were exported chiefly to Egypt.
Al-Ramla had several gates, enumerated by the
geographers, and in the centre of its market-place was the
chief mosque, Dîmâtî al-Abyad, the mihrab of which
was a noted building stone and brick. The town's wares were exported chiefly to Egypt.
Al-Ramla had several gates, enumerated by the
gateway opposite it (Mudjir al-Dîn, Bulâk, 418, tr.
Sauvaire, 207; the inscription in van Berchem, op.
cit., 57-64). The minaret, the so-called "tower of al-
Ramla" or "Tower of the 40 martyrs", was, accord-
ing to Mudjîr al-Dîn and an inscription over its
gateway, rebuilt in 993/1018. (Zuet
Shāfiʿī jurist of his day and held the high post of nāzir al-ḥāṣaṣ in 905/1499-1500 under the Mamlūk sultan al-Zāhir Kānsūh ( Ibn Iyās, Badīʿ al-zāhir, ed. M. Muḥtāf, Cairo 1385/1963, iii, 424, 440).

Al-Ramlī’s principal teacher was his father, who instructed him in the entire range of religious sciences. Upon the elder al-Ramlī’s death, Shams al-Dīn took over his teaching duties in the Azhar mosque (al-Sha’rānī, 122). He also held teaching positions in both Shāfiʿī and ḥadīth, including Syria as well as Egypt. Of his father’s contemporaries, the most prominent was the Egyptian Shāfiʿī jurist Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd b. Ḥayyā al-Zayyādī ( d. 1300/1882), whom the sources cite as one of his students (e.g. al-Muḥīfī, i, 117). However, it is also noted that Shams al-Dīn personally studied under the authority of Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥajī ( d. 1304/1887), cited by al-Shawkāmī in his al-Tadhkīrah ( On the margin of Ibn Hadjār al-Haytāmī’s Tuhfat al-muhīdī, ii, 568-78; al-Muhībī, iii, 195-7), and in the realm of letters Shabīḥ al-Dīn al-Khafṣālī ( d. 1069/1659). His influence also extended to the Ḥaramayn ( cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabbīh al-Ṭabarānī, Bayānī fi sharḥ zubd Ibn Rāzīl, Cairo 1348, ii, 102) through his teaching in Mecca ( cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Bayānī al-ḥāṣaṣ, Haydārābād 1328/1910, 48, 54), where he made the pilgrimage on numerous occasions (Lūtf al-samār, iii, 80) and where he sent a period of muqāṣada in 991/1583 (al-Muhībī, ii, 458). Like his father, al-Ramlī was the pre-eminent Egyptian Shāfiʿī muftī of his day, and was officially recognized as such (al-Muhībī, i, 117).

Both father and son were favourably disposed toward the Sūfīs. They were familiar with terms from the famous Egyptian Sūfī ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʿrānī ( d. 973/1565) (M. Winter, Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt: studies in the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʿrānī, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982, 221-2), and Shams al-Dīn’s son-in-law Abū l-Mawāḥib al-Ansan, Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Zakariyyā ( d. 1037/1628) was a son of the Sufī leader and poet Muhammad al-Bakrī ( d. 994/1586) (al-Muhīfī, iii, 342, 344, 346-7).

Shīhāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī’s lineage as Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Hamza, creating some confusion (e.g. Kahhāla, i, 147-8) with another student of Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥajī ( d. 994/1586) (al-Muhīfī, iii, 424, 440).

Al-Ramlī’s most important writings are his large-scale commentary on the Minhādī al-ṭalibīn of Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī ( d. 676/1278), entitled Nihāyat al-muḥāḏkāt ʿinda ʾibād al-muḥāḏkāt, begun in 963/1556 and completed in 973/1566, some fifteen years after the completion of Tulfat al-muḥāḏkāt bi-šahr al-muḥāḏkāt of his father’s student (al-Khafṣālī, i, 112) Ibn Ḥadjār al-Haytāmī (p. 7) ( Tulfat al-muḥāḏkāt, i, 3 gloss). Although apparently neglected at first in favour of Ibn Ḥadjār’s Tulfat al-muḥāḏkāt (al-Muhībī, iii, 176), Al-Ramlī’s commentary came to be recognized as the leading Shāfiʿī work on authority outside of Yemen (including Ḥadramawt) and part of the Hidjaz, where Ibn Ḥadjār’s commentary was followed (Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī ( d. 1194/1780) quoted in Bā Ṣabrānī, Ḳīmād al-ṣayyākīn, 4-5).

The esteem in which al-Ramlī was held and his significance in the history of the Shāfiʿī madhhab are indicated by the honorific title bestowed on him of al-Shāfiʿī al-ṣagīr and by his being reckoned by many as the mudājud of the 10th century of the Ḥadīẓ (al-Muhībī, iii, 342, 344, 346-7).

Al-Ramlī’s printed works include Nihāyat al-muḥāḏkāt (8 vols., Cairo 1286, Būlāk 1292, and later), Ḳīmād al-ṣayyākīn (5 vols., Cairo 1305, and later), and his collection of his father’s Fatāwā (on the margin of Ibn Ḥadjār al-Haytāmī’s Fatāwā al-ṭalibīn, Cairo 1308, 1329, and later) (Sarkīs, Muḥījam al-muḥāḏkāt al-ṣayyākīn ʿinda ʾibād, Cairo 1346/1928, i, 952).

The title-page of the Fatāwā gives al-Ramlī’s lineage as Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Hamza, which apparently led Hurgronje, Verehr. Geschr., ii, 333 n. 1, to misidentify the Fatāwā as those of Ahmad al-Ramlī, “the brother [sic] of the author of the Nihāyat”, although he later, ibid., 423, 425 n. 1, more erroneously, identified them as those of Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī.

The nība al-Ramlī refers to the Egyptian village Ramlat al-Manṣūfiyya (al-Shaʿrānī, 67 and al-Zāhīdī, Tādī al-ʿarūs, vii, 352, s.v. Ramla). This is the present-day Ramlat Banhā ( lat. 30° 26′ N, long. 31° 10′ E) (U.S. Dept. of Interior, Office of Geography, Gazetteer No. 45, Egypt and the Gaza Strip, Washington, D.C. 1959, 57) in al-Khaybīsīyya Province (M. Ramūsī, al-Kānūs al-ṣuyūṭī fī al-ḥilal min-l miṣrīyya, Cairo 1954-68, ii/1, 19; H. Ḥalm, Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehenregistern, Wiesbaden 1979-82, ii, 669 and Map 24), incorrectly identified as Ramlat al-Ansan outside of Yemen, which is also the case of those of Ṣhams al-Dīn al-Ramlī.


Biographies of Shīhāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī: Shaʿrānī, 67-9; Ḥazzā, al-Kawdārī, al-Suyūṭī, Ahmad ʿAta, Cairo 1390/1970, 121-3, nos. 131-2; Muḥījam al-ṣayyākīn, Ramsūdī, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 115; Brockelmann III, 418-19, i, 442.

Biographies of Shīhāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī: Shaʿrānī, 67-9; Ḥazzā, al-Kawdārī, al-Suyūṭī, Ahmad ʿAta, Cairo 1390/1970, 121-3, nos. 131-2; Muḥījam al-ṣayyākīn, Ramsūdī, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 115; Brockelmann III, 418-19, i, 442.
RAMPUR — RAMZ

State of Rohilkhand [q.v.] in northern India. In British times, the state was under the political supervision of the government of the United Provinces. In the post-1947 Indian Union, Rampur became a district of Uttar Pradesh, bounded on the north by Naini Tal, on the east by Bareilly, on the south by Badaun and on the west by Muradabad districts, with an area of 2,318 km²/895 sq. miles and a population in 1961 of 701,537; in 1931, 45% of the population was Muslim.

The early history of Rampur is that of the growth of Rohilla power [see Rohillas] in Rohilkhand. After the establishment of Muslim rule in India, large bodies of Afghans or Pathans settled down in the country. So powerful did they become that they were twice able to establish their rule in northern India, under the Lodis [q.v.] in the second half of the 15th century, and under the Surs [q.v.] in the time of Sher Shah. After the death of Awrangzib and with the decline of the Mughal empire, Afghan settlements increased until in the words of the Syed al-mutawa durrani "they seemed to shoot up out of the ground like so many blades of grass". The name Rohilla was applied to those Afghans who settled in what is now known as Rohilkhand.

The real founders of Rohilla power were an Afghan adventurer, named Daud Khan, who arrived in India immediately after the death of Awrangzib, and his adopted son, Ali Muhammad Khan, who succeeded him as leader of a band of mercenary troops. It was during the lifetime of Ali Muhammad Khan that his possessions came to be called Rohilkhand or the land of the Rohillas. In course of time, Ali Muhammad Khan became so powerful that he refused any longer to pay his revenues to the central government, in which course he was encouraged by the anarchy consequent upon the invasion of Nadir Shah [q.v.]. The growth of his power so alarmed Safdar Jang [q.v. of Oudh] [see awan] that he persuaded the emperor to send and expedition against him, as a result of which Ali Muhammad Khan surrendered to the imperial forces and was taken prisoner to D hilar. After a time he was pardoned and appointed governor of Sirhind. In 1748, according to the Gulistān-i rahmat, he was transferred to Rohilkhand, but it seems more probable that that affair took advantage of the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani [q.v.] to recover his former possessions. Two factors had contributed to the growth of Rohilla power: the weakness of the central government and the fact that they were able to take advantage of the internal struggles between the various Rajput chiefs and zamindars of Rohilkhand.

Ali Muhammad Khan left six sons, but the absence of the two eldest in Afghanistan, combined with the extreme youth of the other four, meant that all real power remained in the hands of a group of Rohilla sardars, the most important of whom were Hafiz Rahmat Khan [q.v.] and Jundi Khan. This naturally produced intrigues and disputes and eventually weakened the Rohilla power. In 1771 the Marathas [q.v.] turned their attention to the conquest of Rohilkhand, whereupon the Rohillas applied for aid to Shudja al-Dawla, the nawab waizir of Oudh. It was agreed that Shudja al-Dawla would provide forty lakhs of rupees for his services (Atichison, i, 6-7), but the Rohillas later refused to abide by their pecuniary engagements. In accordance with his promise at the Conference of Benares in 1773, Warren Hastings agreed to assist the nawab waizir in expelling the Rohillas from Rohilkhand, for which he was to receive forty lakhs of rupees. On 23 April 1774, the Rohillas were defeated and their leader, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, slain. At the end of this war Fayd Allah Khan, a son of Ali Muhammad Khan, concluded a treaty with Shudja al-Dawla at Laldang (India Office mss.; Bengal Secret Consultations, 31 October 1774; see also extracts from the Persian interpreter's journal, 14 February 1775).

By this treaty, Fayd Allah Khan received a da'ir consisting of Rampur and other districts with a revenue estimated at approximately fifteen lakhs of rupees. To prevent him from becoming a menace to Oudh, he was not allowed to retain in his service more than 5,000 troops. After the death of Shudja al-Dawla, in 1775, Fayd Allah Khan was informed that his engagements with the later nawabs-uzair still continued in force with his son, Araf al-Dawla (Bengal Secret Consultations, 17 April 1775. Draft correspondence with the Country Powers, no. 34).

In 1780, the English Company needed additional troops and Hastings urged Araf al-Dawla to demand from Fayd Allah Khan the 5,000 horses he had engaged to supply by treaty. This demand for cavalry was an unwarrantable interpretation of the Treaty of Laldang for which no justification has ever been attempted. In 1781 Hastings empowered Araf al-Dawla to resume Fayd Allah Khan's da'ir, but fortunately this order was never carried out, and it was eventually decided to solve the problem by means of a fresh agreement whereby the obligation to provide troops for the nawabs-uzair's service was commuted under the Company's guarantee to a cash payment of fifteen lakhs of rupees. In 1801, on the cession of Rohilkhand to the British, Fayd Allah Khan's descendants were continued in their possessions. For his services in the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, Muhammad Yusuf Ali Khan, the ruler of Rampur, received a grant of land and was assured by sanad that, on the failure of natural heirs, any succession in his state, which might be legitimate according to Islamic law, would be upheld by the Government of India.

Modern Rampur City, situated on the left bank of the Kosi River in lat. 28° 48' N., long. 79° 03' E., had a population in 1961 of 135,407. The rulers of Rampur were great patrons of learning, and the state-supported Madrasa 'Aliyya attracted for its Arabic teaching students from as far as Central Asia; the modern Radha College is affiliated to Agra University. Rampur also retains a famed library with an outstanding collection of Islamic manuscripts.


(C. COLLIN DAVIES*)

RAMZ (s.), a verbal noun with the original meaning of 'winking', 'signalling with your eyes and eyebrows, or by forming words with your mouth without a sound' (see also section 3. below, first para.). This developed into a concrete noun, with the pl. rumz, denoting a variety of indirect methods of ex-
pression, such as "allusion", "symbol", "cypher".
1. In rhetoric.
Here the term is used sparingly. It does have its
place in a rhetoric discipline based on al-Sakkālī’s
(d. 626/1229 [q.v.]) Mītāf al-salām, where it denotes a
specific subcategory of kināya [q.v.], here used in the
sense of "circumlocution" ("leaving the direct men-
tion of a thing for the mention of something concomi-
tant with it") (Mītāf, 402); note that the definitory
statements in the entry kināya do not always reflect
the Sakakī tradition). More specifically, ramz has the
following position within al-Sakkālī’s system: for the
subcategory kināya is characterised either by oblique intention, in
which case it is called ta’rīd, or not so; the latter is
characterised either by many intermediaries between the
allusion and the thing alluded to — this is called
taluwâ — or by few; if the latter, it is either marked by a
certain obscurity (khufrā) — this is ramz — or it is not,
in which case it is called ish dra or imâ (Mītāf, 411-12).
An example is tari' al-wasāda (with flattened pillow),
meaning "sleepy, stupid." This system ultimately
finds its way into the nineteenth-century Western
handbooks (Mehren, Ar. text, 46, 62; 95-6; Garcin de
Tasay, 75). It is noteworthy that ramz does not occur
in the great compilations outside the Sakakī tradi-
tion, such as the Tābrīz al-tābbîl of Ibn Abî I-‘Isâba’
(d. 654/1256) and the Badī’yya commentaries of Ibn
Hīqdja al-Hamawî (d. 837/1434 [q.v.]), Ibn Maṣ‘ūm
(d. 1708/1307), and ‘Abd al-Qâlin al-Nâbulusî (d.
1143/1731 [q.v.]).
Earlier, the term ramz is used by Ibn Ragîk (d.
456/1064 or later [q.v.]) for one of the thirteen sub-
categories of ish dra, "allusion", although for lack of a
definition one cannot clearly identify its meaning
(‘Unâda, i, 305-6). The two examples adduced by the
author allow the assumption that it refers to an
enigmatic turn of phrase, which can only be solved
with reference to an earlier line of poetry — though,
whether or not this last qualification is a necessary
prerequisite cannot be said with any certainty. The
first example is by an anonymous ancient poet: "As
bloodmoney for her husband I have paid her the
number of pebbles at morning time or in the
darkness of every evening." The enigmatic "counting of pebbles" is explained as going back to a line
of Imran al-Qâlini: "I based a certain branch with my
trunk over my head, counting the pebbles,
my tears never ceasing." (Diwān, ed. M. Abu I-‘Fadl
Ibrâhîm, no. 6, v. 3); in other words, it is a sign of
grief, and grief is all she will ever receive. Ibn
Ragîk’s jumble of ish dra subcategories is brought into
a neat logical system, bearing little resemblance to al-
Sakkālī’s, by al-Sidjilmasî (d. after 704/1304-5),
who enumerates šâhid (letter riddle), ramz, ta‘rīfya (mispos-
tioning information for secrecy), and hadīth (truncation
of words) as different types of ta‘miyya (mystification),
which in turn is a subcategory of ish dra. Since again
ramz is not defined and only exemplified by a single
šâhîd, it cannot be adequately identified; however,
the author does call it "riddle-like (lughât). Thus,
whereas in the Sakakī tradition ramz belongs to the
place in the scholastic discipline, "enigmatic dis-
location," with the Maghribī authors it is one of a number of literary types of riddles.
The enigmatic plays a role in both.
2. Related uses.
(a) Ramz as "code." Ibn Wābih al-Kārisī (first half of 4th/10th century) includes a chapter on ramz in his
book on the four ontological stages of expressivity (i.e.
bayān on the successive levels of the thing, thought,
speech, and writing). Since the author deals with the
conveyance of information in a general rather than a
strictly literary sense, ramz here has the meaning of
"code," especially "code names" (Burhân, 137-8). The
sender (mutakallim) would use, for a word or a let-
ter, the name of a bird or a wild animal or another let-
ter; the resulting message would be clear to sender
and recipient, but cryptic to anyone else (marmûzun ‘an
ghayrinhmâ). The author contends that the books of
the ancient philosophers and scientists were full of ramz,
most of all those of Plato. Furthermore, there are
highly important ramz in the Kur’ân, from which one
cannot prophesie the major events of Islamic
history, the duration of reigns, momentous upheavals,
etc. This shows that one should not confine oneself
to the oaths at the beginning of a number of suras. Knowledge of this code belongs to the Imam’s,
who have been entrusted with the knowledge of the
Kur’ân. Here the author reveals his Shi’i persuasion.
The idea that the Ancient sages used ramz to make
their writings inaccessible to the uninitiated is not
uncommon. One has to distinguish here between (1)
the level of language, i.e. ramz in the sense of code,
names, symbols, and allegories, and (2) the level of
script, i.e. ramz meaning secret characters and
alphabets.
(i) The Imam’s thinker Abû Hâtim al-Râzî (d.
322/933 [q.v.]) says that the ancient philosophers
were using to coin analogies (darb al-ähâlî), in
which they followed the methods of the prophets (alba ‘ab ha ... makhâb al-ahâlî); people say that most of Plato’s
speech is ramz (al-Muhammadi-Nabawi, opus Kraus, Jâbi. ii.
274). Occult sciences such as alchemy are particularly
prone to the use of such codes. The author of the
Djâbir corpus again mentions Plato as the most
the representative of ramz use (ibid., 281) and
contrasts him with Aristotle who uses yihmâd, "obscuri-
ty," rather than ramz for the same effect (ibid., 48).
He himself, although conversant with the Ancients’
use of ramz, does not approve of it, using instead the
principle of tabâdîl al-‘ilm, "the scattering of
knowledge" throughout the corpus with elaborate
cross-references, to make access to the "art" difficult
for the unworthy (ibid., 32-3). Because of the
enigmatic language of the Ancients — here he uses the
term lughâ — their books are less profitable than those
of the moderns (mata’al-killârân, i.e. the Arabs), who
are the commentators (mufassirân) of the Ancients
(ibid., 281), and who have been entrusted with the
knowledge of ramz in later alchemical writings.
Nor did it inhibit philosophers like Ibn Sinâ
(d. 428/1037 [q.v.] and Shâhâb al-Dîn al-Suhrawardi
(d. 587/1191 [q.v.]) from composing stories in the
allegorical-symbolic mode.
(ii) One specific type of ramz was the secret
alphabet. Ibn Wâbihyya (first half of 4th/10th cen-
tury [q.v.]) is credited with a collection of existing
scripts, entitled Shâhâb al-mustâsa’d fî mar’îf ramz al-
aklâm. "The yearning of the infuriated for the
knowledge of the signs of the alphabets" (cf. also
mu’ammâ). This is a strange mixture of (a) regular
alphabets (Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and others),
(b) invented alphabets said to be those of an-
cient nations, such as the Nabat (q.v.) and the
Chaldeans, (c) secret alphabets attributed to various
ancient philosophers, sages, and kings (including the
well-known Kurgan script, al-kalam al-mushadjud, at-
tributed to Dioscorides and, in another form, to Plato,
and the scripted script invented by "Kalafarîyyât"
(cf. kalâfîfyyât, xarûfisât, xàlûfisât, "Brillenbuchstaben",
see Ullmann, Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften, 362),
(d) planetary and zodiacal alphabets for magical pur-
poses, and (e) the non-alphabetical symbols invented
by the Hermes (Harâmis), which they wrote on
Egyptian temples and pyramids and "made as a
shield for their sciences and treasures" ([fa-dja^alu hadhhi 'l-rumuza sitr^n *~ald ^ulumihim wa-kunuzihim, Ibn Wabghiyi, 91-2]. The latter clearly refer to the hieroglyphs, and a number of them are easily recognisable, albeit fancifully explained, in Ibn Wabghiyi's book. The double function of these symbols becomes clear: they are said to encode (a) occult (alchemical, magical, astrological) knowledge, and (b) information about hidden treasures. In his book on the pyramids, Abu Dja^far al-Idrisi (d. 649/1251) reports about people who claim to be able to decode the hieroglyphs ([kalam al-kalam, berbaar]) and thus to find the hidden treasures ([Ahram, 36, 61, 141]. As a result of this idea Hall (or Fakk) al-rumu^i fi ka~af al-kunuz becomes a very popular book-title, not only in the field of the occult sciences (cf. Brockelmann, P. 139-40, S I, 144, 430, 531, 712, 783, S II, 768, etc., and the indices of GA5).

In all this, it is important to be aware of the fact that the rame, whether linguistic or graphic symbol, can be used for encoding as well as for decoding, and that the latter, interpretive, function may be applied to texts that were not encoded in the first place. Allegories of non-allegorical technical writings (cf. e.g. Kraus, Fajb, p. 12-13, n. 7) and symbolic interpretation of hieroglyphs are both instances of this phenomenon.

(b) Ramz as "symbolic action". This may refer to communication between the sender and the recipient that the recipient needs to interpret. In a chapter entitled "cryptic remarks (rumuz) current among literary men and their playing with allusions (mas^arid) which only the eloquent can understand", Abu l-Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Djurjani al-Thjaffi, al-Mani^ukhab min kinay^id al-utdab^a uta^radh al-utdab^a, ed. [together with Tha'alibi, K. al-Kinay^a tua 'l-tul^ij] Muhammad b. Duj-Duj the Na^safi al-Halabi, Cairo 1326/1908; Kalkashandi, Subh al-a~sh^a, ix, Cairo 1334/1916, introd., tr. and annot. C.E. Bosworth, Some historical gleanings from the section on symbolic actions in Qalqashandii's Subh al-A^sh^a, in Arabica, x (1963), 148-53; Ibn Abi ('l-) Sarb, K. al-Rumu^z, ed. S.M. Husayn, in RAAD, ix, 1931, 641-55; tr. and ann. J. Bellamy, in JAOS (1961), 224-46.

3. In mystical and other esoteric discourse. Like its counterpart, rame originally meant "gesture" or "sign", usually a silent one, especially a speechless movement of the lips practiced by interlocutors in order to conceal the contents of their conversation from a third party. By extension, the term also denotes any silent gesture made by the lips for conveying certain messages, which the recipient needs to interpret. In a chapter entitled "cryptic remarks (rumuz) current among literary men and their playing with allusions (mas^arid) which only the eloquent can understand", Abu l-Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Djurjani al-Thjaffi, al-Mani^ukhab min kinay^id al-utdab^a uta^radh al-utdab^a, ed. [together with Tha'alibi, K. al-Kinay^a tua 'l-tul^ij] Muhammad b. Duj-Duj the Na^safi al-Halabi, Cairo 1326/1908; Kalkashandi, Subh al-a~sh^a, ix, Cairo 1334/1916, introd., tr. and annot. C.E. Bosworth, Some historical gleanings from the section on symbolic actions in Qalqashandii's Subh al-A^sh^a, in Arabica, x (1963), 148-53; Ibn Abi ('l-) Sarb, K. al-Rumu^z, ed. S.M. Husayn, in RAAD, ix, 1931, 641-55; tr. and ann. J. Bellamy, in JAOS (1961), 224-46.

As a statement implying more than its words and thus evoking a host of various associations, rame was employed by mediaeval literary critics (see above, section 1.). In its broader meaning, rame was often used to describe literary works which utilised the allegorical language, vague symbols, allusions and obliquities, e.g. "an allegorised poem" (ka~ista maruzza), mentioned by al-Makkarri [q.v.] in [Analetes, i, 608].

In early Sufi literature, it was also overshadowed by ishdra. A striking example of the wide currency enjoyed by the latter word is Abu l-Hasan al-Tawhidi's [q.v.] al-Ishdra al-idhiyya, in which Sufi knowledge is forthrightly equipped with the capacity to comprehend mystical symbols and allusions. Throughout the work, the author constantly referred to them as rame but never as rumuz (see al-Tawhidi, op. cit., ed. Waddad al-Kadi, 2/Beirut 1982). In other Sufi writings, rame almost invariably appears in conjunction with, or as an explanation of, ishdra. According to early Sufi authors, symbolic language and allusions play a double role. On the one hand, they are the only way to...
convey the elusive spiritual experiences and ineffable visions bestowed upon the ‘friends of God’ (awlīyāʾ) [see al-Futūḥāt, etc.]. To Sufis, they were means to preserve the essence of these higher mysteries and insights from the uninitiated, who should satisfy themselves with the ‘externals’ (zāhir) of religion. Hence the knowledge of rumūz pertains exclusively to the Sufi masters, and is not to be divulged to the outsiders (see Abd al-Malākūja Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert, ed. B. Radtke, Beirut 1991, 20, 34, 70-1). Attesting the importance of the word ramz to Sufi doctrine, the mystical doctrines of the Sūfs, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāḍ (d. 378/988) included ramz in his list of the specifically Sūfī terms. According to this author, ramz designates ‘an inner meaning hidden under the guise of outer speech, which no one will grasp except for its people (ahlulu).’ Such symbols should be looked for primarily in the correspondence between the Sufi masters, rather than in works addressed to the uninitiated reader (al-Sarrāḍ, al-Lumaʾ, ed. Aḥmad al-Halīm Māhmūd and Tāḥā Surūr, Baghdād 1960, 414, cf. 314). Rūzbihān Bākī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209 [q. v.]), who cites a similar definition of ramz, adds that it allows one to grasp ‘the mysteries of the unseen by the sublimest of knowledge, which, in turn, find their expression in the language of mysticism through the words opposite to their meanings’ (Com- menter par les paradoxes des sources, ed. H. Cortinas, Tehran-Paris 1966, 561). Thus, when dealing with the language of the Sūfs, one should be careful in distinguishing between the verbal shell (lafz) and the kernel of an allusion (ramzubu). A person unaware of such a symbolic method of expression can be easily misled by some Sūfi utterances and condemn them as an expression of the worst kind of unbelief. At the same time, a more perspicacious interpreter will find them in complete accord with the inner meaning (bātin) of the Kurʾān and the Sunna (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulāmī, Hall al-rumūz wa-mafātih al-kumūz, Cairo 1961, 5-20, et passim). In a sense, the opposition between lafz and ramz reflects the irreducible contradiction between the normative, outward aspects of religion (gīhārāʾ [q. v.]), and its spiritualised interpretation and interiorisation practised by the Sūfī gnostics (batiktā [q. v.]). The Sufis perceived the latter (la-tāfṣīl) as the most convenient way to express the latter without disclosing it to those from whom it ought to be withheld (see al-Ghazzālī, Miṣḥāt al-anwār, ed. Abu ʿI-ʿAlī ʿAṣḥāfī, Cairo 1382/1964, 40). Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [q. v.]), who often treats ramz as a synonym of lughāt [q. v.] (puzzle or enigma), defines it as ‘a speech which does not convey the meaning implied by the speaker.’ In his view, the use of ramz is not an end in itself, because what matters is the implicit meaning behind it. Due to his overall proclivity toward allegorisation of reality, Ibn al-ʿArabī tends to envision the whole cosmos as a giant arrange-ment of symbols that require an explanation. In keeping with their ability (or inability) to comprehend the true meaning of these cosmic symbols (which, in many respects, are similar to the verbal symbols and allusions permeating revelation), people are divided into several categories ranging from the greatest knowers, the ‘men of symbols’ (riḍūl al-rumūz), who can grasp the allegorical meaning of all things and events through supersensory unveiling (kaṣf [q. v.]), to the ignorant populace, who accept everything at face value and are, therefore, doomed to wander in darkness. Ibn al-ʿArabī’s magnum opus, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya, focuses on the description of various cosmological events and personalities, whose real meaning is sometimes disclosed but, more often, is tantalisingly left open to a wide variety of interpretations. On many occasions, Ibn al-ʿArabī draws close parallels between Sufi modalities of self-expression and poetic language and both of which, in his view, endeavour to clothe their meanings in intricate symbols and allegories. No wonder that in his major works, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya and Fusūs al-hikam, this author normally introduces his daring insights in the form of symbolic verses, then proceeds to elucidate them in prose (al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya, ed. O. Yāḥyā and I. Mādkūr, Cairo 1972, i. 67, 218, 251, iii. 120, 196-7, 201, et passim; Fusūs al-hikam, ed. Abu ʿI-ʿAlī ʿAṣḥāfī, Beirut 1946, passim; cf. idem, Dīwān, Bulāq 1271/1855, passim). Stressing Ibn al-ʿArabī’s propensity for an abstruse and allegoric style meant to hide his real intentions, his compatriot Ibn Khāṭīmī [q. v.] wrote that this Sūfī thinker ‘spoke from behind the veil (kīhāb), fortifying himself with the use of ramz in an impenetrable mountain citadel, and seeking refuge in the tāhāra of dūnus wa-tawhīd’ (see al-Makkārī, Asbār al-nīyād fi ʿalāmātī ḫyāfī, ed. Muṣṭāfī al-Ṣākākī, Ibrāhīm al-Abāyīrī and ʿAbd al-Haǧf Shalābī, Cairo 1361/1942, iii, 54-5). Ibn Sināʾ’s [q. v.] usage of ramz is a corollary to his theory of prophecy which, in his view, should of necessity be communicated to the masses in a sym- bolic or allegorical form lest they misinterpret the prophetic message, thus ruining the divinely-established order. Therefore, the prophet should inform them (cf. the message of God’s majesty and greatness through symbols (rūmūz) and images (anshīla) derived from things that for them are majestic and great.’ The same is true concerning other articles of faith, e.g. divine punishment and reward, destiny (kādir), etc. Basically, however, symbols communicate the same knowledge that can be stated in demonstrative or expository language employed by the rational philosophers (see D. Gutas, Ascenion and the ascension tradition, Leiden 1988, 300-1). Because ‘the majority of humans are ruled not by pure intellect but rather by their lower passions’, they are unqualified to grasp such an abstract language and the syllogistic argumentation it conveys. Conversely, symbols and images primarily appeal to imagination and not to intellect. Hence they are more likely to be comprehend-able by those whose intellects are not conditioned to the rational style of thought (see D. Gutas, Ascenion and the ascension tradition, Philadelphia 1992, 150-2). Irrespective of whether or not Ibn Sināʾ actually regarded the allegorical method of communication as inferior to the demonstrative and expository language (Gutas, op. cit., 302; cf. Heath, op. cit., 153-65), he was convinced that ‘those individuals with philosophical propensity’ were in a position to penetrate the authentic meaning of the symbols found in the revelation, and would eventually acquire a philosophical vision of the universe (Gutas, op. cit., 307). A similar view of the function of ramz was adopted by the later philosophers of Muslim Spain, namely Ibn Tūfayl and Ibn Rūḥān [q. v.]. According to the former, ‘true truth does not at all suit the vulgar, enslaved by senses.’ In order to penetrate those materialistic intelligences, ‘it is obliged to clothe itself with the wisdom that constitutes the revealed religions’, in other words, with symbols and allegories (L. Gauthier, Ibn Tūfayl, Paris 1909, 63). Symbols can also be helpful as a means to present some abstract philosophical ideas. Thus Ibn Tūfayl’s Hāyy b. Yākūn [q. v.] may be taken as a sym- bolic representation of the evolution undergole by the human active intellect. Ibn Rūḥān seems to have en- visaged ramz as an essential part of rhetoric argument (as opposed to demonstrative and dialectical), which the prophet addresses to his companions because most of the people are not intellectually mature.
enough to understand the more sophisticated types of discourse. This fact accounts for the necessity to explain revelation allegorically [see ta'wil] with a view to reconciling it with the conclusions reached through the syllogistic argument.

Proponents of messianic expectations, who sought to substantiate their claims regarding the imminent advent of the mahādī [q.v.] by exploiting the numerical values and occult properties of the Arabic characters, often viewed the latter as ramūz—esoteric signs pointing to the inevitable fulfillment of their predictions. To decipher such signs contained, for instance, in the mysterious letters preceding some Kur'ānic sūras and the divine names (see al-ASMA’AL-HUSNĀ, and cf. above, section 2(a), first para.), Muslim esotericists—primarily, the Ḡァh, including the Ismā‘īlīs, and some Sufi leaders harbouring messianic hopes—elaborated elaborate divinatory techniques known as ḡaf [q.v.; see also ḡurūj]. Kur’ānic stories and certain hadīth, mostly of an eschatological nature, were also treated by the esoterically inclined Muslims as symbols and signs, whose true meaning could only be elucidated by means of an allegorical interpretation. A curious mixture of Ismā‘īlī and Sufi views utilising both types of ramūz can be observed in a divinatory poem by a purported Ismā‘īlī dā‘i [q.v.], 2Amīr b. 2Amīr al-Bāṣrī, d. in the early 8th/14th century (see Y. Marquet, Poésie érotique ismaïlienne, Paris 1985, 73-4, 81, 107, etc.; cf. J. Djemal, Ibn ʿArabi, ʿAnkā mughrīb, Cairo n.d., where in similar predictions the word ramūz (spelt rams) is never mentioned).

Ahmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 [q.v. in Suppl.]), the celebrated fortune teller and master of “letter magic” (simiyya), considered the usage of ramūz to be part and parcel of the occult sciences permitting to predict the future. As in the case with the philosophers and Sūfīs, simiyya, according to al-Būnī, serves the twofold function: They conceal the secrets of the divinatory procedures from the uninitiated, while at the same time helping to impart them to the deserving few (see Manba‘ū usul al-hikma, Cairo 1370/1951, 5, 6, 325).

Interestingly, ramūz (spelt rams) is one of the few Arabic words mentioned by the great Catalan philosopher, missionary, and mystical Rāmūn Llull (d. 1316), who, for it apparently meant a tropological-moral emblem, the counterpart of the Hebrew piel variables (see Ch. Lohr, Christianus arabicus, in Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie, xxxi [1984], 59). Normally, however, when referring to the moral concerns contained in the Kur’ānic text, Muslim exegetes would rather use such terms as mathal [q.v.] and hadā’ (see G. Bowering, The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam, Berlin 1980, 138-41).

4. In modern Arabic literature.

This literature, which took shape under the strong influence of European literary trends, ramūz became an exact equivalent of the Western term “symbol” defined as “a deliberate use of a word or a phrase to signify something else, not by analogy (for, unlike metaphor and simile, it lacks a paired subject), but by implication and reference” (S. Jayyusi, Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry, Leiden 1977, ii, 709). As in the West, in the Middle East also, for instance in the extensive use of symbols gave rise to a literary movement known as “symbolism” (al-ramziyya) that flourished from the 1920s to the 1940s, but then gradually lost ground as a cohesive literary trend. Its representatives, primarily poets such as Adīb Mażhār, Sa‘īd ʿAkl, Bāṣrī Fāris, and, to a lesser extent, Abu ʿl-Ḥāsim al-Maḥbūbī have employed symbol as “a vehicle for feelings, for complex and valuable states of awareness” as well as a means to express an idea or a set of ideas. While most of the Arab symbolists drew their inspiration from the European literary notions of “universal relationships” and “latent affinities” which they sought to convey through symbolist imagery (K. Abu Deeb, Al-farājīnī’s theory of poetic imagery, Warminster, Wilts. 1979, 124-6; Jayyusi, op. cit., 478-81), they seem to have neglected the fact that similar approaches to creative process had already been maintained, albeit spontaneously and unconsciously, by their Muslim predecessors, namely, Ibn al-Fārid, Ǧalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and many other mediaeval religious writers. They employed their super-rational and intuitive perception of being by having recourse to elaborate symbols and allegories (see e.g. Ibn al-Fārid’s masterful use of wine symbolism to convey his mystical vision of reality, Ibn al-Fārid, Diwān, Beirut 1962, 140-3). Sufi imagery and symbols were more readily adopted by the less Westernised poets and prose writers, who, being well versed in the Islamic ʿusūl, succeeded in creating original works in which Islamic and Western influences were inextricably intertwined (see, e.g. Nadjīb Mahfuẓ, ʿAdnīn, Muẓaffar al-Nawwāb, Ǧāmāl al-Ghiṭānī, etc.). On the other hand, some symbols, which became particularly popular with the modern Arab poets (e.g. the sea, the rain, the wind etc.), have suffered from over-use and have gradually developed into mere conventions devoid of any poetic originality (Jayyusi, op. cit., 710).

Biography: Given in the article.

(A. Knysy)
a year later at the age of 46 and with him, Mewaf lost its power as an independent kingdom.


**RANGAN, the tooth of several Indian poets.** The *Riyād al-ʿajnābī fī Ḍhū ʿl-Fikr* ʿAlli biographic groups of Persian poetry (ed. and tr. by the *Tibjīs* of Yūsuf ʿAlī Khān, analysed by Sprenger, *A catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustan ms*. of the *King of Oudh*, i, 168, 280) mention five of them. The first, a native of Kashmir, lived in Dihli in the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-48): his ghazals were sung by the dancing-girls. The most celebrated, however, was Saʿādat Yār Khān of Dihli. His father, Tāhmasp Beg Khān Tūrānī, came to India with Nādir Shāh and settled in Dihli where he attained the rank of haff-hazarī and the title of Mubkīm al-Dawla. In his turn, Saʿādat Yār Khān entered the service of Mīrzā Sūlaymān Shīkhūn, son of the emperor Shāh ʿAlam II, who lived in Lucknow. He was a good horseman and able soldier; for a time he commanded a part of the artillery of the Nizām of Haydarābād, but he gave up this post to go into business. He was in his youth a friend of the poet Inglīs, a pupil of the poet Muḥammad Ḥātim of Dihli (cf. Ram Babu Saksena, *A History of Urdu literature*, 48; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, 235), he afterwards submitted all his verses to the criticism of Nūrī (cf. Sprenger, 273), then of Muḥafīz (cf. Saksena, 90); he died in 1251/1835 aged eighty (or a year later; cf. Garcin de Tassy). The following are his works in Urdu: *Māḥnāvī dīhrāz*, a poem of romantic adventures (1213/1798); *Īṣāq-i Rangīn*, a mathnāwī of fables and anecdotes (Lucknow 1847, 1870); another *mathnāwī* of anecdotes: *Māḥzār al-ṣāḥib* or *Ghāzī al-mashīr* (lyric. Agra and Lucknow); four *dīwāns* collectively known as *Nau rūān* (*the Nine Jewels*), the two first lyrical, the third humorous and partly in rehāfī language peculiar to women, the fourth in this same language with a preface by Rangīn explaining the principal words (on the development of rehāfī and Rangīn's skill in this licentious genre see *Urdū*, and Saksena, *op. cit.*, 94); in a prose treatise on horsemanship (*Paras-nāmas*, 1210/1775, several times edited) and a collection of critical observations on a number of poets, entitled *Marāṭās-i Rangīn*. In Persian (if the work is really his, cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, 54, no. 462), Rangīn under the title Mīhr u-māh, sang of the adventure of a son of a sayyid and of a daughter of a jeweller, based on an incident that occurred in Dihli in the reign of Dihāngārīr (cf. *Grīph*, ii, 254).

**Bibliography:** In addition to the references in the text, see Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. hindoue et hindoustani*, i, 43, ii, 2; Perssch. *Die Handstreiifen-Viertelzeitschr. des Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, iv, index, 1157; Blumhardt, *Cat. of the*... *Hindustan ms*. in the *British Museum*, no. 74. (H. Massf.)

**RANGOON,** a city of the Pegu district of Burma and the country's capital, situated on the Rangoon (Hlaing) River (lat. 16° 47' N., 96° 10' E.). It was developed as a port in the mid-18th century by the founder of the last dynasty of Burmese kings, with a British trading factory soon established there and with British managers. In 1832, during the Second Anglo-Burmese War, it passed definitively under British control, and Rangoon became a more modern city, and also, through immigration, largely Indian in composition. These last included Muslims, who in 1931 comprised 17% of the population of Burma. The Indian and European population was reduced by the Japanese occupation of 1941-5, and after Burma's opting for independence in 1948, the Indian and Muslim element in Rangoon was reduced still further by the policies of governments hostile to non-Burmese in general and Muslims in particular (for these in Burma, see Arakan, Burma, Mergui). Today, 90% of Rangoon's 750,000 inhabitants are Burmese Muslims only a small part of the remaining 10%.


**AL-RANIRI** (see Indonesia, vi).

**RANK** (v.), literally "colour, dye", a term used in mediaeval Arabic sources primarily to designate the emblems and insignia of amirs and sultans in Egypt, Syria, and al-Djazira. Mamlūk historians occasionally also use it as a generic term for emblem in general, such as the ranks of merchants' guilds (al-Kalkaghāndi, *Subh al-aʿṣā*, Cairo 1913-18, v, 207), those of Bedouin chieftains in Tunisia (Ibn Shaddād, *Taʾrīkh al-Maḥāl al-Zāhir*, Wiesbaden 1983, 196), and, oddly, the rank of Kassim, a Damascene rebel under the Fātimids who lived even before the word was in common use (Ibn al-Dawdārī, *Durr al-mudhiyya fi akhābīr al-duwal al-Fātimiyya*, Cairo 1961, 195, 210).

There is no indication otherwise that the term, or the practice of having ranks, was known beyond the historic or geographic limits of the Ayyūbīd and Mamlūk states.

From the Ayyūbīd period there are a number of references to ranks (Ibn Taghbūbīdīrī, *Manḥal al-safī*, Cairo 1888, v, 296; Ibn al-Dawdārī, *Durr al-dhakīyya fi akhābīr al-duwal al-turkiyya*, Cairo 1971, 56-7) but no corresponding, conclusive material to show how they looked. The fleur-de-lis associated with Nūr al-Dīn Māhmūd b. Zangi (541-70/1146-74) (qvn.), and the truncated bicephalic eagle in the Cairo Citadel attributed to Saḥāb al-Dīn (Salādīn) are no longer acceptable (L. Mayer, *Sculptures and Paintings*, London 1938, 152, 195; M. Meinecke, *Zur mamlukischen Heraldik*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, xxvii (1972) 215-16). The earliest firmly established rank is the feline motif of al-Zāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77) (qvn.), many more or less identical examples of which are attested on buildings, coins, and other objects. From Baybars' time until the end of the Mamlūk period, ranks were adopted by sultans, amirs, and perhaps other high officials. They were carved on buildings, painted on glass, wood, and pottery, engraved on metalwork, struck on coins, and embroidered or dyed on textiles. But the profusion of material evidence is not matched by contemporary textual testimony. Mayer counted less than fifty references in the sources he knew. Today, we have perhaps seventy. This paucity of historical information led early studies to consider ranks in terms of European heraldry, but most authors today caution against doing this and try to study ranks on their own terms.

Mamlūk ranks come in different shapes and forms. They may be monochromatic or multicolored, free-standing or enclosed in round, pointed, or polygonal shields. The first appeared as single-element emblems. Horizontal strips, called shatfa in the sources, were introduced to the shields in the early
14th century, and, in the 15th and early 16th centuries, ranks developed into composite shields with three fields, each containing one sign or more. Some rare ranks may be termed representative, such as the felines of Baybars, which may have implied power and courage or illustrated his own name bay bars, meaning “chief panther” in Kipchak Turkish. Others are denotive, displaying the attribute of the office held by the amir, such as Kawṣūn (d. 743/1342) who started his career as a cupbearer (sāḥi) and who carried a rank showing a cup. Still others combine more than one sign of office, or a sign and an image, such as the rank of Ṭīkūṭīmar (d. 746/1345) which includes an eagle over a cup.

Initially, the sultan assigned ranks to his newly appointed amirs as symbols of their positions at court (Ibn Taghribirdi, *op. cit.*, vii, 4). Thus, for instance, the rank of a dawādār (secretary) [q. v.] was a pen box or an inkwell, and that of a djamādar (wardrobe master) [q. v.] was a lozenge. This practice may have been inherited from earlier Islamic rulers, notably the Khūrāzmn-Shāh Muhammad b. Tekhsh (596-617/1200-20), who is said to have honoured his close pages with emblems (designated by the Arabic term ʿalāma) representing their offices (Abu ʿl-Fiḍāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtasar fi akhbār al-bashar*, Beirut 1979, vi, 49). Amirs usually held their ranks for their entire careers, whether or not they subsequently held other offices. Midway in the Mamluk period, ranks appear to have become the choice of the individual amir, irrespective

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**Fig. 1.** Examples of single-element ranks: a) *rank* of dawādār (secretary); b) *rank* of sāḥi (cupbearer); c) *rank* of jamādar (wardrobe master). (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).

**Fig. 2.** Examples of composite ranks. (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).

**Fig. 3.** Line drawing of the feline *rank* of Baybars (658-76/1260-77) as it appears on a recently-uncovered tower at the Citadel of Cairo. (Drawing Nasser Rabbat 1993).
of the insignia associated with his original office (al-
Kalkashandl, Subh, iv, 61-2). Later still, ranks became
composed of each containing a number of elements
from a fixed repertoire disposed in three strips. Mayer
noted that the composite ranks of a group of amirs who were
mamluks of a given Sultan exhibited the same ar-
range ment (Saracenic heraldy, 29-33). They appear
to have differed chiefly in the attribute of the position
held by each individual which was inserted some-
where in his own rank. This may mean that ranks had
by then become an indication of an affiliation with a
royal household in addition to being a sign of office
(see Meinecke, 258-78). Furthermore, additions to
ranks appear to have been made as the amir ascended
up the Mamluk hierarchy. Yashbak Min Mahdl al-
dawādar added a lion (sabū) to his rank in 885/1480
before he led a campaign to Anatolia (Ibn Iyās,
Baddī' al-zuhār fi wa'dā'ī al-zuhār, Cairo 1982-84, ii,
127).

Ranks of Sultans were different from those of amirs. Round,
tripartite shields with the name, title, and a short
motto inscribed on one, two, or all three strips
became the norm in sultans' ranks from the beginning of
the 14th century. But they were not exclusively
used, especially in the Burdji period (784-922/1382-
1517) when most Sultans were former amirs with
denotative ranks, which they sometimes displayed
alongside their inscribed shields.

Very little is known about the significance of ranks
in Mamluk society. Like European nobility, Sultans
and amirs seem to have used their ranks both as
decipherable codes and as signatures displayed on
their buildings and objects or on those they wanted
to claim as their own (Ibn Taghribirdi, op. cit., xiii,
199). But, unlike coats-of-arms in Europe, ranks do
not seem to have carried any heraldic potential. In
rare instances, sons of amirs who became amirs them-
selves inherited their fathers' ranks. But even then,
these individuals did not acquire the offices or
privileges that had originally pertained to their
fathers' ranks, perhaps because of the peculiar struc-
ture of the Mamluk ruling class whose members passed
their power to recruited mamluks rather than to their
own sons. This apparent absence of a hereditary mechanism points to the major
reason why the institution of rank died out after the fall
of the Mamluks and the coming of the Ottomans in
1292.

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emblems, in Content and context of visual arts in the

(RASER RABBAT)

RAPAK (Javanese: rāp) is a technical term used
among the Javanese, in this case only, for
charge made by the wife, at the court for matters of
religion, that the husband has not fulfilled the
obligations which he took upon himself at the tašīk of talāk
or divorce (see TALAK). These obligations are of a
varied and changing nature. Among the conditions
the following always occurs: "If the man has been ab-
sent a certain time on land or (longer) over seas" i.e. without
having transmitted nafaqa, i.e. payment for
maintenance to his wife. A clause that is never omit-
ted is the following: "If the wife is not content with this. " She is therefore at liberty to be quite satisfied
with the husband's non-fulfilment of his vows, with-
out taking steps for a divorce. The work of the court
is only to ascertain the fulfilment of its conditions and
the arising of talāk. As always, the talāk is still entered
in a register. It is evident that this procedure
guarantees the integrity of the law otherwise en-
dangered.

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RA'S (a. pl. ru'ā'ī/ar'ūs), "head", in geography
the common word for "cape" (cf. Latin caput — cape),
but it is also used with the meaning of "headland,
promontory". The Musandam Peninsula in
'Uman is sometimes called Ra's Musandam, while
the small territory occupying the northern tip of the
Peninsula is called Ru'ūs al-Dībāl "the Mountain tops". Ra's Tanūta (q.v.), the terminal of pipelines
in eastern Saudi Arabia, derives its name from the tip
of a small peninsula, at which the modern port is
situated. In the name Ra's al-Khayma (q.v.) "Tent
Point", the word ra's is not geographical, but refers
to a large tent formerly used as a navigational device.

(Ed.)

RA'S AL-'ĀM (A.) means New Year's Day, lit.
"beginning of the year". i.e. 1 al-Muharram. For the
difference with Ra's al-sana, see Lane, Lexicon, s. v.
'Ām. Sunni Muslim law does not prescribe any par-
cular celebration for the first month of the year,
except that a voluntary fast-day is recommended on the
tenth [see Ẓa'īr]. However, the first ten days of
the month are considered as particularly blessed
(Lane, Manners and customs, chs. ix, xxiv). The Shī'a
know several celebrations during this month [see
MUHAMMAD]. Also, in most Islamic countries, New
Year's Day has long been indicated by the Persian
word Nawruz (q.v.), Arabic variant Nayrūz.

(Ed.)

RA'S AL-'AYN or 'AYN WARDA, Syriac Rēş
Aynā (Ayn Warda, "a town of classical and mediaeval Islamic
times of al-Djazira, deriving its name ("spring-
head") from the famed springs of the locality (see below). It is situated on the Greater Khābūr (q.v.) af-
fluent of the Euphrates in lat. 36° 30' N. and long.
40° 02' E. It was a small town, about 90 m. above
the modern border between Syria and Turkey, with
the Syrian settlement still known as Ra's al-'Ayn
and the Turkish one as Resulayn or Ceylanpınar.

In classical times it was known as Resaina-
Theodosiopolis, receiving from the Emperor
Theodosius I (379-95) urban rights and its latter
name, one also borne by the Armenian town of Karin
(Erzurum [q.v.]), probably from the time of
Theodosius II (408-50), so that it is sometimes dif-
ficult in the sources to distinguish which one is meant.
The Persian general Adharmahan twice (in 578 and
580) destroyed Rēş 'Aynā, according to Michael
Syrus, and in the reign of the Emperor Phocas the
Persians captured the rebuilt town.

In 19tod 464/1070 b. Ghann, after the subjection
of Orthosien, marched against the province of
Mesopotamia and by 'Umar's orders sent 'Umayr b.
Sa'd against the town of 'Ayn Warda or Ra's al-'Ayn,
which was besieged and stormed by him (al-
Balāḏūrī, ed. de Goeje, 175-7). When a portion of
the people of the town abandoned it, the Muslims
consecrated their property. Among the rebels who rose
against the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in ca. 700 was
'Umayr b. Hubāb of Ra's al-'Ayn (Abu ʿl-Faraj, Kitaţ al-
Aghāţ, Bābīl., xx, 127; Ibn al-Aqīl, iv, 254-
5; Mich. Syr., ii, 469; Barhebruen, Chn. syr., ed.
Bedjan, 1111. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn, Hubayb
Feline rank from the entrance of Khan al-Wazîr, Aleppo (1682).

Composite rank on the metal sheathing of the entrance to the Khan of Khâyîr Bek, Aleppo (1516).
took the town in 1125 Sel. (A.D. 942) (Mich. Syr., iii, 217; Barhebraeus, op. cit., 137). The Jacobite patriarch Yohannân III died on 3 December 673 in Ra's 'Aynî (Mich. Syr., iii, 116; Barhebraeus, Chron. eccles., ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, Lyons 1872, col. 387). After their campaign against Dârâ and Naṣîbîn (A.D. 942) the Byzantines in 943 took Ra's al-'Ayun, plundered it and carried off many prisoners (Ibn al-'Athîr, viii, 312). A man from Ra's al-'Ayun, Ahmad b. Husayn Asfar Taghîlî, called al-Asfar, disguised as a derishî, in 905/1005-7 made a raid into Countenance territory as far as Shabakhtan, Mabresh near Anṭâkiya but was driven back by the Patriarch Bîghâs. The governor Nicephoros Uranus in the following year undertook a punitive expedition to the region of Sarûdî, defeated the Banû Numayr and Kilâb and had al-Asfar thrown into prison by Lu'lu', lord of Aleppo in 979/1007 (Yahyâ b. Sa'id al-Anṭâki, in Patro. Orient., xiii, 1932, 466-7; Georg. Kedren.-Sklitz., Bonn, ii, 454, 8; Barhebraeus, Chron. syr., ed. Bedjan, 229). In a. 523/1129 the Franks were lords of the whole of Syria and Dîyâr Muḍâr and threatened Amîd, Naṣîbîn and Ra's al-'Ayun. The latter was taken by Joscelin and a large part of the Arab population killed and the remaining taken prisoners (Mich. Syr., iii, 228; Barhebr., Chron. syr., ed. Bedjan, 289). But the Franks cannot have held the town for very long.

Sayf al-Dîn of Mawṣîl and ìzz al-Dîn Mas'ûd of Aleppo in 570/1174-5 attacked Salâh al-Dîn and besieged Ra's al-'Ayun, but were soon afterwards defeated by him at Kurûn âHamî. In 581/1185-6 Salâh al-Dîn crossed the Euphrates and marched via al-Ruhâ second by Ra's al-'Ayn and Dârâ to Balad on the Byzantine territory as far as Shayzar and Mahruya (ROL, v, 46). Al-Malik al-Muwazzar, al-Rakka and the district belonging to it (Camal al-Dîn, in Futûh Dîydr Rabîa wa-Dîydr Bakr [1911], ii, pi. 18), the Nestorian church in the town and several gates (in the Chron. ecd., i, pi. 18), the springs at Ra's al-'Ayn al-Husain, al-'Ayn al-Zarkî, according to Taylor (JRAS, xxxvii, 349 n.; 'Ayn al-Baydâ and 'Ayn al-Hasan are the most important; he also gives the names of 10 springs in the north-east and 5 in the south of the new town. The Arab geographers talk of 360, i.e. a very large number of springs, the abundance of water from which makes the vicinity of the town a blooming garden. One of these springs, 'Ayn al-Zâhirî, is said to be bottomless. According to Ibn Hawkal, Ra's al-'Ayn was a fortified town with many gardens and mills; at the principal spring there was according to al-Muṣaddasî a lake as clear as crystal. Ibn Rusta (106) mentions Ra's al-'Ayn, Karkîsâtî, and al-Râkka as districts of al-Dîzârî. Ibn Dîubayr in 580/1184-5 saw two Friday mosques, schools and baths in Ra's al-'Ayn on the bank of the Khâbûr. According to Hamd Allâh Mawârî (6th/14th century), the walls had a circumference of 5,000 paces; among the rich products of Ra's al-'Ayn he mentions cotton, corn and grapes. The historical romance Futûh Dîydr Râbi'a us-Dîydr Bakr (10th/16th century?) wrongly ascribed to al-Wâkidî, which contains much valuable historical geographical information, mentions at Ra's al-'Ayn a plain of Muṭḥâkab and a Mardj al-'Tir (var. al-Dary); it also mentions a Nestorian church in the town and several gates (in the translation by B. Nidhunter and A.D. Mordmâstern in Schriften der Akad. von Hamburg, i, part iii, Hamburg 1847, 76, 87. The "gate of Istacherum" in the east and the "Mukhtâsir or Chabur" are not precisely located.

At Ra's al-'Ayn were the Jacobite monasteries of Beth Tirai and Speculos (speculæ; Ps.-Zachariâs Rhet., viii, 4, tr. Althens-Kruger, 157, 2; so also for Asphulos in Mich. Syr., iii, 50, 65, cf. i, 513, n. 6; Saphylus in Mich. Syr., iii, 121, 449, 462;
Barhebraeus, Chron. ecl., ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 281-2; Sophilis, ibid., 397-8, probably so to be read throughout.

The plain of the southwest of Ra’s al-‘Ayn on the right bank of the Khabur is the great mound of ruins, Tell Halaf, where M. von Oppenheim excavated the ancient palace of Kapara (see Bibli.).

Bibliography: The Arab geographers and historians and Syriac chroniclers already mentioned; also Khārāzmi, Kūtib Sarūt al-ard, ed. von Mīkāl, in Barhebraus, Hist. pers., iv, Leipzig 1894, 205-206; Sophilis, ibid., 397-8, probably so to be read ibid., 397-8, probably so to be read.

There are numerous tombs associated with the 3rd-1st millennium in northern Ra’s al-Khayma, on the Daya plain and around Shimāl. There are also early sites further south at al-Khaṭūj and along the course of Wādī al-Kawr in southern Ra’s al-Khayma. Ceramic finds suggest activity in the 3rd century A.D. on Dżazīrat al-Hulayla on the coast, north of al-Rams.

There is also a large enclave of Ra’s al-Khayma today. The Persians were finally expelled in 1157/1744. During the latter part of the 12th/18th century, Ra’s al-Khayma passed under the Al Kāsimī dynasty, of the Hawalā Arab tribe, which has elements on both the Arab and the Persian coasts. The Al Kāsimī have continued to rule Ra’s al-Khayma until the present time. In the framework of

The Amirate is ruled by the Al Kasimī, members of the Al Kāsimī dynasty, of the Hawalā Arab tribe, which has elements on both the Arab and the Persian coasts. The Al Kāsimī have continued to rule Ra’s al-Khayma until the present time. In the framework of
the traditional 'Umanî factions, they espouse the Ghîfîr cause as close to the Hînawî.

The Al Kasîmi adopted Wahhâbîmism under the influence of the Al Suûdî, with whom they still maintain good relations. As a sea-power, they engaged in piracy in the Gulf in the latter years of the 18th and the early 19th century, challenging East India Company shipping and the British Navy. In 1224/1809 British and Indian forces from Bombay attacked Ra's al-Khayma to suppress the 'Joasmee' (Kawasimi) forces. These operations were repeated in 1234/1819, which led to the reduction of the Al Kasîmi and the demolition of their fortresses, the destruction of their fleet and a brief British occupation of Ra's al-Khayma. A General Treaty between the British and the Al Kasîmi was signed at al-Falâya near to Ra's al-Khayma town in 1235/1820, aimed at suppressing piracy in the Gulf: it was to this treaty that other Al Kasîmi along the coast acceded, creating the foundation of the Trucial 'Umanî states. The Treaty was finally reinforced by The Perpetual Maritime Truce of 1853 which set the framework of relations between the various shaykhoths and the British until 1971. Ra's al-Khayma underwent a period of decline with its power sharply reduced by the British attack.

The main political concern of the Al Kasîmi during the following years was to prevent incursions on their territories by the Band Yas of Abu Zabi.

The Al Kasîmi ruled their territories from either Sharjah or Ra's al-Khayma, but after 1921 the family territories were conclusively divided and Ra's al-Khayma was recognised by the British as an independent Amirate. The British recognition of the Amirate of Fuqîyârî in 1952 marked the formal ending of al-Kasîmi control of this part of the east coast of the 'Umanî Peninsula: today the border of Ra's al-Khayma with Fuqîyârî lies at the western edge of the Dijâbîl Hâdad.(3)

With the ending of the British treaty relationship with the Trucial States in 1971, Ra's al-Khayma acceded to the newly created United Arab Emirates on 10th February, 1972. The Ruler of Ra's al-Khayma since 1948, Shâykh Sakr b. Muhammad al-Kasîmi, is a member of the Supreme Council of the U.A.E. Today, Ra's al-Khayma, lacking oil in any quantity, is one of the poorer members of the U.A.E. Its major exports are stone from the Dijâbîl Hâdad and cement, and its manpower contributes to the federal administration and the armed forces.


The term 'Musandam' is taken by D.G. Hogarth (The penetration of Arabia, repr. Beirut 1966, 230) to mean 'Anvil Head'. The name is not known to the Classical or Arabic geographers and it seems to enter the literature in the Portuguese period, and, thereafter, the northern tip of the Oman Peninsula regularly appears as Ra's Musandam. Ra's Musandam and Ruûs al-Dijâbîl reflect marked geological activity in the late Quaternary. The highlands are formed of limestones and dolomites, while sandy gravels form slope deposits and alluvial fans, a characteristic of the entire Oman Peninsula.

The earliest reference to Ra's Musandam dates to 326 B.C., when Alexander's admiral Nearchos saw it from the Persian side of the straits of Hormuz and was told it was called Makteta. It is further mentioned by Eratosthenes and Strabo, and possibly by Pliny, whilst the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea refers to the mighty range of the Asabôn, Miles (op. cit., 10) suggested that Asabô is preserved in the place-name Khasab, a village on the northern end of the promontory.

Al-Mukaddasî (70-1) refers to a sequence of places between Maskât and Dîjlûrî, but makes no reference to the villages of Ra's Musandam that we know today. Al-Idrîsî refers to al-Khâyî, al-Dijâbîl or Habal lying between Maskât and Dîjlûrî (Opus geographicum, ed. A. Bombaci et alii, Naples-Rome 1972, ii, 162, tr. J. Jaubert, i, 109). The Dijâbîl river, mentioned by Ibn Fadlan, is an appropriate reference to Dijâbîl Hâdad, Ruûs al-Dijâbîl and Ra's Musandam.

Evidence of early settlement at Ra's Musandam is slender, although the accumulation of gravels in the alluvial fans may mask early archaeological sites. The earliest evidence of settlement in the region is indicated by a site on Dîjârât al-Ghânam attributed to the Sâsânîd period (B. de Cardi, A Sasanian outpost in northern Oman, in Antiquity, xvi, no. 184 [1973], 305-
politically, Ra's Musandam and Ru`us al-Djibal are under the jurisdiction of the Sultanate of `Umman (Oman), although the southern areas of Ru`us al-Djibal lie in the Amirate of Ra`s al-Khayma, while Dibba is under the joint jurisdiction of `Ummal, al-Fujayra (Fujairah) and al-Sharika (Sharjah).


(G.R.D. Kino)

**R`as (al)-Tannura**, a cape in eastern Saudi Arabia on the Persian Gulf, in lat. 26° 40’ N, 50° 13’ E, north of al-Katif [*q.v.*]. The word *tannur* occurs in Kur`an, xi, 42, and XXIII, 27, in the story of Noah, meaning “oven”, while it is also implied in the phrase from which water pours forth (*Lane*, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*). In July 1933 King `Abd al-`Aziz gave the concession for drilling oil in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia to the Standard Oil Company of California. The first concession of Saudi oil was sent away from Ra`s Tannura in 1939. Its refinery is connected by a pipeline with the Dammam field, about 60 km/32 miles away.


**Rasha`ida**, habitat al-Rasha`ida, an Arab and Muslim nomadic people of the eastern Sudan and Eritrea, which emigrated from the coast of Arabia in the middle of the 19th century. Inhabited an area on the sabil between Sawakin (Suakin) and Doka, they were forced by the Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] to move southwards. Some of them then returned to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, so that today they can be found dispersed along the coast from Port Sudan to Massawa (*see Masa`wa*) and on the left bank of the Atbara beyond Kassala. In the Sudan, their number was estimated in 1922 at one to two thousand and in 1986 at 40,000. They are less numerous in Eritrea.

They herd goats in the more confined areas and, more often, camels in the wider expanses. The most northerly group nomadises, for example, along the axis of the Atbara over 500 km/310 miles. In the wet season, from the end of June to October, the herds (from 50 to 70 head) are between Kassal and Goz Regeb. In the dry season, they go down towards Doka and the Dibbi in search of water to graze on the fields of sorghum which have just been watered.

The Rasha`ida have other resources. The camel reapers of the fringes are carriers and have benefited from the Eritrean war up to 1991. Certain of them sometimes engage in agriculture. One group has even tried to live by fishing on two of the Dahlik [*q.v.*] islands.

They do not ally either with the Cushitic peoples of whom they are neighbours (Bichari, Hadendowa, 10; *cadem*, *Archaeological survey in Northern Oman*, 1972, in *EW*, xxv [1975], 24-6). It included foundations of rectangular buildings along the foreshore to which a door or Shqdp II had occupied parts of eastern Arabia has been suggested (early 4th century A.D.), based on ceramic evidence. Evidence of ainrid occupation is limited elsewhere in this area and most ceramics recovered from the Musandam settlements indicate a 14th to 15th century A.D. date range.

Information increases about Ra`s Musandam with the coming of the Portuguese. A Portuguese fleet is stated to have passed through the straits of Hurmuz in 1571: Sibi is indicated in Dourado’s map of 1575. Ruy Freyre de Andrade visited Kumzum and Khasab in 1620 during the last period of Portuguese dominion. Finding a fort at Khasab, de Andrade reinforced and garrisoned it (*C.R. Boxer* (ed.), *Commentaries on Ruy Freyre de Andrade*, London 1930, 189; *Miles*, 446; *De Cardi, Archaeological survey in Northern Oman*, 1972, 28). An inscription in the fort also records restoration in 1649 by the Portuguese. There are other Portuguese forts at Lima, at Dzairat al-Ghanam to graze. By contrast, Khasab was 13,750 in 1908 (*‘Oman*, in *C.P. Harris, Standard Oil Company of California. The first concession of Saudi oil was sent away from Ra`s Tannura in 1939. Its refinery is connected by a pipeline with the Dammam field, about 60 km/32 miles away.


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They do not ally either with the Cushitic peoples of whom they are neighbours (Bichari, Hadendowa,
etc.) nor with other Arabs, and have preserved their own dialect and traditions. They live in small family groups (dār) of two to eight tents, grouped together in the dry season in an encampment (jāra) of 100 to 200 persons who recognise the authority of an 'umda. The cohesion of the community as a whole is not kept together by any central authority able to represent them vis-à-vis the political authorities. The men wear a long shirt over trousers with wide legs, have on their heads a voluminous turban and never move anywhere without a long whip. The womenfolk wear long black robes and a veil that covers material and leather decorated with embroidery in which two square holes are made for the eyes. Among the young girls, the veil, decorated with cowrie shells, hides only the nose and mouth.


**RASHID, ROSETTA, a town in Egypt, situated in lat. 31° 24' N., long. 30° 24' E., on the western bank of the River Nile (nizām).*

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**RASHID, AL, an Arabian tribal dynasty belonging to the ‘Abda clan (‘ashira) of the Shammar tribes and ruling over parts of northern and central Arabia from 1251/1835 until 1340/1921.**

The family of Al Rashid is closely linked with that of Al Su‘ūd [see su‘ūd, A], at first as their allies and supporters, later as their rivals for domination over central Arabia. The founder of the Rashid dynasty, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rashid, is usually presented as a close friend and supporter of the Su‘ūd amīr Faysal b. Su‘ūd and, on a religious and military level, enthusiastic to promote the Wahhābi cause. He managed to establish himself as ruler in Ḥayl in 1251/1835 after a power struggle with cousins from the rival family of Ibn ‘Ali, but to what extent he owed his position to the Su‘ūdīs or to his personal abilities and tribal backing is a subject of dispute. He was not for his largely successful efforts to enforce security, and despite resistance from some quarters of the Su‘ūdī tribe and Wahhābi stance. He was succeeded on his death in 1264/1847 by his eldest son Ṭalāl.

Ṭalāl’s rule from 1264-84/1847-67 saw the achievement of a high point in commercial prosperity and stability due to his encouragement of trade. More religiously tolerant than his father, he accepted the settlement of Shī‘ī merchants from ‘Iṣrā, generally hated by the Wahhābis. His apparently accidental death from a gunshot wound led to a brief period of
interminable struggle, characteristic of the Rashīdīds and a major cause of their downfall, before Muhammad, a younger brother of Ta'ilāl, came to power following his massacre of all Ta'ilāl's sons.

Despite its bloody beginnings, the long reign of Muhammad b. Rashīd (1289-1315/1872-97) witnessed the expansion of Rashīdī power over al-Ka'imīs [q.v.] and the Wahhābi heartlands of southern Nabd, including the Su'ūdī capital, al-Riyād [q.v.]. After a long contest with Al Su'ūdī he defeated them decisively at the battle of al-Mulayda in 1309/1891, expelling them from Nabd, after which they sought refuge in al-Kuwayt, among them the young 'Abd al-'Azīz [q.v.], future founder of the modern kingdom of Su'ūdī (Saudi) Arabia. The amīr Muhammad was noted for his military skills and the energy with which he sought to control recalcitrant tribes. European visitors to Hāyil during his reign included C.M. Doughty, the poet Wilfred Scawen Blunt and his wife, Lady Ann.

Following the death of their last great amīr, Al Raqsīd sank into their final decline, faced with the rising new power of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Su'ūd as well as with the Ottoman and British, especially during World War I and its aftermath. Muhammad's immediate successor, his nephew 'Abd al-'Azīz, was killed in battle with the Su'ūdīs, and the Rashīdīds then fell prey to the ruindīs, notably his nephew Dawūd b. Mahmūd, and the šaykh Zangi to Mawsīl (al-Bundarl, 180; Ibn al-Azrak, 76). His caliphate had lasted about eleven months (Ibn al-Azrak, 78). Zangi's support for the exiled Al Raqsīd proved short-lived. The caliph soon felt too insecure to remain in Mawsīl and he moved to the western Šaljuks, where his power was recognized by the exiled Al Raqsīd's uncle, Al-Raqsīd's uncle, Al-Mustarshīd [q.v.], who now, after his clashes with Al-Mustarshīd, was proclaimed the new caliph. After the death of the exiled Al Raqsīd, his caliphate had been confirmed by the Šaljuks, who now, after his clashes with Al-Mustarshīd, had been pronounced in Dāwil's name on 14 Safār 530/23 November 1135 (Ibn al-Djawīzī, x, 55; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23). Al Raqsīd hastened to besiege Baghdad and the intimated šaykhs soon dispersed in disarray. After an initial display of bravado, Al Raqsīd fled in panic with Zangi to Mawsīl (al-Bundārī, 180; Ibn al-Arzak, 76-7). He was proclaimed by his father, he had a ruddy complexion and dark blue eyes. (ELIZABETH M. SIRRIYEH)

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Bibliography:

2. The sources record in some detail the story of the disappearance of the Rashīdīs, and the ruindīs' attempts to restore them (Ibn al-Djawīzī, x, 55), Šaljuk complicity seems likely, since Masūd could clearly no longer tolerate the way that the Saldjuk sultan was treated by the Rashīdīs. What is indisputable, however, is that two successive 'Abbāsid caliphs, father and son, who had ventured forth from Baghdad and defied the Saldjuk sultan, had now been eliminated.

Al Raqsīd was buried in the Friday mosque of Shahrīshīrī in a turba set aside exclusively for him (al-Bundārī, 181; Sibt Ibn al-Djawīzī, 168). His caliphate has lasted about eleven months (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27). Little is known of Al Raqsīd's personality, although his recorded conduct suggests that he was ambitious, foolish and easily embroiled in intrigue. It was his misfortune to clash with Masūd, a ruthless warrior sultan who in difficult times contrived to stay in power for twenty years. Al Raqsīd's sexual precocity was perhaps his undoing, for he was reputed to have had intercourse with one of Al-Mustarshīd's concubines and he had been proved by his own daughter. Like his father, he had a ruddy complexion and dark blue eyes and was of medium stature (Ibn al-Imrānī, 224).

al-RASHID — AL-RASHID


(CAROLLE HILLENBRAND)

AL-RASHID (Mawlāy) b. AL-SALJIRI b. 'AlI b. MUHAMMAD b. 'AlI, 'Alid sultan of Morocco and the real founder of the dynasty which still rules the Sharifian empire. He was born in 1040/1630-1 in Tafi лишt (q.v.) in the south-west of Morocco, where his ancestors, the Ḥasanī Shurafā' (Shorfa' (q.v.)) of Siddīmlāsā (q.v.), had founded a flourishing zāwiyya (q.v.) and gradually acquired a fairly considerable political influence, which increased with the decline of the 3Sa'dīan (q.v.) dynasty. Morocco being at this time plunged into anarchy, the Shorfa' (q.v.) soon collapsed. The years that followed were used by Mawlāy al-Rashid to extend his possessions towards west and south. He first made an expedition against the Ghurb, out of which he drove the chief al-Khadir Ghayla'n, and seized al-3aṣṭ al-Kabīr (q.v.) [Alcazarquivir]; he also took Meknes [see MIKNAS] and Tetuan [see TITAN] as well as Taza, the inhabitants of which had rebelled. In 1079/1668, he took and destroyed the zāwiyya of al-Diālī (q.v. in Suppl.) in central Morocco; he had to content, after a very brief occupation of Taza and Fas in 1060/1650, with effective sovereignty over eastern Morocco only. On the death of Mawlāy al-Sharīf in 1069/1659, his son, Mawlāy al-Rashid, not trusting his brother, Mawlāy Muhammad, left the ancestral zāwiyya for Lebrib, where in a step-like country to the north of the cordon of oases he very soon seized Taza without difficulty, and took Tarudant (q.v.) as well as Taza, the inhabitants of which had rebelled. In 1079/1668, he took and destroyed the zāwiyya of al-Diālī (q.v.) after having routed its chief Muhammad al-Halidi at Baṅ al-Rumān. The next year, Mawlāy al-Rashid seized Marrākūš and put to death the local chief 3Abd al-Karim al-Shabbanī, surnamed Karrūm al-Halidi. In 1081/1670, he undertook an expedition into the Sūs (q.v.), where agitators still disputed his authority. He took Tūridān (q.v.) and the fortress of Illīg and returned to Fas, now lord of all Morocco. At this time, says the chronicler al-Ifrānī, "all the Maghrib, from Tlemcen to the Wādī Nūl on the borders of the Sahāra, was under the authority of Mawlāy al-Rashid".

The next year the sultan went from Fas to Marrākūš, where one of his nephews was endeavouring to set up as a pretender to the throne. During his sojourn in the southern capital, Mawlāy al-Rashid, not yet 42, died as the result of an accident on 11 Dhu 'l-Hīdāja 1082/9 April 1672; the horse he was riding having reared, he fractured his skull against a branch of an orange tree. He was buried at Marrākūš, but later his body was brought to Fas, where he was interred in the chapel of the saint 'Alī Ibn Ḥirizām (vulg. Sūdi Ḥrāzem). His brother, Mawlāy Ismā'īl (q.v.), who succeeded him, was proclaimed sultan on the 15 Dhu 'l-Hīdāja following.

The brief political career of Mawlāy al-Rashid was, as has been seen, particularly active and fruitful. The Muslim historians of Morocco never tire of praising this ruler, whose memory is still particularly bright, especially in Fas. It was he who built in the town the
“Madrasa of the Ropemakers” (Madrasat al-Sharratin), the bridge of al-Raṣīf, the kasaba of the Cherarda (Casbah of the Cordera) and 2½ miles to the east of Fās, a bridge of nine arches over the Wādi Sabūl (Sebou).


**RASHID, MEHMEDE** (d. 1148/1735), Ottoman historian and poet. He was born in Istanbul, the son of kādi Muṣṭafā Efendi from Malayta. From 1116/1704 he held a regular series of posts as a müdderris culminating in appointment to the Şüleymaniye in 1130/1718, the latter held concurrently with the post of Hārmeyn mu‘ālet, inspector of the waqa‘ of Mecca and Medina. He then served as kādi of Aleppo 1135-17/1723-4. His career thereafter was irregular by comparison, the much influence by political considerations, in particular by his closeness to the Grand Vizier Nūṣrāh b. al-Ḥaḍīrī. He then served as kādi of Aleppo 1135-17/1723-4. Following the Patrona Khalil, al-Raṣīd’s last appointment, in 1147/1734, he spent three years in exile, first in Bursa, then on the island of Limnī. His final appointment, in 1147/1734, was as kādi ‘asker of Anatolia, in which post he died in 1148/1735.

Although enjoying a contemporary reputation also as a leading poet, Rashid is remembered principally as an historian, successor to Na‘īm al-Din Muhammad b. ‘Alī, the standard authority for the period (described in Ahmed Refik [Afinay], ‘Alimver ve sanatkâr, Istanbul 1924, 311-22). In 1141/1728-9, Rashid went as Ottoman ambassador to ‘Īsfahān, and shortly afterwards was appointed kādi of Istanbul (1141-3/1729-30). Following the Patrona Khalil, his rebellion of 1730, Rashid spent three years in exile, first in Bursa, then on the island of Limnī. His final appointment, in 1147/1734, was as kādi ‘asker of Anatolia, in which post he died in 1148/1735.

His real name was Nadhar (Nadhr) Muhammad, but therefrom, he studied in Layalpur and Lahore respectively, and received his M.A. in economics from the Punjab University. After completing his education he was employed from 1932 to 1934 as editor of Nakhkštān, a semi-literary journal published by the Punjab government’s Rural Welfare Department. During 1934 and 1935 he worked as assistant editor for the literary journal Shāhkār, which was published from Lahore. He was associated with All-India Radio from 1939 until 1943, after which he joined the Indian Army as Public Relations Officer in Inter-Services Directorate. His job in that capacity lasted until 1947, and involved his stay in outside countries such as Iran, ‘Irāq, Egypt and Ceylon (presently Sri Lanka). In 1947 he rejoined All-India Radio as Assistant Regional Director. Following the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, he transferred himself to Radio Pakistan, where he remained until 1951. In October 1952 he joined the United Nations as Information Officer, rising eventually to the position of Director, U.N. Information Centre. In that position he was posted in 1967 to Tehran, where he was stationed until his retirement in 1974. Thereupon, he took up permanent residence in England, and died in London on 9 October 1975 of a heart attack. In accordance with his own wish, his body was cremated instead of being buried as required under Muslim custom.

Rashid’s first volume of poetry appeared in 1941 under the title Māwārā (“Beyond”), which immediately established him as a non-traditional poet of considerable originality and boldness. His next collection was published in 1953, entitled ‘Irān men ahdābī (“A stranger in Iran”), and contained, in part, a group of poems arranged collectively under the same name. This work was followed in 1969 by Lā ‘ā‘īnā, the poems of which indicated a more complex symbolistic style. Rashīd’s last poetical collection was Gūmān kā mumkin (“The possibility of doubt”), which was published in 1977 after the poet’s death. Finally, a complete edition of his entire verse was published in 1988.

Apart from original works, Rashid also made a number of translations from foreign languages such as Alexander Kuprin’s Yama the pit (1939), William Saroyan’s Mama I love you (1956), and an anthology published under the title Qandil Fātir al-Hārî ("Modern
The dominant note of Rashid’s poems is personal, often interspersed with political subjects. Sexual themes are prominent in the poems which belong to his early and middle periods, but in his later works he shows an increasing disposition towards complex human and personal issues. An overly-Persianised idiom pervades his diction, and his expression is complicated and difficult. His poetic technique has given impetus to the widespread use of *zāzī* (the Urdu form of “free verse”), and he is regarded as one of the pioneers whose influence has been of paramount importance in giving a new direction to modern Urdu poetry.


(Munibur Rahman)

**RASHID AL-DĪN SINĀN**, the greatest of the mediaeval Nizārī Ismāʿīlī leaders in Syria, d. 557/1162 or 559/1164. Also referred to as Sinān Raḥḥāl al-Dīn by the Nizāris, his full name was Raḥḥāl b. Ṣanān b. Salmān (or Sulaymān) b. Mūhammad Abū ’l-Ḥasan al-Brāṣ. He was born into an Ismāʿīlī family during the 520s/1126-35, near Bāṣra, where he converted to Nizārī Ismāʿīlīsm in his youth. Subsequently, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān went to the central headquarters of the Nizārī da’wa at Alamūt [q.v.], in northern Persia, to further his Ismāʿīlī education. There, Sinān became a close companion, and possibly a schoolfellow, of the then leader of Alamūt’s heir apparent Ḥasan, the future Ḥasan II al-Amīr, who now became famous in the occidental sources as the “Old Man of the Mountain” [see William of Tyre, *Willelmis Tyrensis Archiepiscopus Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout 1986, ii, 953-4; L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters*, Vienna 1988, 78-82].

When Ḥasan II proclaimed the *kiyāma* within the Persian Nizārī community in 559/1164, it fell upon Sinān to inaugurate the new dispensation in Syria. A while later, Sinān did ceremonially announce the spiritual Resurrection of the Syrian Nizāris, and he taught his own version of the *kiyāma* doctrine, which evidently never acquired any deep roots in the community [see S. Guyard, *Fragmenta relatīa à la doctrin des Ismāʾīlīs*, Paris 1874, text 17-9, 66-9, tr. 99-101, 204-9; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Maṣāliḥ al-aḥrār fī manālik al-amārī, ed.* A. F. Sayyid, Cairo 1985, 77-8).

Sinān played a prominent part in the regional politics of his time, successfully resorting to diplomacy and other suitable policies in the interest of safeguarding the independence of the Syrian Nizārī community. To this end, he entered into an intricate and shifting web of alliances with the major neighbouring powers and rulers, especially the Crusaders, the Zangids and Saḥl al-Dīn.

When Sinān assumed the leadership of the Syrian Nizārīs, the ardently Sunnī Nūr al-Dīn [q.v.], who ruled over the Zangid dominions in Syria, was at the height of his power, posing a greater threat to Sinān than the Crusaders, who had been sporadically fighting the Nizāris for several decades over the possession of various strongholds. The Nizāris were also under pressure by the Hospitallers and Templars [see DAWĪYYA and IBSTARIYYA in Suppl.], who now became famous in the occidental sources as the Crusaders’ circles, regarding the strange practices of the sectarians (known to the mediaeval Europeans as the Assassins) and their awe-inspiring chief, Sinān, who now became famous in the occidental sources as the “Old Man of the Mountain”; or, “*le Vieux de la Montagne*” (see William of Tyre, *Willelmis Tyrensis Archiepiscopus Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout 1986, ii, 953-4; L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters*, Vienna 1988, 78-82).
But there is no evidence suggesting that Sinan was ever acknowledged as an 
iimā by the Syrian Nizāris, who were sometimes called by the outsiders as the 
Sinān after his name (Ibn Khallīkān, tr. de Slane, iii, 340). An outstanding organiser, strategist, and 
statesman, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān led the Syrian Nizārī to the peak of their power and laid solid foun-
dations for the continued existence of the Nizārī community and daʿwa
(ca. 645-718/oz. 1247-1318).

The composition of the History of the Mongols by 
Togān, iii, 340). An outstanding organiser, strategist, and 
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Nizārī to the peak of their power and laid solid foun-
dations for the continued existence of the Nizārī community and daʿwa

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the 
article): i. Sources: References to Rashīd al-
Dīn Sinān may be found in most of the general
Muslim histories and the regional chronicles of 
Syria dealing with his period, and in the occidental 
chronicles of the Third Crusade. However, the 
chief primary sources on Sinān’s life and career are: (i) 
Fāṣil min al-IFS al-glānī; or Manābk al-maṣālik 
Rāḥîd al-Dīn al, ed. and tr. S. Gherard in his Un grand 
maitre des Assassins au temps de Saladin, in JA, 7 série, 
ix (1877), 387-489; a new ed. of its Arabic text in 
M. Ghâlib, Sinān Rāḥîd al-Dīn al, Beirut 1967, 163-
214, which is a Syrian Ismāʿīlī hagiographical 
work attributed to the Nizârī dāʾī Abu Fīrâs Shîhâb al-
Dīn al-Maynâkî (flor., 10th/16th century); and (ii) 
Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm’s biography of Sinān in a 
still undiscovered volume of his Bouggāt al-talāb, as 
published in his Šarḥ al-tdhrīb, ed. B. Lewis (in 
Kamāl al-Dīn’s biography of Rāḥîd al-Dīn Sinān, 
in Arabic, xii (1966), 225-67; repr. in his Studies in 
Classical and Ottoman Islam, London 1976, no. X.

2. Studies: E. M. Quatremère, Notice historique 
on les Ismaïlîs, in Fundgruben des Orientis, iv (1814), 
353 ff.; C. Deffrémyre, Nouvelles recherches sur les 
Ismāʿīlīs ou Bahīnīs de Syrie, in JA, 5 série, v 
(1855), 5-32; W. Niwosz, Arch. Rāḥîd al-Dīn Sinān, 
in EP, M. G. S. Hodson, The Order of Assassins, 
The Hague 1955, 185-209; B. Lewis, The Ismāʿīlīs 
and the Assassins, in A History of the Crusades, ed. K. M. 
Setton, i, The first hundred years, ed. M. W. Baldwin, 
Madison 1969, 120-7; idem, The Assassins, London 
1967, 110-8; N. A. Mirza, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, in 
The great Ismāʿīlī heroes, Karachi 1973, 72-80; i. K. 
P. M. Sutula and I. Afgār, Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān, 
in Arabica, xiii (1966), 225-67; repr. in his Studies in 
Clasical and Ottoman Islam, London 1976, no. X.

F. Dastīr, The Ismāʿīlīs: their history and doctrines, Cambridge 1990, 
332, 396-403, 689-91; idem, The Assassin legends, 

RASHĪD AL-DĪN TABĪB, Persian statesman and 
the greatest historian of the ʿIlkhānī period 
ca. 645-718/e. 1247-1318.

Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl Allāh b. Imām al-Dawla, Abu 
Ikhāyṣ, was born in Hamadan into a Jewish family with a professional medical tradition: his father 
was an apothecary. He himself was originally trained as a 
physician (hence he remained known as Tabīb), and 
in that capacity he entered the service of the Mongol 
court during the reign of the ʿIlkhān Abaqa (r. 653-
80/1257-1265). He had converted from Judaism to 
Islam at around the age of 30. His Jewish religious 
background remained throughout Rashīd al-Dīn’s 
career a potential embarrassment, and the demonstra-
tion of his Islamic orthodoxy and respectability may 
well have been his principal motive for writing a 
number of somewhat derivative works on Islamic 
theology (see J. van Ess, Der Wiss und seine Gelehrten, 
Wiesbaden 1981, and the comments in A. Z. V. 
Togān, The composition of the History of the Mongols by 
Rashīd al-Dīn, in CAF, vii (1962), 60-72). It may 
be that this work, with which Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān 
who, according to Bar Hebraeus, was prominent in 
the household of the ʿIlkhān Ghiyāsh (r. 690-4/1291-
5) during the troubles caused by the introduction of 
paper currency, čhāo, on the Chinese model (J. A. 
Boyle, introduction to Rashīd al-Dīn, The successors 

Rashīd al-Dīn did not achieve high political office 
until 697/1298, during the reign of Ghazan, when 
after the fall of Sadr al-Dīn Zanjānī (to whom Rashīd 
al-Dīn had briefly acted as deputy) he was appointed 
associate waṣṣir to Sadr al-Dīn’s successor, Sād al-Dīn 
Sawādī. He remained at the summit of state affairs for 
the rest of his career, though always, like his colleague; 
he was never sole chief minister. He is usually 
credited with having been the principal architect of 
Ghazan’s great programme of administrative 
reforms. His position, though always, like that of all 
ʿIlkhānī ministers, precarious, was one of great 
power and influence, and he accumulated vast wealth, 
such that he was able to construct quarters in both 
the capitals, Tabriz and Sulṭānīyā. The waṣṣir-nāma for 
his quarter in Tabriz, the Rabʾ-ī Rashīdī, survives, in 
part in his own hand (facsimile ed. Tehran 1972, 
printed ed., Tehran 1977-8, both ed. I. Afgār and 
M. Mīnīvī). His interests extended beyond history 
and administration including, as well as theology, 
agriculture and related subjects, on which he left a 
treatise, the Alḥāṣb aṣṣāb (ed. M. Sutūda and I. Afgār, 
Tehran 1990). (A volume of letters attributed to him 
and known as the ʿAlāshīl al-Rashīdī, ed. M. Shāfiʿ, 
London 1945, or as Sawānīf al-akhāf-ī Rashīdī, ed. M. T. Dānīshpāghūrī, Tehran 1980-1, is now 
generally regarded as a spurious compilation, perhaps 
of the Timūrid period.)

Rashīd al-Dīn’s last colleague, during the reign of 
Oldūyūt (r. 703-16/1304-16), Tāḏ āl-Dīn Allāh, 
was also a bitter rival. Relations between them eventu-
ally became so bad that administrative responsibili-
ty had to be divided, with Rashīd al-Dīn taking 
the centre and south of the empire, and Tāḏ āl-Dīn the 
north-west, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. During the 
reign of Oldūyūt’s son and successor, Abū Saʿīd, 
Tāḏ āl-Dīn’s intrigues were ultimately successful in 
bringing about Rashīd al-Dīn’s overthrow. He was 
charged with having poisoned Oldūyūt, and together 
with his son Ibrahim was executed 718/1318. His 
property was confiscated and the Rabʾ-ī Rashīdī looted; but later in the reign, his son ʿAlīya ṣh al-Dīn 
followed his father in the office of waṣṣir.

Rashīd al-Dīn’s enduring fame rests more on his 
work as a historian than on his career as a prominent 
official. His Dāmī al-tawārīḵī is undoubtedly the most 
important single historical source for the Mongol Em-
pire as a whole, not merely of the realm of the ʿIlkhāns.

The work was commissioned by Ghazan, who seems 
to have feared that the Mongols, as they settled down 
as Muslims in Persia, might be in some danger, 
ultimately, of forgetting who they were and where 
they had come from. It initially contained an account 
and the history of the Mongols and their steppe predecessors. This part, which became known as the 
Tabīb-i Ghazanī, was presented to Oldūyūt after the 
death of his brother and predecessor. Oldūyūt asked 
Rashīd al-Dīn, as a memorial to Ghazan, to continue 
the work so as to provide a history of all the peoples 
with whom the Mongols had come into contact. It is 
this part of the history that justified Boyle’s descrip-
tion of Rashīd al-Dīn as “the first world-historian”. 
The history, when completed (there appears to have 
been an earlier, shorter version), consisted of the 
following parts: (1) The Mongol and Turkish tribes; 
the Mongols, from Cinggis Khán to the death of 
Ghazan; (2) A history of Oldūyūt (of which no copy 
is known, though Togān claimed to have seen one in
Mashad in 1923), followed by the "universal history": Adam and the Patriarchs, the pre-Islamic kings of Persia, Muhammad and the caliphs, the dynasties of Persia in the Islamic period, the Oguz and the Turks, China, the Jews, the Franks, and India; (3) The Suqab-i pandgina (the "Five genealogies") of the Arabs, Jews, Mongols, Franks and Chinese: unpublished but surviving as Topkapi Sarayi ms. 2932); (4) The Suwar al-askalim, a geographical compendium of which no copy has yet come to light. The first part of this section is the shortest; the second, even in length: the first is by far the largest. In 1908 E.G. Browne produced a scheme for publication of the whole, organised more manageably (Suggestions for a complete edition of the Jami ‘ut-Tawarikh of Rashidu’d-Din Padu’lah, in JFAS [1908], 17-37). Much, though not all, of this has since been accomplished (for details of the more important editions and translations of the various sections of part 1, see the Bibl. to MONGOLS). Studied of the Djam‘ al-tawarikh is not without its problems. Even the authorship of the book has been questioned. Togan (art. cit.) contended, not very persuasively, that it was a translation from a Mongol original. The author of the most important surviving contemporary source for the reign of Oldjeytu, Abu ‘l-Kasim Khâshâni, maintained that he was himself the true author of the work, for which Rashid al-Din had stolen from him 5-13.1.1 Hâshim thus points out the considerable financial rewards (Khâshâni, Ta’rikh-i Uldâyâ, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 240). It is not easy to judge what justification there may have been for this claim. Rashid al-Din was of course a busy government minister, whose available time for scholarship must have been limited; he tells us that he wrote his history between morning prayer and sunrise. It may well have been that Rashid al-Din was dissuaded from doing so by his own chief secretary, who was himself, as both chief minister and, in effect, "official" historian to Ghazan and Oldjeytu, Rashid al-Din had an interest in painting the troubles of the pre-Ghazan era in colours as black as possible and in depicting Ghazan’s reforms as a total success. This should be treated with a degree of scepticism. The Ta’rikh-i Ghazâni provides us with the full texts of the reforming edicts (yarlûq), which are vivid, convincing and full of detail. There may be less reason, however, for supposing that the edicts were in fact universally implemented. Rashid al-Din was a remarkable historian of great importance; but it should not be supposed that he was an impartial one.


(D.O. Morgan)

RASHID AL-DIN Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abd al-Djalil al-Umarî, known as WATWAT, secretary and prolific author in Arabic and Persian. A member of the Khâshân family, Rashid al-Din was born in 481/1088-9; Yakût (at least in the published text) has him die 5 years earlier.

Rashid al-Din was chief secretary (sâhêb dawân al-madâ) under the Khârâzšah Atâsu (521-511/1127-96) and his successor Il-Ársân (d. 560/1167). His loyalty to Atâsu earned him the enmity of the Saljûq Sandjar who, according to Djiwaynî, resolved at one point to cut Rashid al-Din into 30 pieces, but was dissuaded from doing so by his own chief secretary, Muntâfjâd b. Djiwaynî, the uncle of our informant’s great-grandfather. We possess a considerable number of Rashid al-Din’s highly ornate letters, including those which he wrote on behalf of his two masters (in Arabic to the caliphs and their envoys, in Persian to Sandjar and others) and also his private letters in both languages. Two bilingual collections of epistles were compiled by Rashid al-Din himself, Abbâk al-áfkár fi l-’asrâ’il wa l-‘aqârâr and A’râs al-khâsâ’ir wa nafa’ir al-nawwâr, and others are preserved elsewhere. The Persian letters found in the two collections were edited by K. Tûsïsrîkânî (Tehran 1330 Sh./1912), and 141 letters of Arabic authors were published (from an unidentified source) by Muhammad Fâhîn under the title Maddâ’în al-’asrâ’il Rashid al-Din al-Watwât, 2 parts, Cairo 1315/1897-8.

Ten of the latter are translated in H. Horst, Arabische Briefe der Hârâmshâh an den Kalifenhof aus der Feder des Rashîd al-Din Watwât, in ZDMG, cxvi (1966) 24-43, and the same author has summarised many of the Persian letters in his Die Staatsverwaltung der Groffeligen und Hârâmshâh, Wiesbaden 1964.

Rashid al-Din’s Persian dawân contains more than
8,500 verses in S. Nafisl's edition (Tehran 1339 Sh./1960) and consists largely of poems eulogising the 18th Caliph of Persia, Fath al-A'Imr, and consists largely of poems eulogising his works is Matthál kall tálsh min kalám āmír al-mu' mínin 'Ali b. Abi Tálsh, or Tārdša-yi al-imám kalám, consisting of the 100 Arabic sayings of 'Ali said to have been collected by al-Ḍīshī [q. v.]; each apothegm is followed by a verbose Arabic paraphrase, then a Persian commentary and finally a poetic paraphrase in the form of a mostly rather pedestrian Persian dawrīyat. It has frequently been published by the East Persian Students in many of the editions (and mss.) one or both of the prose commentaries are omitted—also with a Latin translation by Stickel (Jena 1834), with a German version by Fleischer (Leipzig 1837) and with an English verse rendering (but without the prose versions) by Harley (Calcutta 1927). Rashīd al-Dīn subsequently gave the same treatment to 100 sayings of each of the three caliphs, with his works entitled Tabshiṣ al-atāṣk ila 'l-tálshīj min kalám āmír al-mu' mínin Abī Bakr al-Siddīq, Fadl al-tāṣkīnī min kalám āmīr al-mu' mínin 'Umar b. al-Khaftāb and Ums al-lājhīn min kalám āmīr al-mu' mínin 'Uthmān b. ʿAffān; these remain unpublished, though mss. are available. Another work of comparable nature, Lakūf [q. v.] al-amāfīl wa ṯālīf al-akūfī, is a collection of several hundred Arabic proverbs, each with a Persian prose translation and an extensive commentary. It was published by S. B. Sabzawārī (n. p. 1358 Sh./1939) on the basis of an old ms. found in Medina. Further paraenetic works survive in manuscript.

His much-admired handbook of rhetorical figures, Ḥaddātāt al-asrār fī dākūt al-sīr, is available in a richly annotated edition by 'Abbas Ikhbāl (Tehran 1308 Sh./1930-39; reprinted, but without the editor's introduction and endnotes, in the appendix to Nafisl's edition of the diwān, and again, with a Russian translation by N.Yu. Čalitsov, Moscow 1985). It is strongly dependent both on al-Marghinānī's al-Muhāsīn fī 'l-nasm wa 'l-nāfī, from which many of the Arabic prose and verse quotations are derived, as well as on Ṯābrūkhī's Tarajāmān al-balāgha, whence Rashīd al-Dīn has virtually all of the illustrative quotations from early Persian poets (see the editions of the two books by Van Gelder and Ates respectively), a high estimate of their merits. But the best known of Persian poets of the 6th/12th century as well as from his own poems in both languages. He has also been credited with a Persian dictionary (Ḥamād wa ṯānān, or Nukūd al-zawāhīr wa 'ibād al-dājāwīr, extant in both prose and verse versions) and a short treatise on metre (Risti-yi 'āraḍā, but the question of their authenticity requires closer scrutiny.

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(FC. DE BLOIS)

RASHĪD ʿALĪ AL-GAYLĀNĪ (al-Dīnānī), Prime Minister of ʿIrāk on four occasions in the 1930s and 1940s and for long a symbol of ʿIrākī resistance to British interests. He was a descendant of the famous religious leader ʿAbd al-Kādīr al-Dīnjānī [q. v.], and a member of a cadet branch of the family which held the office of nakib al-ʿafrālī [q. v.] in Baghdad several times in the 19th and 20th centuries (b. Baghdaḏ 1892, d. Beirut 1965).

Rashīd ʿAlī qualified as a lawyer and became an appeal court judge in 1921; in 1924 he became Minister of Justice in the cabinet of Yāsīn al-Ḥaǧīmī, perhaps his most intimate political colleague. Together with his rival, ʿAlī al-Saʿūdīī [q. v.], he and Yāsīn were co-founders of the Party of Naṭional Brotherhood (Ḥizb al-Ḥikāȳ al-Watani) formed to spearhead opposition to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. However, after the treaty had come into effect and ʿIrāk had become at least theoretically independent of Britain, both men came to adopt a more pragmatic approach. Rashīd ʿAlī accepted his first premiership on 20 March 1933 and held office until the end of October of the same year. After this he remained out of power until March 1935, but he and Yāsīn spent much of the intervening period attempting to incite the Middle Euphrates tribes to rise against the governments of their rivals ʿAlī Djiwadat and Djamīl Mīḍīfī. Their efforts succeeded to the extent that tribal demonstrations in Baghdad prevented Djiwadat and Mīḍīfī from forming cabinets, and in March 1936 Rashīd ʿAlī became Minister of Interior, in a government which lasted until Bakr Sīdkī’s coup d’état in October 1936.

By the latter part of the 1930s, especially after the Palestine rebellion and the failure of the Franco-Syrian independence negotiations, Britain and France had become widely unpopular in the Arab Middle East. At the same time, the governments of Italy and Germany were held up by Arab nationalists as exemplars of states whose strength lay in their national unity. Pan-Arab nationalism had little following in ʿIrāk outside the officer corps, but the weakness of the central institutions of the state after the death of King Fayṣal, the existence of widely shared aspirations for genuine independence from Britain, the arrival of al-Hāḍīd Amin al-Husaynī, Muṣṭafī of Jerusalem [q. v. in Suppl.] in Baghdad in October 1939, and the fact that the political clique of the Golden Square, Siruq al-Dawrī, had come to exercise a pivotal influence on ʿIrākī politics, combined to heighten anti-British feeling, and also to create a climate of opinion in ʿIrāk which was either neutral or benevolent towards the Aḥs powers at the beginning of the Second World War.

Rashīd ʿAlī became the chief political ally of the nationalist colonels of the Golden Square, and became Prime Minister for the third time in March 1940, after the fall of Nūrī al-Saʿūdīī’s fifth ministry. Nūrī, who stayed on under Rashīd ʿAlī as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was unpopular because of his staunchly pro-British past, but he thought that a government headed by Rashīd al-Dīn could, as a result, become more extreme demands of the Golden Square. However, after the fall of France in June 1940, and under the combined influence of the Golden Square, the Muṣṭafī and prominent Syrian politicians in exile in Baghdad, Rashīd ʿAlī gradually adopted a more openly anti-British and pro-Axis stance.

Under the terms of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930, the ʿIrākī government was obliged to allow the transit of British troops across its territory in wartime. Bri-
tain requested this facility in June 1940, and permis-
sion was eventually if somewhat grudgingly given in
mid-July. However, in spite of requests from Britain,
the ٢٤٣٥ government refused to break off relations
with Italy when Italy declared war on Britain in June
1940, and the Italian legation developed into a centre
of anti-British intrigue. In addition, the ٢٤٣٥ govern-
ment now began to approach the legations of Italy and
Japan for arms supplies, and in August 1940 Rashid
٢٤٣٥ and the Mufti entered into direct if somewhat
fruitless negotiations with Benito Mussolini (for de-
tails, see Majid Khadduri, Independent Iraq 1932-1958: a study
Department of State, Documents on German foreign policy
1918-1945, Series D, vol. x, 141-4, 154-5, 275, 415-
16, 558-60).

Matters came to a head, when Rashid ٢٤٣٥, who
now had the support of most of the armed forces,
refused to yield to British pressure to resign in
November 1940 in the face of his unwillingness to
allow British troops to land in or pass through ٢٤٣٥.
He was forced to step down temporarily as Prime
Minister in January 1941 but returned to power on 12
April; by this time the Regent, ٢٤٣٥ and other pro-
British politicians had fled to Transjordan.

On 17 and 18 April 1941 British troops landed at
Bagra, there was no doubt that Rashid ٢٤٣٥ and his
government enjoyed widespread support (cf. Khad-
dur, op. cit., 214; Hanna Baratou, l'histoire et la
nation des classes sociales et le mouvement national
victoriens an Iraq, a study of Iraq's old
touched classes and its Comissions, Ba'thists and Free Offi-
cers, Princeton 1978, 453-62), but, given the balance
of forces involved, the defeat of the ٢٤٣٥ army in
May 1941 was a foregone conclusion. The German
assistance which Rashid ٢٤٣٥ had requested never
materialized, and he was obliged to flee first to Iran,
then to Germany, where he arrived in November
1941.

Rashid ٢٤٣٥ stayed in Germany until May 1945,
and then found his way to Sa'udi Arabia, where he
remained until 1954. He returned to ٢٤٣٥ a few weeks
after the overthrow of the monarchy in July 1958, ap-
parently hoping that his previous services would be
duly acclaimed. When adequate recognition was not
forthcoming he set about planning the sort of coup
that he had engineered successfully in the mid-1930s,
inciting rebellion among the tribes of the Middle
Euphrates in a quixotic attempt to unseat the govern-
ment of ٢٤٣٥ al-Karim Kāsim [q.v.]. He was arrested in
December 1958, tried and condemned to death, but
the sentence was commuted by Kāsim, and he was
eventually released from prison in October 1961. He
died in Beirut on 30 August 1965.

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(P. Sluggett)

RASHID RİDĄ, whose full name was Muhammed
٢٤٣٥ b. Munla (i.e. Mullah) ٢٤٣٥ Khalifa (1865-1935), one of the most productive and
influential authors of Islamic reform [see ISLAM],
of Pan-Islamism [q.v.] and also, to a certain extent,
of Arab nationalism [see KAMWIYYA]. His name is
connected with the journal al-Manar [q.v.] in the first
place, whose editor he was from its foundation in 1898
till his death.

Rashid Rida was born on 27 Dümâyda I 1282/23
September 1665 in Kalamûn, a village near Tripoli
(Tarabulus al-Shâm [q.v.]) on the Mediterranean
coast in northern Lebanon (for his day of birth, see
Sharabäşi, 102). The inhabitants of Kalamûn were
exclusively Sunni Muslims and the great majority of
them claimed descent from the Prophet (for the
allegedly Şahyâniyid pedigree of Rashid Rida's family,
see Şahkil Arslân, 809-11, and Sharabäşi, 103-7).

Rashid Rida received his first education in the al-
 táb [q.v.] of Kalamûn, and after that in an Ottoman
state school in Tripoli and, above all, in the madrasa
vostaniyeh, founded there in 1879. The director of this
school was Şahküy Hüsân al-Dîjîr (1845-1909). It
was from this scholar that Rashid Rida received
the incentives that were essential for his intellectual
development, such as, for instance, those regarding
the modern interpretation of scientific
achievements. Later, he also had heated differences of
opinion with al-Dîjîr (see Sharabäşi, 231-46; Ebert,
index, 188; for other teachers of Rashid Rida in
Lebanon, see Sharabäşi, 246 ff.).

In the winter of 1897-8, Rashid Rida travelled to
Egypt. Already the day after his arrival in Cairo he
went to see Muhammed ٢٤٣٥ Ahâd [q.v.] in order to
expound to him his aim of publishing a journal dealing
with Islamic reform. The first issue of this journal, al-
Manar, appeared on 22 Shawwâl 1315/mid-March
1898.

The house which Rashid Rida acquired at Cairo,
under some time, served as private residence, publishing
establishment, bookshop and bookstore (Sharabäşi,
137). Notwithstanding the success of many of his
publications and the occasional gifts of friends and
patrons, he apparently was free from financial
worries (Sharabäşi, 166-9, based, among other
sources, on letters of Rashid Rida to Şahkil Arslân).

Some information on his being married three times
(the first two marriages broke down after a short time)
and on his children can be found in Sharabäşi,
216-27.

After the Ottoman constitution had been re-
instated in 1908, Rashid Rida visited Bildd al-Shâm.
On this journey as well as on later journeys to Istan-
bul (1909-10), to India (1912; on his way back he
visited Mäska and Kuwayt), to the Hidjaz (1916 and
again in 1926), to Syria (1919-20), to Europe (1921-2)
and to the Pan-Islamic Congress in Jerusalem (1931),
he each time reported in al-Manar (partly reprinted in
Yusuf Ibiş [ed.], Riha'dâ; see also Şahkil Arslân,
145-61).

For Rashid Rida, all these journeys were connected
with specific political aspirations, but he was not
willingly reduced to his immediate expectations.
For instance, during the journey to Syria in 1908, an
incident in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and a
subsequent riot made it clear to him that he had to
reckon there with considerable opposition, and that
he could not rely unconditionally on support from the
Young Turks (Ibiş, 29-40; cf. Arslân, 147-8 and
Commins, nn. 129-31). His stay in Istanbul (October
1909-October 1910) was aimed at removing
misunderstandings in the relationship between Arabs
and Turks. Rashid Rida also wanted to establish in
Istanbul a modern Islamic institution of higher educa-
tion, whose graduates —much better scholars than the
"ulama" educated in the traditional way—would be
able to defend Islam according to modernist
standards.

After some initial successes, Rashid Rida came to
the conclusion that both aims could not be attained —in
any case not according to his own conceptions—
mainly because of the opposition of influential
members of the İstibâdtee Teråki Dîmîyyetî [q.v.], the
ruling Committee of Union and Progress (Tauber,
104-6; al-Shawâbîka, 193 ff.). Disappointed, he
returned to Egypt and immediately started prepara-
tions for establishing an association that should serve
as the basis for the planned institution of higher
education. The latter was indeed founded in 1911,
under the name of Dar al-De'wa wa 'l-Irshād. Regular instruction began in March 1912, but had to be discontinued soon after the outbreak of the First World War for want of financial donations (Tauber, 106; for the curriculum, see RMM, xviii [1912], 224-7).

As a result of his disappointment with the Young Turks, Rashid Rida began to develop political plans on the lines of Pan-Arabsim [q.v.]. Already in 1902-3 al-Manār had printed in instalments the work of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kāwākibī [q.v.], Um m al-futū (see for the full text of this work Tauber, 1937, 30-5). Now, from 1911-2 onwards, Rashid Rida adhered to the public agitation against the Young Turks and at the same time founded a secret political association with Pan-Arabic aims, the Li'amiriyāt al-Ḍāmīrīa al-'Arabīyya. Its purpose was, on the one hand, to reconcile the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula with one another, and on the other, to put the Arabic secret associations in touch with one another (Tauber, 106-11). These activities led Rashid Rida to establish relations with most of the rulers of the Arabian Peninsula, such as Ibn Su'ūd and the Sharīf of Mecca, but they also burdened for years to come, especially during the First World War, his contacts with those of his friends who, like Shākhī Abd al-Rasūl, associated themselves, notwithstanding many reservations, with the Ottoman Empire (Arslān, 1926-6).

During the First World War, Rashid Rida supported the "Arab Revolt" in the Hijāz and even after the War's end he belonged for some time to the propaganda of its aims. During his journey to Syria in 1919-20 he was elected president of the "Syrian Congress", but he returned to Egypt after the French mandatory troops had marched into Syria.

In the following years, his relations with the King of the Hijāz, Husayn b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz, and with the Sharīf of Mecca, but they also burdened for years to come, especially during the First World War, his contacts with those of his friends who, like Shākhī Abd al-Rasūl, associated themselves, notwithstanding many reservations, with the Ottoman Empire (Arslān, 1926-6).

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(Ende)

RASHID YÂSIMI, modern Persian poet and scholar, born on 4 December 1896 at Kirmanshah but he is popularly known as Rashid Yasimi in literary and intellectual circles. He came from a scholarly family: his father, Rashid, was also a scholar, born on 4 December 1896 at Kirmanshah, and for which the 1930s formed a period of transition and the cultural and artistic level. It marked the beginning of a period of intense activity, of recovery and
preservation and of creativity on behalf of an identity which felt itself threatened. In practice, music had during this period become the profession of a despised class, whose depraved morals and avidity for nothing but financial gain had earned it the contempt of the whole art, and as a result, the artist's status, down to a deplorable situation. Just as there were many factors leading to a series of attempts aiming at the rehabilitation of Tunisian music, so these were favoured by several important events concerning the poetic and musical spheres. Such a spirit had already taken shape thanks to the creative impetus of Shaykh Ahmad al-Wa'fī (1850-1937) and the genius of Khumayyis Tarnān (1894-1964), both reared, like so many others, in the pure tradition of the dawāwiyya of the Sufi brotherhoods, and to the efforts of Baron Rudolphe d'Erlarger (d. 1932) and of the musicians and musicologists gathered round his palace of Sidi Bu Sa'id. In 1931 the famous Syrian musician Shaykh 'Ali Darwīsh of Aleppo arrived in Tunisia and within the Khaldūniyya gave the first courses in tonic sol-fa, and in the modes and rhythms of Arab music, as well as tuition in the nāy. There was also the first congress of Arab music at Cairo (14 March-3 April 1932), which was an event of great artistic importance. The Tunisian delegation included various famous figures, such as Hasan Husni 'Abd al-Wahāb, Mannūbi Snūsī, 'Hasūnā Ben 'Amāmār, and a musical ensemble composed of Muhammad Ghāmil (raḥīb), Khumayyis Tarnān (ṣīd raḥīb), ʿAlī bin ʿArfa (qār), Khumayyis al-ʿAṭī (nakkānāt) Muhammad al-Mukrānī and Muhammad Billābān (singers). In this way, the Rashidiyya, whose setting up had been for music the culmination of a concatenation of circumstances, very soon became "a real bed of flowers", as Shāfiya Rushdī liked to stress, a nursery of high-quality artists, poets and musicians who succeeded, "through work and faith", in rehabilitating Tunisian musical art.

The Rashidiyya was controlled by a legal charter which gave it civil and financial autonomy, and its directing committee was composed of a dozen members from amongst its most faithful supporters and patrons, chosen by the duly qualified electors and with a mandate which was renewable. It had three commissions: literary, musical and the sphere of public relations; the first two sat in the form of a committee of sifting and selection. In 1935, a first concert was given in its provisional headquarters, on the patio of the patron Belahsen Lasram, before it acquired its own centre. An initial competition was held to stimulate creative activity amongst Tunisian artists. Thereafter, a lively activity was embarked upon, envisaging three vital objectives:

1. Safeguarding the musical heritage (and more especially, the maṣāḥih or popular one), against all current and future of its own heritage. Thus the work of transcription was envisaged, a somewhat arduous and delicate mission, given that the music of an oral tradition, difficult to pin down in a fixed, standardized notation, involved, and that numerous versions, making up a field of great richness, had to be gathered together. Hence the effort was carried out on two fronts: collection and transcription (led by M. Trīkī), and restoration, the giving of fresh impetus and new compositions (a work given effect by Kh. Tarnān). The text and music of thirteen complete naḥawāt [q.], as well as those of numerous traditional pieces of music, instrumental and vocal, were gathered together, transcribed and published (cf. the nine fascicles of the Tunisian musical heritage). The greater part of this repertoire was likewise recorded.

2. Laying the foundations for a centralised musical teaching, involving mainly national and Arab music. Through the seriousness and successfulness of this policy, the Rashidiyya speedily became an Institute for educating cadres who were well qualified to keep up this role until 1972, when its courses were transferred to the National Centre for Folk Music and the Arts.

3. Launching a vigorous movement of musical creativeness and high quality poetic activity, as much on the level of the texts as the music and interpretation. Tunisian song had its genuine creative spirits, composers, song-writers, instrumentalists and singers of great talent, notably the famous group Taht al-Sūr ("below the city wall") or Shākur al-ʿilā ("soldiers of the night"), artists, intellectuals and bohemians who were known by the name of the famous café which gave them shelter.

One by one, the new wave of musicians and poets were to help in the building of a new edifice, all bringing their contribution to the Tunisian song, for which they provided an impulse which brought it to the forefront of Arab music. The Rashidiyya did much to render respectable practical musical-making. A tradition of weekly concerts was begun, and, according to Trīkī, one went there "as to the mosque".

The founding of a national radio network (Tunis R.T.T. in 1936), which began to transmit its own emissions towards the end of 1938, helped the rise of the Tunisian song and probably contributed to promote the efforts of the Rashidiyya, notably through the live transmission of its weekly concerts. However, this institution gradually lost its potentialities once an orchestra had been created (1948), and then a choir (1957), both belonging to the R.T.T. and which attracted the best artists of the time. At the present time, the Rashidiyya, with its headquarters in the rue du Dey, no. 5, comes under the Ministry of Culture and is supported financially by the municipality of Tunis. A new breath has been recently given to it so that it may recover its former status.

RASHT — RASHTI, SAYYID KAZIM

the province of Tabaristan to the east [see MAZANJ, DARAN], and it is the Hudud al-$alim which first gives the name, but as a district, not a town (tr. Minorsky, 1937, § 32.25). It does appear as a town in Hamd Allah Mustawfi, writing soon after the Mongol conquest of Gilan in 706/1307, and by that time, the silk of Gilan was famous and, according to Marco Polo, sought after by Genoese merchants whose ships had recently appeared on the Caspian waters. Subsequently, Rasht became the seat of a minor dynasty of Gilan, the Ishakids of Fumin, until these rulers were replaced by the Kaysi princes of Lahijan [q.v.], and then, in 1000/1592, Shāh ʿAbbās the Great [q.v.] annexed Gilan to the Persian state.

Among the events of this period was the establishment in Gilan, of which Rasht became the administrative and economic centre, of the “Muscovite Company” founded in 1557 by Anthony Jenkinson, Richard and Robert Johnson, who, taking the Russian route, sent ten expeditions into Persia between 1561 and 1581. It is to noteworthy that the last independent ruler of Gilan, Ahmad Shāh, sent ambassadors to Moscow to seek help against Shāh ʿAbbās and obtained promises of protection which, however, came to nothing. The Cossacks at the same time were plundering in Gilan and Rasht and trying to gain the support of the Persian court. The most notable invasion was that of Stenka Razin who sacked Rasht in 1667/1668. On 2 Safar 1082, the day of Stenka’s execution, the Persians in Moscow at the time were invited to be present at it (cf. the journal Kāṣeh, 12, N.S., 1 December 1921). From 1722 to 1734, Rasht and Gilan were occupied by the Russians (Shipov, then Matyushkin) invited by the governor who was threatened by the Afghans. In 1734, Gilan was restored to Persia after a treaty. Rabino quotes a Persian proverb which expresses the disadvantage of the Russian occupation. For military reasons the Russians cleared the jungle round Rasht.

The history of Gilan and that of Rasht, which has always played a preponderant part in it, merges into the general history of Persia after its annexation. During the Persian Revolution, a body of Social Democrats was sent by the Regional Committee of the Caucasus to Rasht, and there helped in February 1909 to overthrow the authority of the Shah and to establish a revolutionary committee which elected as governor the Sipahdar ʿAzam, who played a prominent part in the history of the period along with Sardār Asad Bakhtiyārī (cf. Persia v borbe za nezavisnost, by Pavlović and Ianskii, Moscow 1925). Rasht then became the base of operations of the northern revolutionary movement. A few years later, during the First World War, Rasht again attracted attention in connection with the movement of the Dangali, created by Mirzā Kūčak Khān [q.v.]. Assisted by German (von Passchen), Turkish and Russian officers, an armed force was organised to oppose the passage of the British troops under General Dunsterforce on their way to Bākū, without, however, much success (battle of Mandjīl, 12 June 1918). The British were able to force their way through with the help of Bīlīrakhov’s detachment of Cossacks and established a garrison in Rasht. A second alliance with the Dangali in the town itself on 20 July 1918 also ended in British victory. On 25 August peace was signed with Kūčak Khān at Enzel. At one time, at the end of March 1918, the position of Kūčak Khān was so strong that the capture not only of Kazvin, but even of Tehran, was feared (cf. The adventures of Dunsterforce by Maj. Gen. L.C. Dunsterforce, London 1920).

Rasht again became the arena of the revolutionary Dangali movement, aimed at the pro-British government in Tehran of Muḥammad al-Dawla in 1920. After the capture of Bākū on 28 April 1920 by the Reds, the White Fleet sought refuge in the port of Enzel, which was held by the British. Enzel fell to the Soviet forces, who then twice occupied Rasht. But after the Perso-Soviet agreement of May 1921, Russian and British troops left Persian territory, Kūčak Khān’s movement was suppressed by Riḍā Khān’s [see RIDA SHAH PARMAWLI] Cossack Brigade, and Persian authority re-established in Gilan and Rasht.

Rasht was again occupied by Russian forces in the Second World War. At the present time, it is the administrative centre of the astan of Gilan. It has road connections with Tehran and Bandar Anzali and an airport. In 1972 it had an estimated population of 160,000.


RASHTI, SAYYID KAZIM b. KASIM (d. 1259/1844), the head and systematiser of the Shaykhī school of Shi‘ism after Ahmad al-Ahsa'ī [q.v.]. The son of a merchant, Sayyid Kazim was born in Rasht [q.v.], in northern Persia, between 1194/1784 and 1214/1799-1800. Details of his early life are sparse and contradictory. Educated in Rasht, he underwent mystical experiences and, somewhere between his mid-teens and early twenties (between 1809 and 1814?), became a pupil of al-Ahsa‘ī, then living in Yazd. He also studied under and received ijāza from other mudāhilīs.

The Sayyid soon came to hold an important position among al-Ahsa‘ī’s entourage, acting as his sa‘īb or deputy and spokesman, answering questions on his behalf, continuing and translating some of his writings, and defending him from the attacks of hostile "ulama‘. On al-Ahsa‘ī’s death, Rashtī succeeded him as head of the central group of his pupils in Karbala‘. This led to the emergence of a sort of order for the transmission of inspired knowledge within orthodox Shi’ism, which Rashtī termed "shahādāt‘, or "the path of inspired knowledge" (Kirmānī) and the interpreter of al-Ahsa‘ī’s words. Although he denied trying to establish a new madhhab, he became embroiled in major public debates with leading ‘ulama‘. These disputes, and Rashtī’s own development of an esoteric teaching divulged to a privileged circle of students, made it inevitable that Shaykhism should be viewed as a school of heterodox opinion within Twelve Shi’ism.

In spite of this, Rashtī acquired considerable political influence in Karbala‘ and Persia, where he numbered many members of the ruling Kādirī family among his admirers. His death on 11 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1259/1 January 1844 sparked off a leadership struggle within the school, resulting in the emergence of two sharply opposed branches: that of Karim Khān Kirmānī, which attempted a rapprochement with orthodox Shi’ism; and the ʿAll Muhammad Shirazi [q.v.], which grew into the Bābī sect.

RA§HTWA (A.) or, apparently preferred by purists, ri§h(a)w or, ri§h(a)w, Persian ri§hwat, ri§h(a)w, ri§h(a)u§w, Turkish riqayet, the legal term for “bribe.” Like English “bribe”, its connotation is absolutely negative and whatever is called ri§hwa strictly forbidden by law. The word itself does not occur in the Kur’an. More general passages like II, 188, and V, 44 (both surahs) were interpreted to include the prohibition of bribe-taking. The hadith, however, makes the matter perfectly clear. One of the most explicit statements invokes the divine curse upon those who offer and who take bribes (ra§hi, mursa§hi), sometimes adding the go-between (ra¶sh) and the specification fi l-hukm.

Other words may refer to the process of bribery such as daar§al/ga¶l or, in the case of an informal drift in that direction such as daarwa or ba§hah¶[i]s [o. v.], but none of them ever became as unambiguous and forceful as ri§hwa. An insignifican exception may possibly be bitrili, if it is derived from Greek proteieta and the interpretation of proteieta as “previous payment, advance” (Liddell and Scott, 1524) in a 6th-century papyrus from Egypt is correct; in this case, Persian partala “gift” could be secondary or another derivation from the Greek (see S. Fraenkel, Aram. Fremdwörter, Leiden 1886, 84). A picturesque euphemism for bribing, “pouring oil in the lamp” or simply kandala, is listed by al-Tha^l^ibi, Kiniya, Beirut 1405/1984, 70; al-Ra¶ghi, Muns±dar±, Balt±k 1286-87, i, 128.

Nothwithstanding the legal prohibition, bribery was as common in Islam as in other large societies, although the degree of its prevalence no doubt widely varied. It was, therefore, necessary for jurists to define what distinguished it from allowable gifts [see HIBA] and to circumscribe its boundaries. In contrast to supposedly disinterested and unconditional gifts, bribes were stated to be what was given for a purpose. This left open the possibility of beneficial purposes such as attempts to prevent wrongdoing and injustice, see, e.g., LA, s.v. r§h-w: “gifts that lead to obtaining a right or ward off a wrong,” or al-Sha§azili, “rashwa” in al-Harir±i’s twenty-first mak±ma: “a gift given for warding off the harm of someone who has power over you” (Shar±h al-Mak±mat±, Cairo 1306, i, 279). In the legal view, however, the beneficial purpose did not invalidate the general prohibition; while the bribe may be within his rights in offering a bribe, it is illegal to accept it, since the intended recipient should do so on his own volition what is required and proper. It was, however, recognised by some that any gift whatever was given for some purpose. Al-Ghazali thus discusses hypothetical situations such as giving something to a ruler’s officials or intimates in order to gain access to him, as well as other situations of gift-giving for expected services. The negative view mostly prevailed, but it is obvious that the very discussion opened up potential loopholes. Note that the alleged “first case of bribery in Islam” involves outstanding early Muslims and access to the caliph (Ibn Kutayba, Ma¶arif, ed. U¶k±h, 558, and the aw±l±i collections).

The environment where unlawful bribing was seen as particularly at home was the twin realms of government and judiciary. On a widely discussed problem where the two clearly intertwined concerned the expenditure of money for an appointment to a judgeship, sec, most concisely, al-Mawardi, A§al al-ka¶fi, ed. M. H. Sar±h, Baghdad 1391/1971, i, 151-2, and Tyan. While bribery on various governmental levels, internally as well as internationally, was discussed (see D. Subki, Fasl al-mak±l fi had±y±d al-um±mill±, Rosenthal, 137-8), the principal concern was with the judiciary, where the concept of bribery and its practical role were seen as most deeply embedded and unquestionably corruptive. In the case of judges, the acceptance of well-intentioned gifts even by relatives could constitute a problem calling for legal discussion. Gift-giving among ordinary individuals and, presumably, the practice of gift-giving not involving officialdom was, it seems, not considered to incur the danger of developing into forbidden ri§hwa.

Someone found guilty of bribery could, of course, be dismissed. Legally, punishment was left to the decision of the judge (a¶z±). The Hanafi Ibn Nudjaiym appears to have considered public exposure as the most effective deterrent.

The attention paid to ri§hwa throughout the literature proves, if proof is needed, that bribery was an ever-present problem. Its social effects were no doubt considerable but cannot be accurately, or even approximately, quantified. It appears to have become institutionalised at certain periods and locations. From Ottoman times, an increase in monographs on this subject is noticeable. Political thinkers were much concerned with it and even ended up in almost despairing of finding a remedy for it (see Wright). Westerners often felt convinced that bribery was a way of life in the East. It may, however, be doubted whether detailed research will provide valid clues to a specific role of bribery in mediaeval Muslim civilisation as a whole, if, indeed, there was anything specific to it.


(R. OSWALD)

RASIM [see AHMAD RASIM]

RASM (A., pl. rasim), the act of drawing, a drawing, is not always distinguished from painting; nor is it. Drawing was performed both as a preliminary to painting and to produce works to stand alone. It might be representative [see TARIKH] or decorative (historians of Islamic manuscripts often use the term illumination to decorative work). Nakkashi covers drawing and painting, whether representational or decorative; tarrahi is designing, in the context of pictures, the procedure of the underdrawing. In addition to the illustration of manuscripts, drawing is an important element in the decoration of ceramics and other forms of applied art; draughtsmen might exercise their skill in several fields. Writing in the ear-
ly 11th/17th century, Kādi Ahmad distinguishes two sorts of kālam, the one from a plant and the other from an animal (see Calligraphers and painters: a treatise by Qādi Ahmad, son of Mir-Munshi [circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606], tr. V. Minorsky, Washington, D.C. 1959, 50): these are the calligrapher's reed pen and the painter's brush, probably made with squirrel-hair. Ink [see MiDĀD] was prepared from soot, gallnut and alum, in a medium of gum arabic. Dilute ink (or a red pigment, perhaps minium) was used, usually with a brush, for the underdrawings of paintings. Either pen, brush or combinations were used for autonomous drawings; some drawings include small areas of ink wash, thin colour or details in gold. Training in the drawing of particular motifs might be carried out by pouncing, using a nylon skin (Persian šarba). A draughtsman often worked with a drawing-board supported by his knee. The line generally reveals the influence of the calligraphy of its period, in its curves and rhythms. Ruler and compass were used in the basic layout of schemes of illumination, but many complex curved lines appear to be drawn freehand. There is occasional use of stilts from the 15th century onwards. The illuminator (muďahāhib) worked, among other things, with brush-gold, gold-leaf rubbed into moist or dry glue and diluted.

Early period

Surviving examples of drawing from the early Islamic period are mostly in the service of wall- or floor-paintings in Umayyad palaces (Kusayr 'Amra [see architecture] or Kašr al-Khayr al-Gharib [q.v.]); there is an evident debt to late classical and Sāsānid art, and outlines are heavily marked (but have at times been exaggerated in excessive restoration). The earliest surviving book illustrations appear to be the highly formalised, coloured drawings of mosques and trees in an Umayyad Kūrān, discovered in San'a' (see H.C. Graf von Bothmer, Architekturbilder im Koran: eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadzeit aus Yemen, in Pantheon, xlv [1987], 4-20). The earliest surviving drawings in which line is exploited for aesthetic effect are figures of the constellations in a manuscript of al-Sūrī's Suwar al-kawdkib al-thdbita (Bodleian Library, Oxford), whose text was copied in 400/1009-10, presumably in Baghdād. The wiry line describes the myriad stars by means of long narrow brush-golds with exuberant bracketing folds; Sāsānid and Chinese influences are evident. Approximately contemporary is a Fātimid drawing of a nude female musician (Israel Museum, Jerusalem). Over a red underdrawing, the line is slightly more variable, but volume is chiefly marked (see MURAKKA). In the late 9th/16th century, Basawan produces masterly drawings with adaptations of Euro-pean styles. One of the most famous is a drawing of an elephant (a Chinese form for the legendary Persian bird); car-touches have "cloud-collar" edges (fig. 2). Some studies draw on Buddhist mythology. In the 9th/15th century, chinoiserie is enriched by motifs from the Islamic tradition. In the late 15th century, the restless and ornamental lines of the 9th/16th century, and delicacy the later. Ink drawings, exercises and designs for albums are mostly in the late 15th century, and is sometimes further emphasised by a surrounding shadow at other times: it is lost. For drawing per se, a fruitful source of inspiration was found in European prints (and probably also illustrations in giraiil). In the late 10th/16th century, Basawan produced masterly drawings with adaptations of European style and European classical mythology. In the 11th/17th century, the Muğhal interest in reportage fostered portrait drawings—including those of elephants—and drawing from the life (see MUGHALS. 9). Some drawings, usually of more traditional subjects, were accompanied with half-colour (nim kālam). A class of jeu d'esprit, perhaps a development from metamorphic tendencies in Persian ornament with assistance from chinoiserie, is formed by drawings in which ridden elephants or camels are composé from subsidiary figures in the archimbolsèque manner.

Later Persian drawings

With a growing taste for Albums in Persia in the later 10th/16th century (see MURAKKA), the finished ink drawing gains in importance as an independent work. Subjects are often single figures of the upper classes, sitting or standing, by the 11th/17th century sometimes presented against a minimal landscape of hills, trees and cloud. Conversation pieces are also found, low-life or eccentric characters, and animals; in addition, there are a small number of studies of
RASM — AL-RASSI

earlier manuscript illustrations. Line of strongly calligraphic quality and varying width is used, both for the title and the head and body of the text. Volumes are largely implied by fold lines; hatching is not employed, but in some areas fold lines cluster together. Signatures, or attributions, and dates are not infrequent. Prominent draughtsmen of the 19th/16th and 11th/17th centuries are Şâdir, Rûzâ-i ʿAbâsî[q. v.] and the latter’s pupil Mü’mûn Mü’sûawîr. The second half of the 19th century sees the acceptance of new means of graphic expression, the pencil (with shading by hatching and smudging) and the lithograph. Influential in this was Abu ʿl Hasan Ghafârî[q. v.], Şânî al-Mulk, first director of art in the Dâr al-Funûn (Polytechnic) in Tehran, who died in 1866. Portraits in the new media have a cautious stillness, derived from photography; but drawing of a more traditional character may venture into caricature.


(Barbara Brend)

RASM. In ottoman Turkish usage [see resm]. AL-RASS, the name in Arabic geographical writing for the Araxes River (Perso-Turkish form Aras, Armenian Erask, Georgian Rakhabî, modern Aras). It rises in what is now eastern Turkey near Erzurum and flows generally in an eastwards direction for 1,072 km/670 miles into the Caspian Sea. Its middle reaches, from a point near Mount Ararat, today form the boundary between the former Azerbaijan SSR and Persia, with the lower stretch receiving the Kur River and through the Mukan [q.v. steps] and now is wholly Azerbaijani territory.

The early Arabic name al-Rass led the Muslim exegetes to connect it with the Aṣhab al-Rass [q.v.] of Kurâân, XXV, 38, L. 12, mentioned as one of the unbelieving peoples destroyed for their impiety. The eastern and middle stretches of the Araxes came under Arab control when the Muslim invaders pushed through Adharbayjân towards eastern Caucasus in the later 1st/7th century, but for many centuries these remained frontier regions, open to attacks from the Alans [see ossetes], the Khazars and the Rûs [q.v.] from the north and from the Aramean princes and the Byzantines from the west.

The river valley was a very fertile area and formed a corridor for commerce connecting the Black Sea with the Caspian and northwestern Persia, so that urban centres like Dvin [q.v.] or Dabîl, Anî [q.v.] and Djiulla flourished greatly. In the Saljûq period, migratory Turkmens passed along it heading for eastern Anatolia once the Byzantine defences there had collapsed after the battle of Malazgird [q.v.] in 646/1051. In later times, independent or semi-independent local khânates like those of Karabâgh, Nakhêlwân and Ordubâd [q.v.] formed buffers between the Safawids and Ottomans. By the early 19th century, Persia was compelled to relinquish control over the lands to the north of the Araxes and of its lower course, with the Treaty of Turkmançay of 1828 establishing the present boundary between Azerbaijan and Armenia on the one side and Persia on the other along the river’s middle stretch.


(see al-rass). AL-RASSI, AL-KÂSîM b. IBRAHîM b. ISMâ‘îl b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Hassân b. al-Hassân b. ʿAbî b. Abî Tâlib (169-246/785-860), Zyadî imâm and founder of the legal and theological school later prevalent among the Zaydis in the Yemen. He grew up in Medina where he was taught basic Zaydi religious doctrine in his family and Medinan hadîth, and perhaps Kurâân readings and Arabic language, by Abu Bakr ʿAbâd al-Hâmîb b. Abî Uways, a nephew of Malik b. Anas. Before 199/815 he came to Egypt, probably al-Fustât. It is doubtful whether he was, as reported by a late source, sent there by his brother Muhammad who at that time was recognised as imâm by the Kûfân Zayđis. Al-Kâsim, in any case, later expressed reservations about Muhammad’s theological views. In Egypt he studied the Jewish and Christian scriptures and Christian theological and philosophical treatises and engaged in debates with Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. His refutations of a Manichaean treatise ascribed to Ibn al-Muṣaffâ[q. v.] (ed. M. Guidi, La lotta tra l’islam e il manichesimo, Rome 1927) and of the Christians (ed. I. Di Matteo in RSÖ, ix [1921-3], 301 ff.) were written there. Evidently under the influence of Christian writings he adopted some of his characteristic views on the divine attributes and upholding human free will which deviated from the earlier Zaydi tradition. Under suspicion of seditious activity by the authorities, he left Egypt soon after 211/826, returning to Medina. He bought an estate at al-Rass near Dhu ʿl-Hulayfa and stayed there writing and teaching Zaydi visitors, especially from Kûfã and western Tabâristân, until his death. There is no sound evidence that he ever seriously attempted to lead a Zaydi revolt.

Al-Kâsim summed up his religious teaching in five principles (usûd) which only partly agreed with those of the Muʿtazîlî [q.v.].

1. In his sharply anti-anthropomorphist doctrine of the unity of God he stressed, in agreement with contemporary Christian theology, the total dissimilarity (ḍîdî) of God to all creation, while rejecting the corollary of an aspect of similarity upheld in the Christian doctrine. Under Christian theological influence he also placed the essential generosity (ḍîdâ) and goodness of God at the centre of his doctrine of divine attributes. He ignored the Muʿtazîlî distinction between divine attributes of essence and of act.

2. Concerning divine justice he strictly dissociated God from evil acts and affirmed human free will. He rejected, however, the Muʿtazîlî doctrine of compen- sation (iwaḍ) owed by God for undeserved pain inflicted by Him and held, in accordance with Christian doctrine, that the blessings of God to children and others completely outweighed any pains. He also distanced himself from the Muʿtazîlî interpretation of the predestinator terms kâdâ and kada as meaning merely commandment and judgment. Here he clearly tried to avoid expressing condemnation of the traditional Zaydi position affirming predestination.

3. On the basis of his concept of divine justice he upheld the tenet of the divine ‘promise and threat’
Chinoiserie cartouche, ca. 1410. Diez A Fol. 73, S. 54. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
(wa'd wa-wa'fid) entailing the unconditional punishment of the unrepentant sinner in the hereafter. Unlike the Mu‘tazila, and in agreement with the early Zaydi view, he held that evil acts, in particular injustice, oppression and transgression (‘sudood) constituted forms of unbelief (kafr), though not of unbelief in God or polytheism (shirk). Thus it was licit to make war on Muslim oppressors and their supporters.

4. The fourth principle stressed the overriding authority of the Kur’an as a guide-line in all religious matters. Al-Kasim affirmed that the Kur’an as a whole is detailed, unambiguous and free of contradiction. He rejected İmamı assertions that parts of it had been lost or tampered with. Although his theological principles implied the created nature of the Kur’an, he refused to call it either created or uncreated, partly because of his veneration of the Holy Book and partly because the question was controversial among the contemporary Zaydis, the majority considering the Kur’an uncreated. Sharply reacting against the rising tide of Sunni traditionalism, he affirmed that the sunna of the Prophet consisted only of what was mentioned or intended in the Kur’an. He accused the Hashwiyya (Sunni traditionalists) of massive forgery of hadith and viewed them as the main supporters of the oppressors.

5. Al-Kasim defined the lands dominated by the illegitimate Muslim rulers as an “abode of injustice (dar al-salum)” where disposal over property, trade, and economic gain were not fully licit because of the prevalence of usurpation and extortion. Unable to resist the tyrants, the faithful were obliged to emigrate from there. The Kur‘anic duty of hijra, imposed initially on the faithful in order that they should dissociate from the polytheists, was permanent and now applied to their dissociation from the unjust and oppressors.

Al-Kasim’s view on the imamate agreed generally with the contemporary Zaydi position [see İmama]. He stressed, however, superior religious knowledge as a prime requirement for the rightful imamate and ignored the traditional Zaydi requirement of armed revolt. He considered ‘Allī the only legitimate successor of Muḥammad and rejected the caliphate of his three predecessors.

His legal doctrine was basically Medinan and lacked some characteristic Shī‘i elements like the formula ḥayya ‘alal ḥayri ‘l-isma‘īl in the adhān [q. v.] and rights of non-agnates in inheritance. He recognised, however, the validity of the consensus of the Family of the Prophet and relied on reports about ‘Allī transmitted to him by Abū Bakr b. Abī ‘Uwais from Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Duma‘raya with a family ḫayri. He accepted the fifth ‘īma‘ of the İmāmī Shī‘a, Muḥammad al-Bākīr [q. v.], as a legal authority, but condemned the later İmāmī ‘īma‘s as wrongly exploiting of their pious followers. He is known, however, to have transmitted a book of traditions of Ḏijā‘far al-Sādīk [q. v.] from his father on the authority of Mūsā al-Kāṣīm [q. v.] (al-Nadjarī, Rīḍīl, ed. Mūsā al-Zanjānī, Ķumā 1407, 314).

Al-Kasim’s theological and legal teaching became basic in the Zaydi communities in western Ṭabaristan and the Yemen. After the death of ‘Allī, the ʿiṣra‘ waqūf al-Hasan and al-Rasūl, his own son Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Al-Kasim became the first Zaydi Imam [q.v.], in agreement with the early Zaydi view, he held that the Kur’an was an uncreated. Sharply reacting against the rising tide of Sunni traditionalism, he affirmed that the sunna of the Prophet consisted only of what was mentioned or intended in the Kur’an. He accused the Hashwiyya (Sunni traditionalists) of massive forgery of hadith and viewed them as the main supporters of the oppressors.


**RASIDS**, a name sometimes used, most notably by Ibn Khaldūn (İb,'ar, iv, 111), of the Zaydi ‘īma‘ms of the Yemen [see Zaydiyya]. The term ‘Banu l-Rasīl’ is not commonly used by the Yemeni Zaydi historians and may only have gained some currency in Europe after Kay’s translation (Yaman, 184 ff.) of the chapter in Ibn Khaldūn’s ‘İb’ar. Perhaps also as a result of Kay’s translation, the term Rasid imāms was used soon after in Lane-Poole’s Dynasties, 102 and table, for the Zaydi imāms down to ca. 700/1300. The nība‘ is derived from a place in the Hijaz, Al-Ras, held by al-Kāsim b. Ḥarbīm Ṭabātaba b. Al-Kasim [q. v.], the grandfather of al-Hāḏī ila l-Ḥakk Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn [q. v.], the first Zaydi imam in the Yemen.

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**RASUL** (a., pl. rasuł, messenger, apostle.

1. In the religious sense. According to the Kur‘an, there is a close relation between the apostle and his people (umma [q. v.]). To each umma God sends only one apostle (sūra X, 48, XVI, 38 cf. XXXIII, 46, XL, 5). These statements are parallel to those which mention the witness whom God will take from each umma at the Day of Judgment (IV, 45, XXXVIII, 75 and cf. the descriptions of the rasīl who will cross the bridge to the other world at the head of his umma: al-Buḍghārī, Advān, bāb 129; Rīḍīl, bāb 52). Muhammad’s sense of the word is not yet seen and apostle (XXVIII, 46, XXXII, 2, XXXIV, 43). The other individuals to whom the Kur‘an accords the dignity of rasīl are Nūh, Lūt, İmā’īl, Mūsā, Șu‘a‘iby, Hūd, Șālīḥ and İsā.

The list of the prophets [see nabi in E’P and NUBUWWAJ] is a longer one; it contains, besides the majority of the apostles, Biblical or quasi-Biblical characters like İbrahim, İsāk, Ya‘qūb, Hūrūn, Dāwūd, Sulaymān, Ayyūb and Dhu l-Nūn. Muhammad in the Kur‘an is called sometimes rasūl, sometimes nabi. It seems that the prophets are those sent by God as preachers and nābi [q. v.] to their people, but are not the head of an umma like the rasīl. One is tempted to imagine a distinction between rasīl and nabi such as is found in Christian literature: the apostle is at the same time a prophet, but the prophet is not necessarily at the same time an apostle. But this is not absolutely certain, the evidence of the battle of the Kur‘anic utterances not being always clear.

As to the close relation which exists between the rasīl and his umma, it may be compared with the doctrine of the Acta apostolorum apocrypha, according to which the twelve apostles divided the whole world among them so that each one had the task of preaching the Gospel to a certain people.

As regards the term rasūl, account must be taken of the use of the word apostle in Christianity, as well as
of the use of the corresponding verb (ushahd) in connection with the prophets in the Old Testament (Exodus, iii, 13-14; iv, 13; Isaiah, vi, 8; Jeremiah, vi, 7). The term rasul Allāh is used in its Syriac form (ghalih d- allāhā) passim in the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas.

Post Kur'ānic teaching has increased the number of apostles to 313 or 315 without giving the names of all of them (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/v, 10; Fikh Aḥkrār III, art. 22; Reland, De religione mohamm. sect., 2nd ed., Utrecht 1717, 40). The doctrine that they were free from mortal sin is part of the faith [see ṣ̣a̲mā'ah]. For the rest, the difference between rasul and nabi—apart from the considerable difference in point of numbers—seems in later literature to disappear in the general teaching about the prophets. Thus in the 'Akīda of Abū Ḥāfṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi, the two categories are treated together and the author makes no difference between rasul and nabi. Similarly, al-Idji deals with prophets in general, so far as can be seen, including them in the rasūls. If one difference can be pointed out, it is that the rasul, in contrast to the prophet, is a law-giver and provided with a book (commentary on the Fikh Aḥkrār II by Abu l-Muntahā, Ḥaydarābdād 1331, 4). According to the catechism published by Reland (40-4), the rasūl lawgivers were Adam, Nūh, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā and Muḥammad.

In the catechism of Abū Ḥāfṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi, the sending of the apostles (risāla) is called an act of wisdom on the part of God. Al-Taftāzānī’s commentary calls it waqījīh, not in the sense of an obligation resting upon God but as a consequence arising from his wisdom. This semi-rationalist point of view is not, however, shared by all the scholastics: according to e.g. al-Sanāṣīfī (cf. his Umm al-harākhīn), it is ḍīqī in itself but belief in it is obligatory.


2. In the secular sense. For its meaning of ‘diplomatic envoy, ambassador’, in later Arabic usage safīr, see ʿelīsī and ʿemīr.

**RASŪLĪDS, name of a Sunnī dynasty of the Yemen.** They took their name from a certain Muhammad b. Hārūn who had earned for himself the nickname Rasul (‘messenger’) under one of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs in the 6th/12th century because of his trustworthiness and efficiency as a confidential envoy. The family tree can be constructed as given below (the element al-Malik prefixed to the rulers’ honorific titles is omitted here).

By the time the last sultan appeared on the scene, Rasulid history was marked by serious family squabbles over the leadership.

**Historical background.** The Rasulid historians and genealogists all claim an Arab pedigree for the family and call them Ghassānīds, a branch of al-Azīz [q.v.]. They further claim that a distant ancestor in the time of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb became a Christian and went to live in Byzantine territory. His children migrated into the lands of the Turkomans and settled among what is described as being the noblest of their tribes, Mangījk. It is probable that the Mangījk of the Oghuz Turks is meant. There they lost their Arab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muhammad b. Hārūn (Rasul)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿAli</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Mansūr 'Umar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) (626-47/1228-49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd (IV)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(694-6/1295-6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Muqāhid ʿAli</td>
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<td>(V) (721-64/1322-63)</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-ʿĀfdāl Ibrāhīm</td>
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<tr>
<td>(VI) (764-78/1363-77)</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-ʿĀshraf Ismā'īl (VII)</td>
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<td>(778-803/1377-1401)</td>
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<td>al-ʿĀshraf Ismā'īl (X)</td>
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<td>(830-1/1427-8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Zāhir Yahyā (XI)</td>
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<td>al-ʿĀshraf Ismā'īl (XII)</td>
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<td>al-Mu'azzaf Yusuf (XIII)</td>
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<td>(842-5/1438-41)</td>
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Identity entirely and intermarried with the Turkomans and spoke their language. It was only about the time of Muhammad b. Hārūn himself that the family moved to Īrāk and from there to Syria and finally to Egypt. There they came to the notice of the ruling Ayyūbid dynasty [q.v.]. In all probability, however, the family was originally of Mengījk, Oghuz Turkish origin.

It was either in the train of Turānghā [q.v.], the first Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen and the brother of Salāh al-Dīn [q.v.], when he conquered the country from Egypt in 567/1173, or in that of his successor and brother, Tughṭakīn, in 579/1183 that a number of Rasulīd amīrī first entered the country. Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī was a chief-holder (mukta'ī) during the period of Ayyūbid control of the Yemen, and when the last Ayyūbid, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, left the Yemen to travel north to take up the governorship of Damascus in 626/1228-9, he could find no one other than Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar to act as his deputy there. Al-Mas'ūd died in Mecca on his way north. Although Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar had been instructed to hold the Yemen for the Ayyūbid house until the arrival of a new Ayyūbid ruler, no other member of the family was ever to set foot in the Yemen again. Nūr al-Dīn ʿUmar showed outward allegiance to his Ayyūbid masters in Egypt until 632/1235, when he received an official diploma of authority from the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Mustansīr [q.v.]. This marks the real beginning of the independent Rasulid state in Southern Arabia.
The Ayyubids had made a thorough job of conquering and controlling Tihama \[^{\text{a}}\]. The Red Sea coastal plain, and the southern highlands as far north as San\[^{\text{a}}\] \[^{\text{b}}\]. This was the territory the Rasulids inherited. The Zaydi \[^{\text{im\'am}}\] continued to hold much of the land north of San\[^{\text{a}}\] \[^{\text{b}}\] and the city itself was frequently disputed between them and the Sunni Rasulids.

The period after 632/1235, during which the Rasulids held control of Tihama and southern Yemen, was without doubt the most brilliant in the mediæval history of the country. All the hard, pioneering work had been done by their predecessors, the Ayyubids, with their vast armies, including numerous cavalry. Their conquests had been thorough. In addition, their skilled administrators trained in Syria and Egypt had established an effective administration in the Yemen. The Rasulids were able to build on to these achievements. They, too, had efficient local civil servants and, what is more, the royal house was blessed with a plethora of gifted intellectuals who brought great scholarly effort to an already highly educated country (see below, 3. Monuments, and 5. Literature).

It is not possible to chronicle in detail the events of more than two centuries of Rasulid rule in the Yemen. Until his death in 647/1249, al-Mansur Umar's preoccupation with problems in San\[^{\text{a}}\] \[^{\text{b}}\] had brought about the neglect of Tihama and the south of the Yemen. The new sultan, his son, al-Mansur Yusuf, spent the early years of his rule reestablishing Rasulid control over these areas. It is surprising that he retained Asad al-Din Muhammad b. Hasan. He was to prove unreliable, if not actually treacherous, and this is what involved al-Mansur so much in the affairs of the city. Al-Mansur Umar was murdered in al-Djanad \[^{\text{q.v.}}\] near Ta'izz \[^{\text{q.v.}}\] in 647/1249 by a gang of mamluks, and al-Khazradji \[^{\text{q.v.}}\], the Rasulid court historian, has no hesitation in pointing the finger at Asad al-Din Muhammad.

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published. However, both are now providing information on Rasulid trade and commerce which fully confirms how widespread, sophisticated and lucrative they were. Four Rasulid tombstones from Zafar by Venetia Porter, in JFRAS (1988), 26-44.

2. Coins and mints. W. F. Prideaux, Coins of the Bneee Rasool dynasty of South Arabia, in JBBRAS, xvi (1885), 8-16; H. Nützel, Münzen der Rasuliden, Berlin 1891; idem, Münzen der Rasuliden nebst einem Abriss der Geschichte dieser jemenischen Dynastie, in Zeitschrift für Numismatik, xviii (1892), 127; E. von Zambauer, Die Münzprägungen der Islam, Wien 1918; Smith, Early Islamic and mediaeval trade and commerce in the Yemen, in Daum, Yemen, 204-12; Porter, The art of the Rasulids, in ibid., 35-54; Porter, The architecture of the Rasulids, in ibid., 89-104.


Who was this HadjdjI Ratan? It appears from combining the extant narratives of over a dozen men who...
had visited him in his native place from various parts of the Muslim world, that, in the 7th/13th century, there lived a Bhaidna the Ratan by name, about whom "it was said that he was a long-lived individual, who had met the Prophet, was present with him at the Ditch (at the siege of Medina in A.H. 6), when the Prophet prayed for his long life, that he was present when Fatima was conducted as a bride to 'Ali, may God be pleased with both of them, and who transmitted hadith" (Tadhkira al-Safadl, who, in his turn, is quoting the al-Rataniyydt Tadhkira al-^arus, loc. cit.).

His teeth were small like a hook, that he said he had never been married, and the length of the space occupied by him, when sitting, was three cubits (al-Djanadl, quoted in Isdba, i, 1099). Another merchant, from the same land, found him laid like the young one of a bird, in a large basket, stuffed with cotton, which was hanging from a branch of a huge tree outside the village, and was worked by means of a pulley. He spoke in Persian, his voice being like the humming of a bee. He referred to all the inhabitants of the big village as his children or grand-children (Isdba, i, 1094; Lisdn al-mizdn, ii, 452, quoting the Tadhkira of al-Safadl, who, in his turn, is quoting the Tadhkira of al-Wadafi (d. 726/1326), see Brockelmann, ii, 10, S II; HadjdjI Khalifa, ii, 264). Contrary to the first narrative, which tells us that he was never married, the second makes him say that he had a large progeny, and, in fact, Ibn Hadjar includes two of Ratan's sons, Mahmu'd and 'Abd Allah, among the transmitters of hadith from him.

Some of these narratives represent him as having been first converted to Christianity and then to Islam (Isdba, i, 1097-8).

The date of his death is given variously, as A.H. 596, 608, 612, 632 (Isdba, 700), and even 709 (AlT-yi Lala al-^urus, A *in-i Akbari, Fawdat al-wafaydt). It is generally agreed that the later date is correct, and that the name of al-Ratan is found in the manuscripts of Leiden, Berlin and Lucknow, and shows "traces of both Shi'ite (or perhaps better 'Alide) and Sufic tendencies" (Journal of the Panjah Historical Society, i, 112). Al-Firdawsii had heard them from the companions of Ratan's family (Kamuz, loc. cit.).

The claims of Ratan widely attracted the attention of Muslims in the 7th/13th century, and caused a lot of differences of opinion in Muslim circles in subsequent centuries, as would be indicated by the following list of some outstanding personalities, who expressed themselves for or against his main claim, viz. of being a long-lived Companion of the Prophet.

For: 1. Shaykh Ruhldi al-Din 'Ali-yi Lal b. Ghaznavi (d. 1242/1244), who associated with Ratan in India and received from him a comb, with the transmission of which the Prophet had entrusted Ratan; 2. Abu '1-Fath Musa b. Mudjalli al-Sufi, and al-Dawla al-Simnani (d. 736/1336), whom the above-mentioned comb ultimately reached, along with a khanka received by 'Ali-yi Lal from Ratan. Rukn al-Din attested this in writing (see Nafahdt al-uns, Calcutta 1858, 50, with notes of Lardi on the passage); 3. Abd al-Ghaffar b. Nuh b. Kusi (d. 780/1379), the author of the Kitab al-Wahid fi salik al-ahli al-tauhid, for which see HadjdjI Khalifa, ii, 452; Brockelmann, ii, 142 (see Isdba, i, 1096); 4. Abu '1-Dja'fari (d. 732/1332), the author of the Ta'rikh al-Vaman; cf. Brockelmann, ii, 234 (in Isdba, i, 1096-7); 5. Salah al-Din al-Safadl (d. 764/1363); see above (previous col.); 6. Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Dja'zari (d. 739/1338-9), the author of HaawidjI al-zaman wa-anba'hi for which see Sarkisi, Mu'jam al-mabudi, 696, is also apparently to be added to this list; see Isdba, i, 1092, 7. Khadda Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419), see AlT-yi Lala al-Ashiqi, ii, 207 (= tr. Jarrett, iii, 360); 8. Nur Allh Shug'li (about 1010), who maintains that the Sunni opposition to Ratan's claim was really due to (a) Ratan's being a Shi'i, most of whose hadith was in praise of the Ahi al-Bayt and their partisans, and to (b) the jealousy of the contemporary Sunni 'ulam^a, who were thrown into shade by the 'ulam^a, and the pangenesis (ri'afa) of 'Ali (see Isdba, i, 1091; cf. Lisdn al-mizdn, ii, 452); 2. 'Alam al-Din al-Birzali al-Shafi'i (d. 795/1393) (see Fawdat al-usfarayd, i, 163); 3. Burhan al-Din Ibn Djam'a (d. 790/1388, see Brockelmann, ii, 136) (quoted in Isdba, i, 1101); 4. Al-Djanadl (d. 790/1388), the author of the Kitab al-Dawla al-Simnani, who had visited Bhatinda (in the time of Shihab al-Din Muhammad Churl's invasion, when he betrayed the fortress to the Muslims). He was converted to Islam and performed the hajdt. According to a fuller version, still current in Bhatinda, he was a Cawh^an RajaP, RatanP by name. He knew by his knowledge of astrology that the Prophet would be born in Arabia and spread Islam. In order to be able to see him, he practiced restraining his breath. After the miracle of 'ishak al-kamar (splitting the moon into two), which he witnessed, Ratan set out for Mecca, was converted to Islam, and lived with the Prophet for thirty years. Then he returned to India and stayed where his shrine is now, continuing the practice of restraining his breath. Later, when Shihab al-Din Ghur^i proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Prithi Rajl, the sultan visited the HadjdjI, the saint per-
formed a miracle and became instrumental in the con-
quest of the fort, shortly after which event he died, at
the age of 700 years (Journal of the Panjab Historical
Society, xvii, 168-70; art. 'ABD ALLAH b. RAWAHA').

Four members of a primary branch of the Banú
Rawāḥa, linked by direct line of descent, are known to
us:

1. Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. al-Husayn,
   'Abil hamāt', died in 561/1166 (or 567/1175), aged
   73. Official preacher of Hamāt and poet, he composed,
   while passing through Baghdad in the course of the
   Pilgrimage, new couplets in praise of the
   caliph al-Muqtadī (SB ibn Jāhiz, Mir'āt al-zamān,
   iv, 1, 263; Wāfi, xvii, 142-4).

2. His son, Abū Ali al-Husayn (513-85/1121-89),
   fakih and poet; his surviving works include an
   ode honouring Salāḥ al-Dīn and a few fragments of erotic
   poetry (al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, Khatāī al-kāy (Ṣāmī),
   i, 484, and Yākūt, Muṣ'yam al-udā'abā', x, 4-66). His life
   was eventful; taken prisoner, he lived in Sicily, then
   on his release he spent some time in Alexandria,
   returned to Syria and died a martyr's death at the
   battle of Mardj 'Amāk (Wāfi, xii, 413-4).

3. The son of the above-named, 'Izz al-Dīn Abū l-
Kāsim 'Abd Allah, born in Sicily in 560/1165, during
   the captivity of his father; in Alexandria, he had
   numerous audiences with the eminent traditionalist al-
   Sīlāfī, bewildered (575/1175), but, after his father's
   death, became a fakih and poet, he lived in
   Aleppo and in Hamāt, where he was buried in
   Qumrādī II 646/July-August 1248 (al-Dhahābi,
   Tāriskh, ms. Bodl. Land 305, fol. 212; Wāfi, xvii,
   144-5).

4. His grandson, Nūr al-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Abd al-
   Rahmān b. 'Abd Allah, known as 'al-khatīb',
   held the post of kātib al-masāh at Tripoli and in the occupied
   cities (jitāb). He died in Hamāt in Shādān
   712/December 1312 (Ibn al-Sūkāf, Tā'īl al-wusāfāt,
   44 in the Arabic text) and 148; Wāfi, vi, 56-7).

From a collateral branch of the Banū Rawāḥa,
another known individual is Zakī al-Dīn ibn Rāba al-
Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhidī b. Rawāḥa, apparent-
ly a first cousin to al-Husayn (cf. no. 2, above), who
lived in Damascus and died there in Radjah 623/June-
July 1226. A wealthy merchant, poet and sworn
sycophant (muhaddith), enjoying much respect in
Damascus, he founded two madrasas for the teaching
of Shafi'i fakih, one at Aleppo, the other in Damascus,
the being the Rawāyiyya, founded in 622/1225. No
longer in existence, it was situated in the interior of
the Bāb al-Faratāds, to the north of the Great Mosque.
Its founder lived there until his death in an apartment
in the east of the madrasa, opposite the opulent library
which he had also founded. He had richly endowed
this madrasa, thus enabling students of humble means

Bibliography:

1. Horovitz's article on Bāba Ratan, the Saint of Bhatinda, in JPHS, ii, 97 ff., gives
   the fullest information, with references, to which may be added: Ibn Ḥadjar, Lisān al-muẓān,
   Hadīrābād 1330, ii, 450 ff. (mostly repeats his own article in Ṣafā); Zakbī, Taqī al-'arū', in, 112;
   H. A. Rose, A glossary of the tribe and castes of the Pandjab and N.W.F. Province, i, 175, 179, 181.
   Horovitz reconciled these divergent versions in a
   striking theory: "It may be that Ratan was originally
   a Yogi, who as such was believed to have been alive
   hundreds of years and who on becoming acquainted
   with the Muhammadan aspects of longevity, used
   them to strengthen his position in the eyes of his
   Muhammadan followers... The saint had two faces: he
   showed that of a long-lived Yogi to the Hindus,
   who were thus enabled to the Prophet to the Muhammadans"
   (JPHS, ii, 113-14).

2. Bibliography: J. Horovitz's article on Rawdtib,
   the term is not found in
   the Kur an nor as a technical term in
   the Companions of the Prophet 'Abd Allah b.
   Rawāḥa b. Ḥamād b. Rūmān b. Rawha
   (ms. Bodl. Land 305, fol. 212; Wāfi, xvii,
   144-5).

RATL [see MAKAYIL].

RAWAHA, Banū, a Shafi'i family originally
from the town of Hamār [q.v.], numerous members of
which held public office in this town, as also in
Damascus and Tripoli during the Ayyubid period and
in the early times of the Bahriyya Mamluks. The
Banū Rawāḥa, of Medinan origin and belonging to
the tribe of Khazzāds, seem to have had an ancestor
in the early times of the Bahriyya Mamluks. The
tribe of Khazzāds, seem to have had an ancestor
in the early times of the Bahriyya Mamluks. The

A glossary of the tribe and castes of the Panjab
and N.W.F. Province, i, 175, 179, 181.

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited
in the text, see Abu Shama, Tāriskh (= Dhayl al-

RAWANDI, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Persian historian who flourished at the end of the Saldjuk period. Details of his life are known only from information in his sole surviving work, the Rāḥat al-salṭūn wa-diyāt al-sūrūr, a dynastic history of the Great Saldjuk [q.v.]. Rawandi belonged to a scholarly family from Rawand, near Kāshān. He studied Ḥanafī fīkh in Hamadhān from 570/1174 to 580/1184 and became a skilled calligrapher and gilder. When sultan Toghṭrī III b. Arslān wanted a beautiful Kurān, Rawandi, as a member of the team of craftsmen, gained favour at court. After Toghṭrī’s imprisonment in 586/1190, Rawandi found other patrons and one of them, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Kāšānī, encouraged him to begin writing the Rāḥat al-salṭūn in 599/1202.

Rawandi would have doubtless liked to dedicate his work to a Saldjuk prince of Persia. After the dynasty’s demise in Persia in 590/1194 and the advent of the Khwārzmshāhī, whose rule Rawandi deplores (30–2), he sought patronage from Konya, wanting his book to be in the “name of a Saldjuk sultan” (62). Indeed, he went there personally to present his work (64). Originally, he had dedicated it to sultan Sulaymān II (ed. 600/1203), but this project also lapsed, and he turned his attention towards Rum is a clear indication that early 7th/13th century Persian scholars viewed the Anatolian Saldjuk dynasty as the new champions of Sunni Islam, and Konya as the centre for the continuation of Persian scholarly traditions.

For its account of Saldjuk history until Toghṭrī III, the Rāḥat al-salṭūn is one of several Persian historical sources dependent on the Saldjuk-nama of Nīgāhpūrī (d. ca. 582/1182 [q.v.]). Rawandi’s history is, however, an invaluable first-hand source for Toghṭrī’s reign. The work is deeply permeated with the Fürstenspiegel ethos. Far from being a detailed history, it is a didactic essay on exemplary kingship in which a skeletal narrative framework is fleshed out with illustrative anecdotes, Arabic aphorisms (with accompanying Persian translations) and poetical quotations (notably from Niḍāmī and the Zaḥān-nama, as well as lesser-known poets, including Rawandi himself). The last section of the book discusses courtly accomplishments and is drawn from Ḥanafī legal works (418). Generally, Rawandi’s approach resembles that of Muḥammad Malātawī in his Barīd al-salṭāt, dedicated to Kāyḫūsraw’s successor in Konya, Kāyḵwās (cf. Fouchécour, 430).

Rawandi’s history was often used by later Persian historians and was included in the Persian empire of the 4th century B.C. The Muslim invaders experienced much trouble from the turbulent Gakkhar tribes (Taxila) which was an important seat of learning in the town lie the ruins of the ancient city of Takṣhāqilī [q.v.].

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historians (especially Yazdi) and was translated into Turkish in the reign of Sultan Murad II (cf. Barthold, 116, Storey, i, 257). Rawandi also wrote a polemical work against the Barmazis and others (repr. 1973), another on calligraphy (Rahal al-judur, 394, 445), which have apparently not survived.


CAROLE HILLENBRAND

AL-RAWANDIYYA, a term referring to an extremist Shi'i group which originated within the 9th century movement in Khorasan. The term has subsequently expanded to include at times the 'Abbāsid ghira, but unless otherwise stated it was used in this article in its original sense. It is said in some sources to derive from al-Kāsim b. Rāwand or from Abu ʿAbbās al-Rawandi, both of whom are otherwise unknown; other sources more plausibly derive it from ʿAbbās Allāh al-Rawandi, who appears in a list of propagandists (djażī) of Muhammad b. ʿAbbās. ʿAbbās Allāh b. ʿAbbās al-Rawandiyya (q.v.) see Akhbar al-daula al-abbāsiyya, ed. ʿAbbās al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and ʿAbbās al-Djabbār al-Muttaḥalī, Beirut 1971, 222). Both ʿAbbās Allāh's son Harb (d. 1477/764) and his grandson ʿAbd al-Habib, was senior officers in the 'Abbāsid army in Irāk during al-Manṣūr's reign. Harb who, like his son, is said to have been a member of the Rawandiyya (q.v. kaysānīyya), participated in the crushing of the Rizāmīyya (q.v.) before being killed in Armenia by Turkish rebels (al-Taflar, iii, 296, 353); he was also given an estate in an area north of the Round City of Baghdad which became known after him as al-Harbiyya (cf. ibid., iii, 328).

Initially, the Rawandiyya appear to have argued (in line with the bulk of the Ḥāghimīyya) that the imamate had passed from ʿAllī via Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya to the latter's son Abū Hāšim ʿAbbās Allāh and then, in accordance with Abū Hāšim's testament (waṣiyya), to Muhammad b. ʿAbbās Allāh. ʿAbbās Allāh b. ʿAbbās (al-Nawbakhtī, Fīrak, 29-30; Saʿd b. ʿAbbās Allāh, Maklāt, 39-40; al-Baghdādī, Fīrāk, 40); they are therefore occasionally counted among the Kaysānīyya. Al-Nawbakhtī's source (evidently Hīghām b. al-Hakam, al-nāfiʿ, ed. Ch. Schefer, Nouvelles mélanges orientaux, Paris 1890, 222) refers to the group as ghilāt al-rāwandiyya, which the sources espoused included delegation of the imams, belief in their omniscience, and dispensation from the religious laws for those who know the imams; he notes that their strength increased when most of the followers of ʿAbbās Allāh b. Muḥāwīya (q.v.) joined their ranks. Some further details are provided by al-Maḍāʿīnī's (q.v.) father (as cited in al-Taflar, iii, 418) when he describes the first recorded Rawandi uprising, crushed by ʿAbbās Allāh al-Kāsī (q.v.) during his governorship of ʿKhurāsān (116/1973-4). A leper called Abū Al-Bakāʾ (ʿpihbađ'), who aspired to lead the Rawandiyya at the time, upheld the doctrine of the periodic incarnation of the deity on earth by claiming that the spirit of Jesus had passed on to ʿAllī and then, successively, to each of the imāms up to ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī's son ʿIbrāhīm (see ʿIbrahīm b. Muḥammad); he and his followers also sanctioned communal access to women.

Most sources agree that the Rawandi doctrine of the imāmate underwent a significant shift after the 'Abbāsid rise to power: the imamate was no longer believed to have started with 'Alī rather than with al-ʿAbbās, from whom it passed to his descendants. The Rawandiyya based their belief in al-ʿAbbās's succession to the Prophet on the ancient inheritance laws whereby the paternal uncle excludes daughters, cousins and nephews; and they interpreted accordingly the Qur'ānic verse "Those related by blood are nearer to one another in the Book of God" (Q VIII, 77, XXXIII, 6). There are indications that this doctrine had its advocates in the 'Abbāsid court some time before its emergence as an official tenet under al-Manṣūr and especially under al-Mahdī (cf. M. Sharon, Black banners from the East, Jerusalem and Leiden 1983, 82-99); it remains to be established whether it was first elaborated among the Rawandiyya and then adopted as an official 'Abbāsid line or whether, in contrast, the Rawandiyya mirrored the changing court ideology.

In a report from an unnamed source, Ibn al-Djawzī (vii, 29) describes the Rawandiyya as a group (aṣāfira) of Bātinīs (i.e. Ismāʿīlīs) known as Sabīʿīyya, who believed that the cycle (daur) of the imams which began with al-ʿAbbās ended with the seventh, al-Manṣūr. The reference to the Rawandiyya as Bātinīs must be a back-projection; at the same time, if indeed they insisted on a line of seven imāms, this would make them the earliest "Seventh" Shi'i group, predating the Wāḥidiyya who emerged after the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm (q.v.).

The sources present a confused and sometimes contradictory picture of the relationship between the Rawandiyya and other groups in the early 'Abbāsid period. Some (such as Ps.-Nāṣrī) identify them with the Hurayriyya (q.v.), while ʿAbū Ḥātim al-Rāzī rather than with al-ʿAbbāsid (q.v.) al-Mansur. The reference to the Rawandiyya as Bātinīs must be a back-projection; at the same time, if indeed they insisted on a line of seven imāms, this would make them the earliest "Seventh" Shi'i group, predating the Wāḥidiyya who emerged after the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm (q.v.).

The Rawandiyya also believed in the divinity of al-Manṣūr and the prophethood of ʿAbū Muslim; the Rizāmīyya in turn, held to the earlier line of imāms via ʿAbū Hāšim, believing in addition that ʿAbū Muslim had not died. In ʿAbū Hāšim al-Rāzī's K. al-Ẓīna these three groups are described as comprising the 'Abbāsiyya (i.e. the 'Abbāsid ghira). In contrast, al-Nawbakhtī's source identifies the Rawandiyya with the 'Abbāsid ghira as a whole and says that it consisted of three subgroups: the 'Aбу Muslimis, for whom ʿAbū Muslim was the living imām; the Rizāmīyya, in addition to following the line of imāms via ʿAbū Hāšim, secretly believed in ʿAbū Muslim (presumably while acknowledging that he had died); and the Hurayriyya, described as "the pure 'Abbāsids" (al-abbāsiyya al-khullā), who upheld the imamate from al-ʿAbbās (q.v.).

There are scattered references to disturbances involving Rawandīs in the first 'Abbāsid decade. In St. 152/752-3 a group from Tālakan, headed by ʿAbū Isbāk (perhaps Khālid b. ʿUṯmān, an 'Abbāsid dāvī of
who had been commander of Abū Muslim’s guard), attacked and killed one of Abu Muslim’s officers before they themselves were slain (al-Tabari, iii, 82). After this incident they no longer heard of it in Khurāsān, but they reappeared a few years later in the West. Here the most widely reported event is the riot sometimes referred to as yaum al-rīwāndiyā. Its date is variously given as 136 or 137 (al-Tabari, citing an anonymous source), 139 or the beginning of 140 (al-Balādūrī), 140 (Ibn al-‘Ibri), 141 (al-Tabarī and others) and 142 (al-Dinawarī), and it is said to have taken place in al-Hāshimiyya [p. 391] (or in Basra, according to al-Dinawarī, whose version also differs in other details). The accounts in al-Balādūrī (iii, 235-6) and al-Tabarī (iii, 129-33) speak of 600 Rawandis who took part, all of whom were Khurāsānī followers of Abū Muslim who believed that Adam’s soul resided in Īʿṭāmān b. Nahīk (one of al-‘Abbāsī’s security commanders who was killed in the ensuing combat) and that al-Haytham b. Muʿawya (like Īʿṭāmān, an “Abbāsid dāʿī”) was the angel Gabriel. They began to circumambulate the al-Mansūr’s palace, hailing him as their God (rabīʾ) who provided them with food and drink. At this point al-‘Abbās appears to have realized that he was not in danger and the people were not to be trusted; disregarding his order, they stormed the palace, burned it, and took the prince and his colleagues. When they headed back towards the palace the al-Mansūr left on foot and was provided with a saddled horse outside. The Ṣlijahāni leader Maʿānb. Zāʾida [p. 391] (an erstwhile Umayyad general who had been in hiding from the “Abbāsids, came to the rescue and, in a display of courage which won al-‘Abbās’s admiration, managed to beat off the attackers, virtually all of whom were killed. According to other reports, Abu Ṣayf Mālik b. al-Haytham (who had been among the original nakābāʾ) personally guarded the palace gates, while the military commander Khāzīm b. Khuzayma, together with the local populace, was instrumental in overcoming the Rawandis. One of the attackers, Rizān (founder of the Rizāmīya?), was granted amnesty after he sought refuge with the caliph’s son Līfīza. The reason given in the sources for the attack on the palace was presumably a reaction to the arrest of their leaders; it would seem that they were also bitterly disappointed with the caliph’s unwillingness to come up to their expectations of him. That al-Mansūr was in serious danger is confirmed by reports that he was almost killed by the rioters (e.g. Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, v, 502: kādū ʿakalatulānahu). The incident dramatically pointed out the caliph’s vulnerability and contributed to his decision to look for a capital elsewhere, a decision which eventually led to the beginning of work on Baghdad. Two reports concerning the riot are especially noteworthy. The first (al-Tabarī, iii, 418-9) describes some Rawandis as jumping to their deaths from the green dome of the palace (referred to as al-Khādāra, which was also the name of the green dome of the Baghdad palace; cf. J. Lassner, The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages, Detroit 1970, 135-6). This report is not supported by any account concerning another group of Rawandis. These men revolted in Aleppo and Harrān in 141/758-9; believing themselves to be in the same rank (manzila) as angels, they mounted a hill in Aleppo, put on silk clothes, jumped off and perished (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubdāt al-ḥalāb min taʾrīkh Ḥalab, ed. Sāmil al-Dahhān, i, Damascus 1370/1951, 59-60). In the second report (al-Balādūrī, iii, 235) the Rawandīya state that, if al-ʿAbbās wished, he could make the mountains move, and if he were to order them to turn their backs to Mecca during prayer they would comply. This formulation also appears in the ed. M. al-Muṣṭaṭfī [p. 391] Risāla fi ʿl-tahāba which he composed for al-Mansūr (probably between 136/754 and 142/759), when he describes the views of some over-zealous Khurāsānī troops (ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, Cairo 1946, 120; cf. S.D. Goitein, A turning point in the history of the Muslim state, in his Studies in Islamic history and institutions, Leiden 1966, 156). It is thus possible that the troops against whom he warned the caliph were the Rawandīya. Hardly anything is heard of this group after the death of al-Mansūr, though some of them were involved in the struggle over his succession. The more extreme elements merged into other sects known collectively as Khurramiyā [p. 391]. The number of those who upheld al-ʿAbbās’s designation as Muḥammad’s successor appears also to have diminished sharply. Marwān b. Abī ʿl-Djanzī [p. 391] still wrote for al-Mutawakkil a poem about the hereditary rights of the “Abbāsids (al-Tabarī, iii, 1456-6, cited in Goldziher, Muḥammad studies, ed. S.M. Stern, ii, London 1971, 100-1); yet by the time of al-Shaṭir al-Muṭṭāraḍ (d. 436/1044) the last adherents of this doctrine had apparently disappeared (cf. al-Ṣafī fi l-imāma, Tehran 1301/1884, 99).
In the early 19th century, one of these lords, the half-blind Muhammad Khor ('the blind'), dominated the local tribes and established his power from 1826 onwards as far as the Little Zab and Irbil and then in 1833 as far as 'Amadiyya and Zakho, and minted coins of his own as al-Amir al-Manṣūr Muḥammad Bāb; but after his fall in 1836 and deportation by the Ottomans, Rawandiz shrank once more to a place of minor significance only. During the First World War the Rawandiz road was used in the winter of 1914-15 by Khalīl Bey's troops advancing on Urmiya (contrary to H. Geiger, Die Türken um ihre Gegner, Frankfurt a.M. 1915) and later in July 1916 by the Russian Rybalchenko. After the armistice and during the period till December 1925, when the League of Nations made its decision on the wliāyat of Mawsil, Rawandiz was the focus for attempts at some form of autonomy or independence under the Kurdish chief Shaykh Maḥmūd Barzanji, who in 1922 proclaimed himself in the way of Sulaymāniyya 'Pādispah of Kurdistān', and also for Turkish attempts at this time to retain the region within Turkey, with a Turkish kārim-makām, 'Ali Şeşef, appointed to Rawandiz in 1922. The town was, however, recovered for the new Kingdom of 'Irāk government in April 1923 by a combined operation of the 'Irāki army and local Assyrian Christian levies, and an administration installed there under Sayyid 'Abād of Neri as kārim-makām. In 1925 a League of Nations commission awarded the wliāyat of Mawsil, including Rawandiz, to 'Irāk.

Language. Kurdish is the language spoken in this region, except by the town dwellers (Irbil, Alūn Köprü, Kırık, etc.) of Turkish origin. According to O. Mann (Die Mundart der Mükri Kurden, ii, 205), the dialect of Rawandiz is very like that of Şamāndar, but E.B. Soane did not share this opinion (Kurdish grammar, London 1913). F. Jardine's manual, Bahdān Kurmānji, a grammar of the Kurmānji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistān, London 1922, is more particularly devoted to this dialect.

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RAWDA (Ar., literally 'garden'; an island in the Nile in the southern part of Cairo about 3 km/2 miles long and with an average width of 500 m/1,640 ft. A narrow canal (al-Khalīlī or Sāyālāt al-Rawda) divides the eastern bank of the river from the island. Before the regulation of the river in the 19th century, the canal often dried out. From the time of the establishment of Arab rule until the early 19th century, the island was mostly connected by pantoon bridges with both banks of the river (the Fustās as well as the Dīzza shore). The island has been the place of a Nilometer (Mīšqāt [q.v.]) since the early 2nd/8th century. Concerning the historical topography of Rawda, see Mīsr. C. 2. ii. As long as the annual rise of the Nile was celebrated, the island was of crucial importance in the social life of Cairo. Each year at this time, until the high crest was reached (usqād al-Nil), i.e. for about
two months, people gathered in tents and pavilions on
the island celebrating, while expecting the opening ...
ning down of their tents (see Ibn Iyâs, Bâdi'2 al-zuhûr, 
960-92, who reports this fact for later mediaeval times). In 
medieval times, the island was used, for strategic reasons, for 
fortifications and the naval arsenal [see mir, loc. cit.]. Two 
rulers, Ahmad b. Tûlûn (254-70/868-84 [g. v.]) and the 
Ayyûbîd al-Malik al-Sâlih (656-47/1259-90) thought it 
would be possible to build a fortress on this island; neither of 
these, however, lasted for long. Ibn Tûlûn's fortress was 
built as a place of retreat when he was threatened by 
the capral power, but it was never used and soon decayed.
Al-Malik al-Sâlih was equally led to take 
avantage of the island. In order to secure his position he 
had begun to import Turkish Mamlûks, and it was more 
convenient to have them reside outside al-
Kâhîra. He also may have intended securing a retreat 
for himself in case of an attack by the Crusaders, but 
seems more plausible to assume that he wanted to 
be able to deploy instantaneously his warships anchoring 
there in case of a Frankish attack on Egypt's 
Mediterranean ports. After al-Sâlih's death, the vast 
fortress—half of the island was encircled by walls— 
was abandoned. The Mamlûk ruler al-Zâhir Baybars 
(650-76/1260-77 [g. v.]) rebuilt the ka'âr, apparently he 
intended to use his Rawda citadel as his stronghold, 
but the advantages were not sufficient to replace in the 
long run the Ka'at al-Djâbal (see EI3 art. Rawda, 
where it is falsely stated that the Bahri line of the 
Mamlûks reigned there). Thereafter, the materials of 
the Ka'at al-Rawda were re-used by succeeding 
sultans for their own buildings.

From the 4th/10th century, Rawda was a place of 
recreation, due to its clement climatic conditions. Gardens and palaces, and a residential area were 
built. Muhammad b. Tughbî l-lkhshîd (323-1195/ 
4-6 [g. v.]) built a garden called al-Mukhûr, and the 
Fâtimid vizier al-Afâlîl b. Badr al-Djâmîl (d. 
515/1121 [g. v.]) laid out the garden, rawda, 
whence the island. In the time before this and 
and afterwards, the island was called Djizirat Miṣr or 
just an island. Leo Africanus was the first to record 
the existence of the Rawda island (Le Voyage en 
Egypte de Leo Africanus, Cairo 1972, 231). Half-a-
century later, the Venetian traveller Bâchurî, in the 
14th century, describes the Rawda island as a place 
with rows of buildings encircled by high buildings with 
people everywhere (Le Voyage en Egypte de Balthasar de Monconys, 
Cairo 1956, 511-12). The Sultan al-Ghaurî is said to 
have ordered the building of a new Friday mosque near 
the Nile mouth in 917/1511 (Ibn Iyâs, iv. 175).

Several statements from travellers in the 16th and 
17th centuries suggest that Rawda was used as a place for 
recreation by the local inhabitants and as a residential 
area, contrary to the assumption, expressed in EI3, 
art. Rawda, that the island was abandoned in Ot-
toman times up to the early 19th century. In 1598 
Harant mentioned about 100 houses (Le Voyage en 
Egypte de Christophe Harant, Cairo 1972, 231).

This is corroborated by Ewîyâl Celebî (1091/1680) — 
whose statements have to be taken critically—when 
he praises the island, mentioning numerous streets and 
buildings (Sevihat-nîme, Istanbul 1938, x, 321-2, 325-
7). 'Abd al-âlîn al-Nâbulusî spent some time on the 
island, and in a letter to his brother in 1680, written 
when he was staying at Djâmil (see EI3 and al-
madâjûs, Cairo 1966, 236-7). In 1806 al-Abbâsî found Rawda abandoned, having been 
formerly a little paradise; he praises the French for 
having formed the walk with rows of trees which 
traversed the island from south to north (Travels, Lon-
don 1816, repr. 1970, ii. 22-3). In later Ottoman 
times, Rawda was likewise one of the favourite fields 
of military practice for the Mamlûks; in the fights 
between the rival Mamlûk groups, one of the factions 
used to resort to the island.

In the 19th century many gardens and palaces, and 
also mosques (sometimes used as funerary mosques), 
were built. A large garden (no longer extant), which is 
described as a kind of botanical and zoological 
garden, was founded in the northern part of the island 
al-Khitat al-ajadida, xvii, 11). In recent times, the 
refusals of tourists on the island have decreased.

It should be mentioned that poetry on Rawda is 
abundant, often as a part of anthologies on gardens 
ravdiyyât); see e.g. Abu Dâja'far al-Idrîsî, Anwar uluqiyûs al-ajadîm; al-Suyûtî, Kaukab al-Rawda 
(Brockelmann, II, 202); Ibn Dûmîkî op. cit., ch. on 
Rawda; and 'Abd al-âlîn al-Nâbulusî, op. cit.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the ar-
ticle, see Suyûtî, Hân al-muqâlîn ft ar-Râsî Miṣr wa 
'l-Khârîa, ed. Muhammad Abu 'l-Faqîl Ibrahim,
RAWDA — RAWH B. HATTIM

Cairo 1386/1968; Makrlzl, Kitdb al-Mawa'iz; CA1I

Mubarak Pasha, al-Khitat al-djadida, ... of troubles had to arise in order to convince the caliphs to relax their control, and this was, in 184/800,

of Imam Husayn, the grandson of the prophet ("The literary masterpiece called Garden of the Martyrs"). This book, written in Persian but under an Arabic title, was composed by Huseyn b. Ziyad, which can be held anywhere from black tents set up for the occasion in the public square of a village or town, to a mosque or a courtyard of a private house, or even to special edifices built for the Shi'a commemorative rituals which are collectively known as ma'dhaba al-asa'. These buildings have been constructed in Persia from the end of the 18th century onwards.

Rawda-khânân belongs to the category of the stationary Shi'i commemorative rituals which are collectively known as magâsit al-asa'. It starts with the chants invoking the prophet Muhammad and other sâlih, and is followed by a rawda-khânân (a master story-teller, who recites and sings the story of Husayn and his family and followers at the bloody battle of Karbalâ while sitting on a minbar above the assembled crowd. His rapid chanting in a high-pitched voice alternates with sobbing and crying to arouse the audience to an intense state of emotion. The audience responds with weeping, chest beating, and body flapping, trying to replicate the reality of the tragedy through a combination of hours to an entire day, well into the night as a succession of rawda-khânân are being used. The rawda-khânân ends with the congregational singing of nawha [see NIYAH] (dirges).

The art of rawda-khânân depends on the ability of the rawda-khânân to manipulate the assembled crowd, using his (or her, if the gathering is entirely female) choice of episodes of the tragedy as well as his or her use of body language and tonality. A successful rawda-khânân is able to bring the audience to a state of frenzy in which the members of the audience identify with the suffering of Husayn and other martyrs. According to popular belief, participation in rawda-khânân ensures participants of intercession by Husayn on Judgement Day. Almost from its inception it has been a tradition that mixed the past with the contemporary, and rawda-khânân often make digressions into the political, social and moral issues of the day. This makes the rawda-khânân a very important political weapon.

Outside Persia, rawda-khânân had been used in India in its original form, but now exists in modified versions reflecting Indian cultural influences. In Bahrain, the Persian model is still followed. Other Shi'a communities also observe this public lamentation for Husayn and other martyrs according to local traditions. The intensity of feeling discharged in these rituals, no matter where, is universal.

to the profit of Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab, founder of the Aghlabid [q.v.] dynasty of governors.


RAWH b. ZIBA, an Arab tribal leader, especially prominent in upholding the Umayyad cause against the Zubayrids in the second civil war (64-72/683-92).

Son of a notable from the Banū Djuhdham [q.v.], which had settled in Palestine from before the Arab conquest of the region, Rawh is said to have incurred Muʿawiya’s suspicion in circumstances which are obscure. Later, we find him named as one of a group of Syrian awrāqwhom Yazīd b. Muʿawīya [q.v.] sent to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] in an attempt to obtain the latter’s bay’a, and, shortly afterwards, as one of the commanders of the army sent to the Ḥīdājār by Yazīd under Muslim b. ʿUkba al-Murri [q.v.] in 63/682-3.

Following the death of Yazīd and that of his short-lived son and successor Muʿawīya (II) [q.v. in 64/683, b. Mālikī b. Bahlal al-Kalbī, who was governing the ḫidam of Fīlasīt for the Umayyads, was unable to maintain his position and withdrew. He left Rawh behind as his representative, but Rawh too had to abandon his post in the face of opposition from his rival for the leadership of Djuhdham, Ṣaḥīl b. Kays. The latter, who seems to have enjoyed seniority, proclaimed his allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr in an attempt to secure his own position, while Rawh may have alienated many of his tribe by a reported maladroit attempt to attach Djuhdham to the “northern” (Māʾādī) descent group (eventually they were generally accepted as belonging to the “southern”, Kahlānī, group). However, Rawh’s continuing support for the Umayyads in the person of Marwān b. al-Hakam [q.v.] (he is credited with a speech eulogising Marwān and calling for his succession in preference to other candidates) proved well judged. Following the victory of the Kalb at Maqār Rāhī [q.v.], and the consequent extension of Marwān’s authority over Syria, it was the turn of Ṣaḥīl b. Kays to flee and Rawh again became governor of Palestine. When ʿAbd al-Malik followed his father Marwān as caliph (Ramadān 65/April 685), Rawh became one of his influential confidantes and advisors. In some of the literature he appears as a prototype of the later viziers.

Rawh is said to have died in 64/703. He is known as a transmitter of ṭadhīḥ and is even counted by some ṭadhīḥ authorities as a Companion of the Prophet. His descendants are referred to in reports about the disturbances in Syria towards the end of the Umayyad period.

of writing, although well established for contracts, treaties or other official documents, could hardly have played a significant part in poetic transmission. It is possible that poets in contact with the courts of Firdawsi and Ghaštān were able to write, but among Bedouins that knowledge cannot have been common. Furthermore, the corpus of pre-Islamic verses presents characteristic features of oral literature, e.g. a high percentage of formulaic expressions, semantic repetition and independence of detail, which later gave way to other stylistic features and modes of composition. Thus it is to be assumed that during the 6th century A.D. composition and transmission of poetry took place orally, which does not exclude the possibility of a ṛāwī noting down verses as a mnemonic aid.

In the course of the first Islamic century, the use of writing increased in various fields (cf. G. Schoeler, Schreiben und Veröffentlichungen. Zur Verwendung und Funktion der Schrift in den ersten islamischen Jahrhunderten, in Isr. lix [1992], 1-43). The first collected poetry of writings were made in the early Umayyad period, e.g. the Mu‘allakāt [q.v.] (cf. M.J. Kister, The Seven Odes, in RSO, xlv (1979) 27-36). The poet al-Farazdāk [q.v.] mentions in some of his verses that he possessed "books" with collected poetry of other poets (The Nakādī of Jarir and al-Farazdāk, ed. A.A. Bevan, i-iii, Leiden 1905-12, i, 201, v. 57, 61). It is further reported that Djarīr [q.v.] and al-Farazdāk used to dictate to their ṛāwīs (Nakādī, i, 430, 12; ii, 908, 2). It seems therefore, that oral transmission was at first aided, and then gradually replaced, by writing.

In the final stage of poetic transmission, the early 'Abbasid period, Bedouin poetry was systematically collected by learned ṛāwīs like Khalaf al-Ahmar, Ḥammād al-Rawiya and al-Muṣafāḍal al-Dābbī [q.v.]. There is ample evidence that they had written collections of poetry at their disposal, but they were still expected to know the texts by heart, and to recite them when requested (Aḥānī, v, 174). In addition, they used to collect information from Bedouins and to verify their knowledge by questioning them. These Bedouin informants, who were also called "รวี", are in part known by name (cf. Ch. Pellat, Le milieu bariern et la formation de Cézal, Paris 1953, 137-8). Thus presumably the term ṛāwī was applied, as long as learning by heart and reciting of verses still played a part, even if a marginal one, in poetic transmission.

Another aspect is the exact function of the ṛāwī and his relation to the poet who employed him. Since a ṛāwī often became a poet himself, it has been assumed that he also served an apprenticeship with his poet, receiving a thorough training in metrics and the art of composition. This would imply that the institution of the ṛāwī not only assured the preservation of poetry, but also the continuity of technical knowledge, and of the vocabulary, style, and thematic range of an individual poet. The first to consider the possibility of establishing "schools" of poetry was Tāhā Ḥusayn, who with regard to the list of ṛāwīs mentioned above speaks of the "poetic school" (madhhab ghari‘) of Aws b. Ḥadżār (Fi ’l-adab al-ghari‘, Cairo 1937, 199-201, 270). The question has been studied with regard to the poetry of Hūdhayl [q.v.] by E. Bräunlich (Versuch einer literargeschichtlichen Betrachtungsweise altarabischer Poesien, in Isr., xxiv [1937], 201-69, cf. 221 ff.), as also by G.E. von Grunebaum (Zur Chronologie der früharabischen Dichtung, in Orientalia, N.S. vii [1939], 320-45), who established six "schools" of poetry in the pre-Islamic period.

The assumption that ṛāwīs received a thorough education, and reached a competence equal to that of the poets they served, is further evidenced by reports that a ṛāwī was expected to correct, to polish up or even to embellish the verses of his master. This seems to have been a common practice in the Qāhhiyya (cf. Goldzihier, Msb. St., ii, 8), as also in the Umayyad period. There is a story concerning Djarīr and al-Farazdāk, whose ṛāwīs were found to correct their metrical blunders (Aḥānī, ii, 59). It also underlines the difficulty, and sometimes the impossibility, for historians of literature to clearly differentiate between the work of a poet and that of his ṛāwī.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Blachère, HLA, 1, 85-127, and in particular, Nāṣir al-Din Asad, Muṣafāḍ al-ghari‘ al-qāhhiyya wa-kimatuhā al-ta‘rikhiyya, Cairo 1978, 222-54.

RAWK (Egyptian pronunciation: ṛāk), a word of non-Arabic origin, probably derived from Demotic ṛawḥ, "land distribution". From the noun is derived an Arabic verb ṛāka, yarūkā.

In the language of Egyptian administration, ṛawkh means a kind of cadastral survey which is followed by a redistribution of the arable land. The procedure comprises the surveying (miṣādā [q.v.]) of the fields, the assessment of their legal status (private property, endowment, crown land, grant, etc.), and the assessment of their prospective taxable capacity (ṣbara). Until the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty the bulk of the arable land was bestowed on private tax farmers (muṭakabbil or ḍānim), whereas in the Ayyūbīd and Mamlūk periods it was granted to officers and free soldiers as military grants (ṣiba‘ [q.v.]).

Al-Makrūz states that in early Islamic times a ṛawkh had been carried out every thirty years, in order to synchronise the lunar (hijāli) and the fiscal (ḥanadi) calendars (Khitat, ed. Wiet, ii, 2), but this statement rather seems to reflect the ideal case. In fact, in the eight-and-a-half centuries between the Arabs' appearance and the Ottoman conquest, only six ṛawkh were mentioned in the sources. The first is that which Ubayd Allāh b. al-Habīb, director of the finances (amīl) of the Qāhhiyya, executed in the years 1057-7275-2 during the reign of the caliph Hishām. The result of the survey is said to have been an arable surface of 30,000,000 faddān (ca. 191,000 km²), the fiscal register established in 1077-1275 and a record of Ḥanādī [q.v.] of 1,700,837 dinars for all Egypt, and that of 1,449,420.5 for Upper Egypt and 251,416.5 for the Delta (al-Makrūzī, op. cit., 62).

The āmīl of Ahmad b. al-Mudabbir, ṛāk of Egypt, accomplished around 253/867-8, just before the arrival of Ahmad b. Tūlūn [q.v.], amounted to 24,000,000 faddān or ca. 153,000 km² (al-Makrūzī, op. cit., ii, 62-3, 69, 81).

The third ṛawkh, called al-ʿAfḍalī, was the only one carried out under Fāṭimid rule. His initiator was the general and future vizier Muhammad b. Fātik al-Maʿṣum” al-ʿBathaṭi, to whose son Mūsā we owe a detailed report (quoted by al-Makrūzī, op. cit., 66). At the suggestion of al-ʿBathaṭi, the vizier al-ʿAfḍal b. Badr al-Djadmālī in 501/1110-7-8 gave orders to perform a new survey in order to remedy grievances and to abolish unjustified privileges which had spread since the last ṛawkh.

The ṛawkh al-Ṣalāḥī, performed in the years 572-71176-81 by the enunuch Bahā’ al-Dīn Karākūğh (the builder of the Cairo citadel) on the orders of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAyyūbī, laid the foundation of a com-
pletely new military system; it was closely linked to the introduction of the ḣādiet system. The ascribed ḥādiyya yield of 3,670,500 dinars was split into ḥādiet for 111 officers (āmir), 6976 heavily-armed horsemen (jawāṣīy), and 1,553 light cavalrymen (kārā-ṣghālām) (al-Makrizī, op. cit., ii, 16-17). Ibn Mammūṭī in his book on the rules of administration (Kitāb Ḥawānīn al-dawawīn) has preserved the complete list of all places of Egypt surveyed in the Salāṭī al-deen (ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1953, 84-85). The last ṭawq al-Husnāmi was initiated by the Mamlik sultan Husān al-Ḍīn Lāḏīn in 697/1298 in order to curtail the power of the great āmir and to strengthen the sultan, but it completely failed, and the sultan was murdered by his officers (al-Makrizī, op. cit., ii, 21; idem, Suluk, ed. Ziyādā, Cairo 1934-38, i/3, 841-4; Ibn Ṭabrīḥīrdī, Nūjm, ed. Cairo, viii, 90-5; Ibn Iyās, Badā'ī, ed. M. Moṣṭafā, Wiesbaden 1976, i/1, 397-67). The list of place names surveyed by the Husānī ṭawq seems to be preserved in the anonymous Tuhfat al-ṣaḥāda, discovered by M. Ramzl (ed. A.S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 84-86). The movement had distinct elements of Afghan nationalism: "the pir-i ḥādiet," although his orthodox pir [q. v.] is friendly to the sect, Bayazīd's doctrine was extreme pantheism; "If I pray not, I am a kafīr." He marked this stage of his system as 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. A further expedition was sent in 1000/1591 (or 1001) which captured some 14,000 men (according to Badaūnī) with Djalāl al-Ḍīn's widow and children, but not apparently himself, since in 1007/1598-9 he took Ḥazānī, but was unable to maintain himself there, and on retiring was attacked by the Hazāras [q. v. in Suppl.], wounded and put to death. This last affair is by some assigned to a son of his bearing the same name.

The next head of the community was Djalāl al-Ḍīn's son Ibdād, who figures in the history of Djiāḥāṅgīr. In 1020/1611 he surprised Kābul in the absence of its governor Kāhān Dāwārān. The attack was beaten off with great loss to the raiders, yet in 1023/1614 Ibdād was again in the field, but sustained a serious defeat at Pīsh Bulāq. After a series of enterprises with varied success he was besieged in the fortress of Nuaghār, and killed by a musket-shot.

The historian of Shāh Djiāḥān, Muhammad Sālīḥ Kanbo, asserts that in the second year of his reign (1038/1629) Ibdād was sent to suppress the heresy started by Bayazīd; nevertheless, in the following year he records how the Afghān Kāmāl al-Ḍīn was joined in the attack on Peshāwār by 'Abd al-Ḳādir, son of Ibdād, and Kārīmād, son of Djalāl (Djalāl al-Ḍīn). The place was relieved by Saʿīd Kāhān, and 'Abd al-Ḳādir induced to submit; in 1043/1633-4 he was recommended by Saʿīd Kāhān, "who had caused him to repent of his evil deeds," to Shāh Djiāḥān, who gave him a command of 1,600 horse. Other members of Ibdād's family received honours and rewards in 1047/1637-8. In the same year, Kārīmād, who had taken refuge in the Mohmand country, but had been recalled by the tribes of Bangāsh, was attacked, captured and executed by Saʿīd Kāhān. It is asserted that some relics of the community still exist in this region. A branch of the sect, called Ḥosawī, is set down at Shāh Kāhān in the district of Ḥisāb of Peshāwār (T.C. Plowden, translation of the Kālid-i Afghānī, Lahore 1875).

3. Doctrines of the sect. According to the Dabīstān, which is friendly to the sect, Bāyāzīd's doctrine was extreme pantheism; "If I pray" he said, "I am a muṣrīf; if I pray not, I am a kafīr." He marked eight stages (madām) in religious progress: gharā', jarīka, bāhēka, muṣrīf, kaṛba, waṣūla, waḥada, sukīn; the last four are said to be technicalities of his system. The explanation of these stages, quoted from Bāyāzīd's Hāl-nāma, incultuates lofty morality, e.g. to hurt no creature of God. The account which follows is inconsistent with this, as noxious persons were to be killed because they resembled wild creatures, and harmless persons who did not possess self-knowledge might be killed, because they resembled domestic animals. They might be regarded as dead, and their property might be seized by the "living". Further, he abrogated the direction of prayer and the preliminary ablution. Other details are furnished by a hostile writer, the historian of Shāh Djiāḥān quoted above, copied in Khāfī Kāḥān's Muntakhab al-lūbāb. Marriage, he says, is without a contract, there being merely a feast at which a cow is slaughtered. Divorce is ratified by placing some pebbles in the wife's hand. The widow is deprived of inheritance, and indeed is at the disposal of the heirs, who may marry her themselves.
or sell her to someone else. When a son is born to one of them, an incision is made in the ear of an ass, and the blood dripped on the infant’s tongue. This is in order to ensure that the infant shall be bloodthirsty of the Kangarids or Musafirids [q. v.]. During the next century, the outstanding member of the family was Abu ‘1-Fadl ‘Alamî’s Akhbar-nama (detailed account of the warfare with the Rawshaniyya), Badar’î’s Man- takkab al-tawdrîkh, Djâhângîr’s Tuzuk, the Tarikh-i Firdawsi and Muhammad Sâlih Kanbo Lâhawrî’s ‘Amal-i Sâlih, were necessarily hostile; but Farid Bûhârî’s Dakhikat al-khawâdin (biographical accounts of Mughal nobles) gives a more sympathetic view of them.


RAWTHER (Tamil inattur meaning “horseman” or “trooper”, also known as Rowther, Ravutta, Revuttan, or “trooper”, a community of Tamil-speaking Muslims located in the state of Tamilnadu, India, one of four sub-divisions of the Tamil-speaking Muslim community, the others being Marakkayar, Kayalar and Labbai [q. v.]. Like the Labbai, the Rawther follow the Shafi’i school, whilst the others are Hanafis. Unlike the other sub-divisions, the Rawther and Labbai are found in greatest numbers in the interior, where they are mostly petty merchants and tradesmen.

Effectively endogamous like the other sub-divisions and historically located in particular districts (Madurai and Tiruchirapalli), there has nevertheless been a blurring of regional boundaries. Migration to larger urban centres, some intermarriage and Islamic revival movements, have stressed their egalitarian outlook and weakened clan-based lineages with their focus on the shrines of particular saints. The Rawther probably originated as cavalry militia, comprising indigenous converts to Islam, for Tamil Hindu rulers before pre-colonial Muslim rulers began similar recruitment in the 17th century. During the 19th century Wahhabî missionaries began a process of Islamisation, attacking vestiges of Hindu ritual practices, stressing Sunni orthodoxy and encouraging the use of Urdu as a symbol of “pure” Islam. Many Tamil Muslims were affected by this movement, and a considerable number of Labbai adopted the title of Rawther because they regarded any claim to martial ancestry as more orthodox and prestigious than simple Labbai status. Urdu, however, remained primarily the second language of a minority of Rawthers.


RAWWADIDS or Banû Rawwâd, a minor dynasty of northwestern Persia which flourished during the period which Minorsky characterised as the “Iranian intermezzo” between the decline of Achaemenid power and the coming of Turkish peoples like the Seljuks, essentially during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries.

Although the Daylamis [see Daylam] were the most prominent in this upsurge of northern Persian mountain peoples, the part of other races like the Kurds was not negligible. The Rawwâdids (the form “Rawwâd” later becomes common in the sources) were originally of Afdî Arab stock, but gradually became assimilated to their environment in Aqharbaydîân (and especially, the area around Tabrîz) and became Kurdicised (cf. the similar process taking place in Shirwân [q. v.] or Şahrwân, where the Yazidi Shirwân-Şahs became Iranised). In ca. 141/758-9 the caliph al-Mansûr’s governor of Aqharbaydîân, Yazid b. Hâtim al-Muhallabî appointed al-Rawwâd b. al-Muqannâm to secure the region between Tabrîz and al-Badkhâm [q. v. in Suppl.]. Over the next two centuries, al-Rawwâd’s descendants became thoroughly Kurdicised, and Kurdish forms like “Mamlân” for Muhammad and “Ahmadî” for Ahmad begin to appear in their genealogy.

In the disturbed condition of Aqharbaydîân during the mid-4th/10th century, consequent on the disappearance of the Sâdids [q. v.] from there, the Rawwâdîs Abu ‘l-Hây álbum Hüsyan b. Muhammad (544-78/955-88) succeeded to the heritage of the Kangarîs or Músâfîrs [q. v.]. During the next century, the outstanding member of the family was Abu
Manṣūr Wahsudan b. Mamlān b. Abī ‘l-Haydaj (ca. 410-46/1019-54). He early faced the incursions of the so-called “Fra ’uly” Turksmen driven out of Khurāsān by Māmūd of Ghazna and of independently-operating Turkish bands, but it was not until 446/1054 that the Sālджuk leader Topḫirr Beg [q.v.] resolved to bring Adhār bāyādījān and Arrān under his control and to make the petty rulers of northwestern Persia and eastern Transcaucasia his vassals. Wahsudān’s eldest son Mamlān was confirmed in his father’s territories by Topḫir in 450/1058, but the days of the dynasty as an autonomous power were numbered. The Ottoman historian Mūneḏqādījīm Bādhī [q.v.], quoting earlier chronicles on the history of the region, states that, when the Sālджuk sultan Alp Arslān returned in 463/1071 from his Anatolian campaign against the Byzantines, he deposed Mamlān. But a later member of the family, Abīlīm b. Wahsudān, held 463/1071 from his Anatolian campaign against the Crusaders in Syria, and his personal name was perpetuated by the line of his Turkish ghulams, the Abīmlāds [q.v.], who ruled in Marāḡa as Atabegs during the 6th/13th century; survivors of the actual Rawwādīd family can be traced up to Il-Khanid times in the early 8th/14th century.

**Bibliography:** Ahmad Kasrawī, Shahrāyār-ī gum-nām, Tehran 1355/1935, ii, 130-225, 251; V. Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian history, London 1953, 115-16, 164-9; W. Madelung, in Cambridge history of Iran, iv, 236-9; Bosworth, in ibid., v, 32-4; idem, The Islamic dynasties, 88-9. See also Tābrīz.

(C.E. Bosworth)

RAYCUR, a town and district of South India, now in the Golbārgīd division of the Indian Union state of Karnataka, before 1947 in the Haydarābād princely state of British India (lat. 16° 15’ N., long. 77° 20’ E.). An ancient Hindu town formerly part of the kingdom of Warangal, it passed to the Khalīḍī Sultans of Dihī in the 8th/14th century, then to the Bahmanīs and, after Awarangīb’s Deccan conquests, to the Mughals. Raycūr has interesting Islamic monuments. The Bahmanī Ḥānīrī mājudīs has its minaret stems from c. 1450-1500, and the masdjid or Friday mosque stems from c. 1310-15 (Reda), name, with a population (in 1979) of 1,637 in- 


(C.E. Bosworth)

RAYDA (Rīda, Rēda) is the name of a number of places in Ṣawm, in the Yemen and in Hadramawt. The word rayd (pl. aryād/rayād) means a ledge of a mountain, resembling a wall, or a resting upon ledges of mountains (Lane, Lexicon, s. v.). At least in Hadramawt, it is the term for the centre of the ter-

**Bibliography:** Imperial gazetteer of India, xxii, 34-

(C.E. Bosworth)

Unlike many Arab writers of his generation who sought a haven in the West, Amin al-Rayhani under-

(Eo.)
human liberty and fraternity with determination. A social reformer, he preached justice and the virtues of Islam. His political ideal was based on an Arab nationalism extending over an area considerably exceeding the boundaries of contemporary Lebanon; such an independent entity, he believed, would be capable of confounding the foreign intruder and guaranteeing the future of Palestine.


AL-RAYḤĀNĪ — AL-RAYYY

1. History.

In the Avesta, Widēvādat, i, 15, Rayā is mentioned as the twelfth sacred place created by Ahūra-Mazdā. In the Old Persian inscriptions (Behistun 2, 10-18), Rayā appears as the province of Media in which the autumn of 521 B.C. the false king of Media Fravartišč sought refuge in vain; from Rayā also Darius sent reinforcements to his father Artāxēršpa when the latter was putting down the rebellion in Parthia. (Behistun 3, 1-10).

Rayā is also mentioned in the Apocrypha. Tobit sent his son Tobias from Niniveh to recover the silver deposited in Rayā with Gabael, brother of Gabriās (Tobit, i, 14). The book of Judith (i, 15) puts near Rayā a treaty which was put down the rebellion in Parthia. (Behistun 3, 1-10).

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In the Sasanid period, Yazdagird III in 641 issued from Rayā his last appeal to the nation before fleeing to Khorāsān. The sanctuary of Bīt Ṣāḥīr, situated on the south face of the already mentioned spur and accessible only to women is associated with the memory of the daughter of Yazdagird who, according to tradition, became the wife of al-Husayn b. ʿĀli. In the years A.D. 486, 499, 553, Rayā is mentioned as the see of bishops of the Eastern Syrian church.

Arab conquest. The year of the conquest is variously given (18-24/639-44), and it is possible that the Arab power was consolidated gradually. As late as 25/646 a rebellion was suppressed in Rayā by ʿAbī Wakkās. The Arabs seem to have profited by the dissensions among the noble Persian families. Rayā was the fief of the Mīhrān family and, in consequence of the resistance of Siyawakhsh b. Mīhrān b. Bahram Čūbīn, Nuʿaym b. Muqarrīn had the old town destroyed and ordered Farrukkhān b. Zaynābī (Zaynābī?) to build a new town (al-Tabarī, i, 2655). In 71/690, again, a king of the family of Farrukkhān is mentioned alongside of the Arab governor.

The passing of power from the Umayyads to the ʿAbāsīds took place at Rayā without incident but in 336/753 the Khorramī Sunbād, one of ʿAbū Muslim’s stalwarts, seized the town for a short time. The new era for Rayā began with the appointment of the heir to the throne Muḥammad al-Mahdī to the governorship of the east (141-52/758-68). He rebuilt Rayā under the name of Maḥmūdīyya and surrounded it by a ditch. The suburb of Mahdī-lābādī was built for those of the inhabitants who had to give up their property in the old town. Harūn al-Raḥīd, son of al-Mahdī, was born in Rayā and used often to recall with pleasure his native town and its principal street. In 195/810 al-Maʿmūn’s general Tāhir b. Husayn won a victory over al-Amin’s troops near Rayā. In 250/865 the struggle began in Rayā between the Zaydīs of Tabaristān and first the Tāhirīds and later the caliph’s Turkish generals. It was not till 272/885 that Aḏḏūgū-ṭegin of Kāzin took the town from the ʿAbīdīs. In 261/879 the caliph al-Muʿtamīd, wishing to consolidate his position, appointed to Rayā his son, the future caliph al-Muktafī. Soon afterwards, the Sāmānīds began to interfere in Rayā. Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad seized Rayā in 289/912, and the fact accompli was confirmed by the caliph al-Muktafī. In 296/909 Ahmad b. Ismāʿīl received investiture from al-Muktafḍī in Rayā (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓīm, 21-2).

In the 4th/10th century, Rayā is described in detail in the works of the contemporary Arab geographers. In spite of the interest which Bagdādī displayed in Rayā, the number of Arab towns there was insignificant, and the population consisted of Persians of all classes (ekkāt; al-Yaḵūbī, Buldān, Yaḵūbī, 276). Among the products of Rayā, Ibn al-Fakhrī, 253, mentions silks and other stuffs, articles of wood and “lustre dishes”, an interesting detail in view of the celebrity enjoyed by the ceramics “of Rhages”. All writers emphasise the very great importance of Rayā as a commercial centre. According to al-Fakhrī, 253, the town covered an area of 1 ½ by 1 ½ farsakhs, the buildings were of clay (tīn) but the use of bricks and plaster (qāsī = qāsī) was known. The town had five great gates and eight large bazaars. Al-Mukaddāsī, 391, calls Rayā one of the glories of the lands of Islam, and among other things mentions its library in the Rūḏāh quarter which was watered by the Sūrkanī canal.

Dayāmī period. In 304/916 the lord of al-Aḥbar-bayādīn Ṯūsūf b. ʿAbī ʿl-Sādī [see ʿālīs] occupied
Rayy, out of which he drove the Daylamì Muhammad b. Ali Su'îkh who represented the Samànìs Nâṣir (Ibn al-Athîr, viii, 74). This occupation, commemorated in coins struck by Yusuf at Muhammadiyya (see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, 140-2), was the beginning of a troubled period. Rayy passed successively into the hands of the Daylamì Ali b. Waþúsêdäh, Wâsiîf Bektêmîrû, the Daylamì Ahmad b. Ali and of Muîlîfî, slave of Yusuf (in 313/925; cf. R. Vasmer, *On montâdîk Sagîdîdo, Baku 1911*). Lastly, these efforts were encouraged by the Byzantines, who succeeded in bringing Rayy again within their sphere of influence but soon their general Asfâr (a Daylamì) became independent in Rayy. In 318/930 Asfâr was killed by his lieutenant Mardawîlî b. Muhammad b. 'Aîshat Suclûk who represented the Samànìs Nâsir (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 373). The new Samànìs, directed by Mûsamût b. Nâsir b. Ulûm Khatûn, who was the wife of Pahlavan, son of the famous abatêb of Astarâbâd. In 380/990 the last Samànìs al-Muntasir made an attempt to seize Rayy, but in 390/1000 the town, where Mâjd al-Dîn b. Muhammad b. 'Alî 'Askalam the chief of the branch of Rukn al-Dawla still held out in the fort of Tabarak (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 347), fell into the power of the Saldjuks and the Khawarizmshãh Djalal al-Dawla and had access to very good sources; Yakût describes the underground houses at Rayy and the dark streets difficult of access which reflected the care of the inhabitants to protect themselves against enemies. However, possible that the historian, echoing the panic which seized the Muslim world, exaggerates the extent of the destruction. Djuwayni (ed. Kazwînî, i, 115, tr. Boyle, i, 147) only says that the Mongol leaders put many people to death at Khârîr Rayy (in the country inhabited by Shîfs?) but in Rayy they were met by the Shâfî? lâfî who submitted to the invaders (îl ghd), after which the latter went on. Rasldîn (ib. ed. I. Mûrêzîne, in *Trudy VO*, vi, 133 (tr. 89)) admits that the Mongols under Djebe and Sübetêy killed and plundered (kûshîk wa ghdât) at "Rayy", but he seems to make a distinction between Rayy and Kum, in which the inhabitants were completely (ba-kullî) massacred.

The fact that life was not completely extinguished at Rayy is evidently from the dates of pottery which apparently continued to be made in Rayy (cf. R. Guest, *A dated Rayy bowl*, in *Burlington Magazine* [1931], 134-5: the painted bowl bears the date 640/1243). The citadel of Tabarak was rebuilt under Ghazan Khân (1295-1304) but certain economic reasons (irrigation?) if not political and religious reasons, must have been against the restoration of Rayy, and the centre of the new administrative Mongol division (the tumân of Rayy) became Warâmîn (q.v.) (cf. Nûshî al-kulâbî, ed. Le Strange, 81, 135); it is possible that the Saldjuks fell to the sphere of influence of Tughâ-Timûr (q.v.) of Astarâbâd. In 1384, Timûr's troops occupied Rayy without striking a blow but this must mean the district and not the town of Rayy, for Clavijo (ed. Sreznevsky, sky, 187), who passed through this country in 1404, confirms that Rayy (Shâhristân = Shâhristân Rayy) was no longer inhabited (aqrâr dashrhabîda). No mention is to be attached to the mention of "Rayy" in the time of Shâh Rukh (Mâla b. sa-da'îm, under the year 841/1437) or of Shâh Ismâ'îl, in *Habîb al-siyar*.

(many quotations from the Muğmal al-tawarikh); Barbier de Meynard, Dict. géographique, 1861 (quotations from the Haft skim of Ahmad Razi); G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 214-18; P. Schwarz, Iran im Mitteltalter, 740-809 (very complete utilisation of the Arabic sources; complete list of the dependencies of Rayy); Hudūd al-ʿalam, tr. Minorsky, 132-3, comm. 384; G. C. Miles, The numismatic history of Rayy, New York 1938; Abu Dulaf, Second Rusija, ed. and tr. Minorsky, Abu-Dulaf Msár al-muhāṭī’s travels in Iran (circca A.D. 960), Cairo 1953, nos. 87-50, tr. 51-61, W. Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 121-6. (V. Minorsky)

2. Archaeology and monuments.

Olivier in 1797 sought the ruins of Rayy in vain and, it was Trulhier and Gardane who first discovered them. The earliest descriptions are by J. Morier, Ker Porter and Sir W. Ouseley. The first has preserved for us a sketch of a Sasanian bas-relief which was later replaced by a sculpture of Path AIT Shah. The description, and particularly the plan by Ker Porter (reproduced in Sarre and A.V.W. Jackson, Geographical Description of Persia, Philadelphia, v [1935], 41-9, cf. 25-7), have floored the European and American markets as a result of the activity of the dealers. Scientific investigation was begun by the Joint Expedition to Rayy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in 1934 (cf. The Illustrated London News [22 June 1935], 1122-3; E. F. Schmidt, The Persian expedition [Rayy], in Bulletin of the University Museum, Philadelphia, v [1935], 41-9, cf. 25-7), and was continued by Chaahryan Adle from 1974 onwards. In the citadel hill, Dr. Erich Schmidt found a great variety of pottery and the remains of buildings among which the most interesting are the foundations of al-Mabdi’s mosque (communication by A. Godard to the Congress of Persian Art at Leningrad in September 1935).

In an interesting passage, al-Mu‘addaši, 210, speaks of the high mountain which the Buyids built over their tombs. The remains of three tomb towers are still visible at Rayy, including a twelve-sided one whose site accords with two buildings of the Buyid period mentioned in Nizām al-Mulك’s Siyāṣat-nāma, ed. Darke, 211, tr. idem 2, 167, sc. a dakšāna or Tower of Silence built by a Zoroastrian at Tabarak, later called the dida-ye sipāhābdān, the “vantage-point of the commandant”, and the nearby “dome (gumbad) of Fakhr al-Dawla”, presumably the Buyid amīr’s tomb [see FARKH AL-DAWLA], and also the so-called “Tomb of Toghīl”, which had an iron plate on it with the date Radjab 534/March 1140 (see on this last, G. C. Miles, in Ars Orientalis, vi [1966], 45-6, and on the towers in general, R. Hillenbrand, The tomb towers of Iran to 1350, diss. Oxford University 1974, unpubl., ii, 68-9, 73-5, 82-8). A further tomb tower, circular in plan and probably originally having a conical cap like the Gumbad-i Khābūn [q.v.] in Gurgān, was photographed by Curzon in 1890 (see his Persia and the Persian question, i, 351) but destroyed in ca. 1895 for use as building materials (the fate of so many of the buildings of Rayy in the 19th and early 20th centuries); its Kūfic inscription band probably bore the date 466/1073 or, less likely, 476/1083 (see Chahryan Adle, Notes préliminaires sur la tour dispersée de Ray (1661/1767-74), in Memorial vol. of the 7th International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, September 11-16th 1972, Tehran 1976, 1-12). The remains of several subterranean tombs and of what were above-ground tombs which have also been discovered, see Adle, Construction funèbres à Ray circa xe-xiiie siècle, in Archéologique Mitteleuropa’s, Ergänzungsband 6, Berlin 1979 (= Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7-10 September 1976), 51-15.

The hill of Tabarak on which was the citadel (destroyed in 588/1192 by the Safīdūllāh sultan Toghrīl III) was, according to Yāqūt, situated to “the right” of the Khurāsān road, while the high mountain was to “the left” of this road. Tabarak therefore must have been on the top of the hill opposite the great spur (hill G in Ker Porter’s plan: “fortress finely built of stone and on the summit of an immense rock which commands the open country to the south”); cf. the map in A.F. Stahl, Die Umgegend von Teheran, in Pet. Mitt. (1900).

Finally, one should note that a considerable number of silk fragments from the Buyid period, many of them with inscriptions on them, have ostensibly been found at Rayy, although not in a controlled archaeological context; their authenticity accordingly remains disputed, see Dorothy F. Shepherd, Medieval Persian silks in fact and fancy, in Bull. de Liaison du Centre International d’Etude des textiles anciens, no. 39-40, Lyons 1977. Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Description of the ruins: J. Morier, A Journey, 1812, 232, 403; Second Journey, 1818, 190; Ker Porter, Travels, 1821, i, 357-64 (map); Ouseley, Travels, 1823, iii, 174-99, plate iv; Ritter, Erdkunde, vii, 1838, 595-604; Curzon, Persia, i, 347-52; F. Sarre, Denkmäler persischer Baukunst, Berlin 1901, text, 55-58; A.V.W. Williams Jackson, Persia past and present, New York 1905, 428-41 (plan by Ker Porter).

Modern studies: Husayn Karīmān, Rayy-i bāstān, Tehran 1345-9/1966-70, 2 vols., is the most detailed work here, but does not take account of the subsequent work by Adle, Y. Kossar and others; see, regarding this, Adle, Notes sur les premiére et seconde campagnes archéologiques à Rey. Automne-hiver 1354-55/1975-7, in Mélanges Jean Perrot, Paris 1990, 295-307, providing a resume of a 6-vol. report on these investigations deposited at the Centre iranien pour les recherches archéologiques. See also Sylvia A. Matheson, Persia: an archaeological guide, London 1976, 46 ff., and the arts. thran and warāmīn. (V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

RAYY [see RAY].

RAYY, modern Spanish rendering REYyo (RAYyo), the name given in Muslim Spain to the administrative circle (kūrah) comprising the south of the Peninsula, the capital of which was successively Archidona (Arabic al-Qudāna) and Málaga. The usual Arabic orthography is راية; in particular, this is the form found in the Muğmal al-bulūdān of Yāqūt; but some Spanish mss. give the orthography رية, more in keeping with the local pronunciation Reyoyo (RAYyyo) attested by Ibn Hawkal. It is probably, as Dozy thought, a transcription of the Latin regio (no doubt Malacitana regio); the suggestion put forward by Gayangos of a connection with the Persian town-name al-Ray is of course untenable.

When the fiefs in the south of Spain were assigned to the former companions of Balad b. Bahīr [q.v.], the district of Reyoyo was allotted to the qund of Jordan (al-ʿUrdum). During the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova,
the kūn of Reyyo was bounded by those of Cabra and Algeciras in the west, by the Mediterranean in the south and by the kūn of Elvira in the east.

One should now add to the above a reference to J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1986, of which pp. 328-31 are devoted to “la cora de Rayya”. According to this author, one should read Rayy and not Reyryo, basing himself on the sole topographical trace of this name, *Campos de Zaparros*, interpreted as Fuday Rayyo, and, above all, on certain poetics which require this reading for their end-rhymes. An origin of the name has also been suggested in Phoenician via Latin.

The main problem regarding this kūn is the exact situation of the fortress of Bobastro (Bubaghtur, Bubaghtar), the main refuge of the rebel Umar b. Hafsūn, which we know was held by him and for which several localisation have been proposed. The traditional identification, with the place called Las Mesas de Villaverde, was defended by F.J. Simonet (earlier works cited in M. Riu Riu, *Aportación de la arqueología al estudio de los Mozárabes de Andalús*, in *Tres estudios de historia medieval andalusía*, Cordova 1977, 85-112), but Vallvé has proposed an identification with the high ground of Marmuyas in the district of Comares, where several seasons of excavations “with interesting results” have taken place. Vallvé, for a full discussion, in *Bubaghtur* in *Suppl. Vallvé* further cites, in regard to Rayya, the passage describing it by Ibn Hādi, published by him and translated in the above-mentioned work; he also translates the passage of al-Ghalib, published by him and translated in the above-discussion, BUBASHTRU in *Suppl. Vallvé* further cites, in regard to Rayya, the passage describing it by Ibn Qālib, published by him and translated in the above-mentioned work; he also translates the passage of al-Nubābī (K. al-Markab al-uṣyā, published by Lévi-Provençal), written in the 8th/14th century and giving the earlier border of the kūn.


AL-RAZĪ, ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD IBN AL-RAZĪ, known to the Latins as Rhazes (ca. 250/854-313/925 or 323/935), physician, philosopher and alchemist.

The most free-thinking of the major philosophers of Islam, al-Rāzī was born in Rayy, where he was well trained in the Greek sciences. He was reputedly well versed in musical theory and performance before assuming the corresponding post in Baghdad. His property in the vicinity seems to have brought him back often to Rayy, and he died there, somewhat embittered and alienated, partly by the loss of his eyesight. Like many of the great physicians of Islam, al-Rāzī was a courtier as well as a scholar, clinician and teacher. His medical handbook the *Majnūʿī*, translated into Latin by Grathe of Cremona in the 12th century, was dedicated to Manuel b. Isḥāq, the Sāmānid governor of Rayy; his *Mulkūk or Regius*, to ʿAli b. Wāḥiṣgūlān of Tabaristān. The author of some two hundred books, al-Rāzī claims in his apology, the *Sīra al-falsafya*, or “Philosophical Way of Life”, that his has been a life of moderation, excessive only in his devotion to learning; he associated with princes never as a man at arms or an officer of state but always, and only, as a physician and friend in writing. In one year, he urges, he wrote over twenty thousand pages, “in a hand like an amulet maker’s.” Others remark on his generosity and compassion, seeing that the poor among his patients were properly fed and given adequate nursing care. Arriving patients first saw an outer circle of disciples, and then an inner circle, if these could not aid them, leaving al-Razī himself to treat the hardest cases. His medical research was similarly methodical, as revealed in his notebooks. These were edited, in some 25 volumes, as the *K. al-Ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb*, at the instance of Ibn al-ʿĀmid [q.v.], the vizier of Rukn al-Dawla [q.v.]. Translated as the *Continens* in 1279 by the Jewish physician Faradj b. Sālim (known as Farraguth) for King Charles of Anjou, it was printed at Brescia in 1486 and reprinted thereafter. The text (Haydarābād 1955) contains al-Rāzī’s extensive notes from a wide range of sources, organised anatomically, from head to toe. His own clinical observations, often at variance with received opinions, typically close the sections. Al-Razī mined these files for his numerous medical works, and several unfinished works can be discerned in the Ḥāwī in embryo. His magnum opus, the *Kitāb al-Dīwān al-kabir*, or “Great Medical Compendium”, often confused with the Ḥāwī, was a work that al-Rāzī published, not the corpus of his private files. Among the most famous of his medical writings are those on *Stones in the kidney and bladder* (K. al-Ḥāṣa fi l-kulūd wa l-matḥūta) and *Smallpox and Measles* (K. al-Dhādari wa l-ḥaṣa). The latter was the first book on smallpox, and was translated over a dozen times into Latin and other European languages. Its lack of dogmatism, its openness of approach, the form and manner of observation typify al-Rāzī’s medical methods. His independent mind is strikingly revealed in his *Ṣūkūk al-Dīnān* or “Doubts about Galen”. Here al-Rāzī rejects claims of Galen’s, from the alleged superiority of the Greek language to many of his cosmological and medical views. He places medicine within philosophy, inferring that sound practice demands independent thinking. His own clinical records, he reports, do not confirm Galen’s descriptions of the course of a fever. And in some cases he finds that his clinical experience exceeds Galen’s. He rejects the notion, central to the theory of humours, that the body is warmed or cooled only by warmer or cooler bodies; for a warm drink may heat the body to a degree much hotter than its own. Thus the drink must trigger a response rather than simply communicating its own warmth or coldness. This line of criticism has the potential, in time, to bring down the whole theory of humours and the scheme of the four elements, on which it was grounded. Al-Rāzī’s alchemy, like his medical thinking, struggles within the cocoon of hylomorphism. It dismisses the idea of potions and dispenses with an appeal to magic, if magic means reliance on symbols as causes. But al-Rāzī does not reject the idea that there are wonders in the sense of unexplained phenomena in nature. His alchemical stockroom, accordingly, is enriched with the products of Persian mining and
AL-RAZI

manufacture, and the Chinese discovery, sal ammoniac. Still reliant on the idea of dominant forms and thus on the Neoplatonic conception of mechanical, al-Razi’s alchemy nonetheless brings to the fore such empiric qualities as salinity and inflammability—the latter ascribed to “oiliness” and “sulphurousness”. Such properties are not readily explained by the traditional fire, water, earth and air schematism, as al-Ghazâlî and other later composers, primed by thoughts like al-Razi’s, were quick to note.

Like Galen, al-Razi was speculatively interested in the art and profession of medicine. He wrote essays on the subject as “The reasons for people’s preference of inferior physicians,” “A mistaken view of the function of the physician,” “Why some people leave a physician if he is intelligent,” “That an intelligent physician cannot heal all diseases, since that is not possible,” and “Why ignorant physicians, common folk, and women in the cities are more successful than scientists in treating certain diseases—and the physician’s excuse for this.” He also shared Galen’s interest in philosophy and heeded his treatise, “That the outstanding physician must also be a philosopher.” Al-Birûnî lists some eighty philosophical titles in his al-Razi bibliography, and al-Nadîm lists dozens of his works on logic, cosmology, theology, mathematics and alchemy. Given the general repugnance toward al-Razi’s philosophical ideas among his contemporaries and medieval successors, few of these works were copied. But fragments survive in quotations by later authors, as do the Sîra al-falsafyya and the Tibb al-rûhání, the “Spiritual physic” or “Psychological medicine,” which embodies al-Razi’s largely Epicurean ethical system. Among the writings of which we have mention are: a commentary on Plato’s Timaeus philosophical ideas on the epitome of Galen, a rebuttal of lamblichus’s response to Porphyry’s Letter to Anches (that is, the De mysticis), an appraisal of the Kur’ân, a critique of Mu’tazilism, another on the infallible Ismâ’îlî Imâm, a work on how to measure intelligence, an introduction to and vindication of algebra, a defence of the incommensurability of a square’s side and its diagonal; for al-Razi’s acceptance of the void risks of ignoring the axioms of geometry may aim at demonstration rather than proof rather than just allegations. Fear of death “can never be banished altogether from the soul, unless one is certain that after death it shifts to a better state.” And his conclusion is that it “would require very lengthy argumentation, if one sought proof rather than just allegations (khabar).” There really is no method whatever for argument to adopt on this topic... The subject is too elevated and too broad as to admit of any rational demonstration, for the passions and citations are false”—a task al-Razi has no immediate or pressing intention of attempting. For practical purposes, then, he offers the Epicurean consolation that death is the goad of the passions that hamper human rationality and undermine human happiness. As al-Razi explains: “As long as the fear of death persists, one will incline away from reason and toward passion (hawâ).” The argument is Epicurean. The passions here, as in Epicurus, are thought of as neuroses, compulsions, pleasureless addictions, to use al-Razi’s description (his word for an addict is mudmin). The gluton, the miser, even the sexual obsessive, are, by al-Razi’s analysis, as much moved by the fear of death as by natural appetites. For natural needs, as Epicurus would explain, are always in measure. The unwholesome excess that makes vice a disease comes from the irrational and unselfconscious mental linking of natural pleasures and gratifications with security, that is, a sense of freedom from the fear of death. Ethics here becomes entirely prudential, as al-Razi’s critics were not slow to note. If we knew that our ultimate state was immortality, and the return of the soul in us to her true home, our mad scrabbling after the surrogates of immortality would cease. But the fear of death “can never be banished altogether from the soul, unless one is certain that after death it shifts to a better state.” And his conclusion is that it “would require very lengthy argumentation, if one sought proof rather than just allegations (khabar).” There really is no method whatever for argument to adopt on this topic... The subject is too elevated and too broad as to admit of any rational demonstration, for the passions and citations are false”—a task al-Razi has no immediate or pressing intention of attempting. For practical purposes, then, he offers the Epicurean consolation that death is nothing to us, if the soul is really mortal. What scripture has to say on the subject is just another undemonstrated report, an unsubstantiated allegation.
In his debates with an Ismāʿīlī adversary, Abu Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934 [q.v.]), chief lieutenant to the Ismāʿīlī dāʿī of Rayy, and later chief dāʿī himself, al-Rāzī scoffs at Muʿtaṣīlī argument that harks back to Stoic sources: God's mercy would not deny humanity the guidance of leaders inspired with revealed knowledge of God's own will and His plan for human destiny. Al-Rāzī answers that God has provided what we need to know, not in the arbitrary and divisive gift of special revelation, which only foments bloodshed and contention, but in reason, which belongs equally to all. Prophets are the representatives of the divine by a demonic shades of reeless and envious spirits. But or-

As an immanent prin-

cipal, intelligence gave order to the world, stabilising its motions and rendering them comprehensible. But it also gave understanding to the Soul itself, allowing her to recognise her estrangement in this world and seek a return from exile. It is this striving for return that gives meaning to all human strivings in the realm of life.

By such a theory, al-Rāzī insists, can crea-
tionists hope to overcome the elenchus of the eternalists, who deny creation altogether. A quasi-gnostic quasi-Platonic formatio mundi, then, not creatio ex nihilo, is the sole workable hypothesis which al-Rāzī can offer on behalf of the world's temporal origination, as op-
posed to its eternal, Plotinian emanation or its perpetual existence as a Democritean or Epicurean mechanism. Clearly the materialists, al-Rāzī reasons, improperly ignore the life and intelligence that course through nature, giving directed and stable movement to otherwise inert and passive matter. As for the Neoplatonic Aristotelians, their theory of emanation leads them to fudge (as Aristotle had done) on the inertness of matter. For, by treating the natural order as eternal, they seem to make motion and ordering form inherent properties of matter, rather than imparted acts and powers. Neoplatonism, al-Rāzī thinks, requires only the affirmation of a temporal origin, which al-Rāzī unabashedly adopts from scripture and from the concurring authority of Plato's Timaeus, seems to do justice to the fact that nature's order is not intrinsic but imparted; and only a temporal creation does justice to the unimpeded operation of the forces of nature and the self-governing actions of human intelli-
gence and will. For these gifts were given long ago and are not, as in Neoplatonism, timeless imparted without ever really departing from their Source.

But although creation involves a kind of gift, al-
Rāzī cannot treat the act of creation as a sheer act of grace, as many of his contemporaries might wish to do. His view that in this life evils outweigh goods, en-
dorsed by Epicurean concerns over the problem of evil, and by physiological arguments about the ultimate prevalence of pain and suffering over peace and pleasure in all sentient beings, press him toward the gnostic conclusion that creation is a tragedy or mistake. Stopping short of such condemnation, al-
Rāzī treats creation as a qualified evil: Life as a whole and bodily existence in general represent a fall for the life-giving principle, the Soul. But the fall is broken by the gift of intelligence. The crypt of the gnostic image has a skylight, through which streams the light of day. There is an avenue of escape. And the Soul's fall,
neither devised nor forced by God, is ascribed to her spontaneity, not to God's will or wisdom. It was neither coerced and destined nor mandated by the very nature of intelligence, as though it were (as in Neoplatonism) a demand of logic, but it was foreseen and tolerated by an all-seeing wisdom. And the loss it brought about will be overcome.  


satisfactory, since it is rife with traditions traced back to various historical and religious sources and individuals, which have a single purpose: to promote the cause of the Yemen among the lands of God's Elect, and to extol the merits of the capital, as much in the Biblical tradition as in that of the Prophet Muhammad. The conspicuous exaggerations are motivated by this purpose, as for example the claim that the first church of the town was built on the site where Jesus had prayed, or the latter's prophecy concerning the powerful individual who was to come forth from the town at the end of time; such items are to be found in all the chronicles of ancient Islamic cities.

The second elements of the book is bio-bibliographical. It begins with the Companions of the Prophet who came to the Yemen and some of whom were appointed governors of this land.

However the work becomes more systematic with its consideration of the elite of Yemenite scholars and ascetics, prominent among whom is the most illustrious figure of San'ā', Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 1100/1788 or 1144/1732 [q.v.]), an ideal source of Biblical history for later Islamic historians, and thus for Ibn Ishāk, whose universal Muslim history he had anticipated, and one of the principal sources of al-Rāzī. In the main his information is valuable, since many of these scholars are barely known or not at all. Details are provided here of their origin, their connections with the Yemen, the traditions attributed to them or concerning them, material such as is encountered in other Islamic books of the same genre. Unfortunately there are few dates, and, in the case of some of them, nothing more than one or a few trilling traditions. With the importance accorded to the bio-bibliographical element, it is evident that the interest in the work of al-Rāzī, as in that for example of the chroniclers al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (369/1072-7002/1594). For many years he collected information and was in high favour with Shah Tahmasp and was appointed by him kalīntār [q.v.] of his native town. His paternal uncle Kẖādżī Mūsā ibn Abd al-Malik, Djabr al-Dawla. The latter, who reigned for a time, Ghāzīn, Lāhwār, Dīhil, India from the oldest times down to Akbar, Syria, Egypt. Clime IV: Khūrāsān, Balkh, Ḥarāt, Dījm, Māghdāb, Nīshāpur, Sābbāzāb, Isfārān, Isfāhān, Kāshān, Kun, Suma, Ḥamadān, Rayy and Tihrān, Dāmāwand, Astarābād, Tabaristān, Māzandārān, Gīlān, Qazvīn, Adharbājān, Tabrīz, Ardābīl, Marāgha. Clime V: Shārīwān, Gandja, Kẖāẕar, Mārāzānī at-Nahr, Samarkand, Bahkhārā, Fārgāhānā. Clime VI: Turkistān, Fārāb, Yārān, Rūs, Constantinople, Rūm. Clime VII: Buğlār, Sāklab, Yāşiylān, Mādūyāln, Baḥrānī, Eṣfāhān, Kandahār, Ghāzīn, Lāhwār, Dīhil, India. For many years he collected and arranged his material in book form. The final editing of it took six years. The biographies are arranged geographically according to the 7 climes. In each clime the biographical part is preceded by a short geographical and historical introduction which is followed by notes on poets 'islāmī', famous ḍhuyūs, etc. in chronological order. The work is of special importance for the history of Persian literature, as the biographies of Persian poets contain numerous specimens of their works, some of which are very rare. It contains the following sections: Clime I: Yaman, Bilād al-Zanj, Nubia, China. Clime II: Mecca, Medina, Yamāma, Hurmuz, Dekkān, Ahmadnagar, Dawlatābād, Golkonda, Ahmadabad, Sūrat, Bahārān, Kurdu, Khorasan, Baghādād, Kūfā, Najafār, Baṣra, Yazd, Fārs, Sīstān, Kandahār, Ghāzīn, Lāhwār, Dīhil, India from the oldest times down to Akbar, Syria, Egypt. Clime IV: Khūrāsān, Balkh, Ḥarāt, Dījm, Māghdāb, Nīshāpur, Sābbāzāb, Isfārān, Isfāhān, Kāshān, Kun, Suma, Ḥamadān, Rayy and Tihrān, Dāmāwand, Astarābād, Tabaristān, Māzandārān, Gīlān, Qazvīn, Adharbājān, Tabrīz, Ardābīl, Marāgha. Clime V: Shārīwān, Gandja, Kẖāẕar, Mārāzānī at-Nahr, Samarkand, Bahkhārā, Fārgāhānā. Clime VI: Turkistān, Fārāb, Yārān, Rūs, Constantinople, Rūm. Clime VII: Buğlār, Sāklab, Yāşiylān, Mādūyāln. The Calculusa 1918-72 edition of E. Denison Ross, ʻAbdu Muqtedar, A.H. Harley, etc., omits the fourth clime, over half the complete work; complete ed. (poor) by M. U. Memon, 1365; M. U. Memon, Amin Ahmad Rāzī, in Efr, i, 939. (E. BERTHELSON)

AL-RĀZĪ, FAKHR AL-DĪN [see FAKHR AL-DĪN RĀZĪ]

RĀZĪN, BANŪ, the dynasty which ruled the petty state [see MULUK AL-TAWHĪD] of al-Sahlâ [q.v.] (or Albarracln, derived from their name) in al-Andalus [q.v.] during the 5th/11th century. Of Berber descent, but long settled in the peninsula, they remained loyal to the legitimist Umayyad regime of Hishām II al-Mu‘ayyad at the time of the collapse of the caliphate, but finally switched to support of Sulaymān al-Must‘un, who recognised them as governors of their local territory. They survived as independent or semi-independent rulers from ca. 405/1014-15 (possibly as early as 403/1012-13) to Rājid 497/1410, when they were deposed by the Almoravids or al-Murābītūn [q.v.]. The list of their rulers is not entirely clear: the founder of the dynasty, Ḫudhāy b. Ḫalaf b. Lubb (the name may point to intermarriage with local Christian families) Ibn Rāzīn, seems to have ruled until 436/1044-5, and to have been succeeded by a son, Abū Ma‘rūzād b. al-Mahk, Djabr al-Dawla. The latter, who reigned for...
a remarkable sixty years, until 496/1103, is usually identified as Husam al-Dawla in the sources, but the fragmentary text edited by Levi-Provencal as an appendix to Ibn 'Idhârî, vol. iii, that used the title Husâm al-Dawla only before his accession and gives that title as a throne-name to this ruler's successor, Yahyâ, who reigned for the last year of the dynasty's existence. The founder of the dynasty is generally described with the superlatives characteristic of mediaeval sources on the taifa rulers, although he is also said to have been directly involved in the murder of his own mother; the sources seem more impressed with the amounts he spent on the acquisition of singing-girls. A few lines of poetry by members of the dynasty are preserved. The survival of the dynasty, and of the state which it ruled, for so long seems to be the product of a combination of geographical isolation, overall unimportance and luck rather than of any particular skills possessed by the members of this family.

A. Vives y Escudero, Memorias de las dinastías arábigo-españolas, Madrid 1893, 206, no. 1266, assigns one coin (surviving in only a single specimen) to this dynasty, but there seems to be a confusion here with the rulers of Alpuente (al-Bunt [q.v.]) (the coin itself presents other difficulties); A. Prieto y Vives, Los Reyes de Taifas, estudio histórico-numismático de los monedas espoliadas en el siglo V de la hegira (XI de J.C.), Madrid 1926, 107, suggests that some other coins (a total of four specimens of two types recorded by Vives, nos. 799-800 = Prieto, nos. 29-30) of the year 4051/1014-15, struck in the name of Sulaymân al-Mu'tasim and naming his son Muhammad as heir, which bear also the name Ibn Khalaf, may be issues of the first member of this dynasty. The suggestion seems plausible.


(D. J. WASSERSTEIN)

**RAZIN b. MU'AWIYA**

Abu 'l-Hasab b. 'Ammar al-'Abdârî al-Sarakush (d. 535/1140), Andalusian traditionist. Of unknown date of birth, his nîshâc indicates that he probably was born in Saragossa. The biographical works do not record any data about his life in al-Andalus. If he did live in Saragossa, he may have left it when the Almoravids captured the town in 503/1110, in which case he must have belonged to those who did not welcome the new lords of the Peninsula. According to the biographers, he may have left the town after the Christian conquest of 512/1118. The 6th/12th century marks the beginning of the wave of Andalusi migrants to safer lands. It may also be that Razin b. Mu'awia's travel to the East was not motivated by either political or military reasons, but simply by the desire to perform the riha fi talab al-'lim and the pilgrimage. He settled in Mecca, where he died at an advanced age. Nothing is known about his Andalusian teachers, but his teachers in Mecca were Abu 'Abd Allâh al-Husayn al-

- **TABARI, with whom he studied Muslim's Sahih, and Abu Mâktûm 'Isâ b. Abî Dharr al-Harawi, with whom he studied al-Bukhârî's work. Abu Mâktûm was the son of one of the most influential transmitters of al-Bukhârî's Sahih, whose risâya was well known in al-Andalus. Razin b. Mu'awia wrote his two known works in Mecca: a history of Mecca, which seems to have included also information on Medina (Kitâb fi akhbar Makka, also called Akhbar Makka wa'l-Madina wa-fadlihimd), and al-Tâjrid fi 'l-dâ'âm bayn al-Sâhab al-sitta or Tâjrid al-Sâhab, a collection of the traditions common to the four sources of Bukhârî, Mâlik, Abû Dâwûd, Tirmidhi, al-Nasâ'î and Mâlik's Sunna. The inclusion of Mâlik's work among the canonical collections of hadith shows clearly the Western Islamic background of the author. The exact text (mentioned in GAL) remains unpublished. The Tâjrid is one of the sources of Majdî al-Dîn Ibn al-Ahârî's Dâ'îmî al-usâlî, as Ibn al-Ahârî himself (d. 606/1209) explains in his introduction. The interest of Razin b. Mu'awia's work can be deduced from the following example. The controversial tradition which runs 'whosoever spends liberally on his household on the day of 'Ashurâ', God will bestow plenty upon him throughout the remainder of the year' (mau wasâ'â 'alâ (nafsîhî wa-)ahlihil 'Ashurâ) wasa'â 'alâ Allâh 'ayshîhî (wa-(alâdîhî sîrîr (al-nafaka) sana/tula sanatihi), mentioned among others by Sulaymân al-Mu'âqilât al-Tâjrid fi 'l-djarn*- bayn al-Sihdh al-

- **Akhbâr Makha wa'l-Madma**, which seems to have been written in Saragossa, it may have been left there after the Christian conquest. Otherwise, it is possible that Razin left the town when the town was captured by the Christian forces. It is in Razin's work where an explanation for this "od-dity" is to be found. Two possibilities can be taken into account. Either Razin included it because he agreed with its contents, disregarding its absence in the canonical collections; or else he found the tradition in the version of one of those collections at his disposal. The latter possibility can be sustained by evidence on the circulation of different versions of al-Bukhârî's collection. Among Razin b. Mu'awia's pupils the following are mentioned: the ascetic Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Kudâmâ (of the famous family of the Banû Kudâmâ), Ibn 'Asâkîr and the judge of Mecca Abu 'l-Mu'azzafar Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Tabari, who wrote to Ibn Bashkuwâl informing him of Razin's death.

**Bibliography:** 

**RAZIN B. MUCAWIYA — REFIFI**

**REĐIĒ'T-ZÄDE MEHMED DÎRLÂL BEY (1254-1300/1838-82)**, Turkish writer and poet, and elder brother of Redjäezade Mahmud Ekrem Bey [see EKREM BEY]. He had a moderately successful administration, entering the Translation Office (*Teràiime Odasi*) of the Sublime Porte in 1270/1853-4, being appointed in 1279/1862-3 chief clerk to the embassy in St. Petersburg, becoming assistant secretary of Aleppo in 1282-1865-6, when the latter became wali of Aleppo, and finally chief secretary of the provinces of Kastamonu (in 1288/1871-2) and Aydin (in 1294/1877). In 1298/1881 he was dismissed from his last post.

His poetry has apparently never been published. Some specimens can be found in *İnal* (see Bibl.). He belonged for a while to the salon of Arif Hikmet Bey [q.v.], the last great representative of the classical dîwan school, and his poetry seems unaffected by the new trends personified by his brother. He bore the name for these is Dhewkl, while his serious *qezel* "jesting poems." His pen-name for this is Djkewl, while his serious *qezel* are signed Dîrlâl. He also composed some poetry in Persian (a *mehammad* in *İnal*, 205).


**REĐJE PASHA.** Topal (d. 1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier under Sultan Murâd IV [q.v.]. Of Bosnian origin, he began his career in the *bostangâ* corps and attained the high office of *bostangâ* in 1041/1632. Shortly after, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the Black Sea. With his squadron he defeated a Cossack fleet of 600 *şaykas*. Redjeb Pasha was *Kapudân-pasha* 1032-5/1623-5. Commanding the fleet in Radjab-Ramadân 1033/May-July 1624 at the time of a revolt of the *Kân* of the Crimea Mehmed Giray III (second reign 1032-6/1623-7), he was able to hold Kef [q.v.].

Next year, he again defeated a Cossack force of 350 *şaykas* off Kara Harman (to the north of Köstende/Constanta [q.v.]). In 1035/1626 he organised a revolt of Janissaries in the capital and gained the position of *kâtâm-mâkâm* instead of Gürçû Mehmed Paşa [q.v.]. Provoked by the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Khosrew Pasha [q.v.], in 1041/1631 he incited another uprising of Janissaries and Sişâhs of the Porte who were of Bosnian and Albanian origin (1042/1632). This violent episode led to the murder of Grand Vizier Hâfiz Ahmed Paşa [q.v.] in front of Murâd IV and the massacre of a number of the sultan’s favourites, rivals to Redjeb’s faction. In this way, he became Grand Vizier on 19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632. Murâd IV, however, soon made an end to this *zorba* régime and had Redjeb Paşa executed inside the seraglio on 28 Shawwl 1041/18 May 1632 (von Hammer, following Peçewi, has 17 May); this execution meant the beginning of Murâd IV’s personal rule. Redjeb Paşa was married to Djezhver Khân Sülân, a daughter of Ahmed I and earlier the widow of Dâmed Mehmed Paşa Öküz [q.v.] and Hâfiz Ahmed Paşa. He had a daughter born in 1040/1630.


**REFIFI**, an Ottoman poet and Hurufî [see HURUFİYYA]. Of Refifi’s life we only have a few hints from himself, the Ottoman biographers and historians do not seem to mention him at all. He himself describes how in his youth he studied many branches of knowledge but did not know what he should believe, and how sometimes he turned to the Sunna, sometimes to philosophy and sometimes to materialism. He often travelled a great distance to visit a particular scholar but always was disappointed. The poet Nesîmî [q.v.] was the first to teach him the grace of God and the truth, and ordered him to teach this truth in his turn to the people of Rûm, and for this purpose he had to speak in Turkish. He therefore wrote his *Begarî-nâmê*, “the message of joy”, which he finished on the first Friday of Ramadân 811/18 January 1409. This work is not yet printed; it is quite short and written in the same metre as Ashik-pasha’s *Gharîb-nâmê*, a *remêl* of six feet with irregular prosody. The Hurufî teaching is expounded in a very prosaic style, the merits of the names and letters, the sacred materialism. He often travelled a great distance to visit a particular scholar but always was disappointed.

**Bibliography:** Gibb, *HOP*, i, 336, 341, 344, 351, 369-80; Mehmed Fu’âd Koçpulî, *Turk edebiyâtında...
REG, a form generally retained in European languages for the Arabic rēd "desiccated terrain", in its Bedouin realisation (Sahara of the Maghrib) rēd, cf. L'A s.v. rēd, rēdī, rīdā, with a common denominator meaning "terrain where water has disappeared, at least on the surface", and with varying connotations. See G. Boris, Lexique du parler arabe in its Bedouin realisation (Sahara of the Maghrib), p. 319. The term rādīg (or "rāgg") became a kind of generic denomination of the Reg (or "ranges") as representative of the government and of the ruler, and kept records of memoirs and reports of the decision (of the nishāndji). The office twice, thrice and even four times. Average tenure of office being 2 years and 7 months, which reveals a remarkable lack of ministerial stability: some of the occupants held the office twice, thrice and even four times.

Duties of the re's efendi. As secretary of state the re's kept records of memoirs and reports (telkîs and takbîr) presented to the sultan by the Grand Vizier acting as representative of the government and of the Divān. These documents which were prepared by the amelî-ı divân-i hamîyân or amelî (referendar or reporter of the Imperial Divān) were brought in a bag

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(kise) kept for the purpose to the ceremonial sittings of the Diwan by the re'is himself who handed them to the Grand Vizier. After being read, they were given to a special officer, the telkhisdjî, whose duty it was to present them to the sultan.

As chancellor, the re'is had a kind of jurisdiction over all the civil functionaries and was the immediate head of the department of the Imperial Diwan (diwan-i hümâyûn kâlemî). This chancellery was divided into three offices (oda or sergi):

1. the beylikt, the most important, saw to the despatch of imperial rescripts (firmân), orders of the viziers, and in general all ordinances (esâmid) other than those of the department of finance (defterdâr da'ttâresi). This office kept copies of them, as did the Grand Vizier also. Ordinances bearing on the back the signatures of the clerk, of the chief editor (mâmeyzî), and of the head of the office (beylîkâ), were submitted by the latter to the re'is, who placed his sign (resid) upon them and, if it was a firmân, sent it to the nishândjî for the tugrâ (q.v.) to be placed upon it. The beylikt in addition retained the originals of civil and military regulations (kânûn or kânûn-nâmê) (usually elaborated by the nishândjî), as well as of treaties and capitulations (âdâm-nâmê) with foreign powers. The re'is had to consult these treaties, notably when certifying the der-kenâr or 'marginal' answers put by his subordinates on the requests or notes, known as verbal (takrîn), which the ambassadors addressed to the Grand Vizier. It is this side of his activity which, gradually becoming more and more important and absorbing, ended by making the re'is a Minister of Foreign Affairs.

2. office of the tâbûr or 'annual renewal' of the diplomas of the governors of provinces (beïlî [q.v.]), of the brevets of the melads or judges in towns of the first class (tashâ'il), of the brevets of the timarholders or holders of military fiêds (dâbî firmânî).

3. office of the re'âs or 'provisions' of different official acts, as well as of the orders for pensions from the treasury (serej) or from waqîfî (see for the details of the organisation of this office, Mouradgea d'Ohsoss, vii, 11).

The re'is accompanied the Grand Vizier to the audiences which the sultan gave him and to those which the Grand Vizier himself gave to ambassadors. He shared with his master the midday meal, as did the cawûsh bâshi [see cawush], and the two tekkeredjîs, except on Wednesdays when these two were replaced by the four judges of Istanbul.

In the official protocol, the re'is had the same rank as the tawûsh bâshi, with whom he walked in official processions, before the defterdâr (which showed he was of lower rank than the latter).

The elkab or epistolary formulae to which they were entitled are found in Feridân, Mânûshî, 10. They were the same as for the askâs of the stirrup [see rikâb-dâr] and the defter emîni. For the dress of the re'is, see Brindesi, Anciensi costumes turces, pl. 2; Castellàn, iv, 107.

According to Mouradgea d'Ohsoss, the re'is used to act as agent for the kâmîn of the Crimea.

Administrative career of the re'is. The re'is, like all Ottoman officials, were chosen by the sultan or Grand Vizier as they pleased, but, except in case of appointment by favour, they followed a fixed line of promotion (tarîkî) in the administration. It was in the administrative offices, i.e. among the khârâqadîn (Persian pl. which was given as an honorific title to the principal clerks or kadîn-i hâmîd or kalem dâbhîlî), that this career was spent.

In examining the Seferîn ul-rû*esa'î of Ahmed Resmi, we find that up to the re'is Boynal Mehmed Efendi (Pağha) (d. 977/1569-70), there is no information available about the career of the re'is, but starting with him we find that the re'is were regularly chosen from among the former tekkeredisis of the vezîris or of the Grand Vizier. From Şeyhûz-zâde 'Abdi Efendi (d. 1014/1605-6) onwards, the re'is were mainly taken from the vezîris mektubâxis or private secretaries of the Grand Vizier. These secretaries were themselves at the head of an office (oda) which contained a very small number of officials (khalîfî or kalpa, pl. khalîfî), of which there were only two between the years 1090/1679 and 1100/1689. When the number increased (at a later date there were about 30), the career of the future re'is was as follows: khalîfî in the office in question, called also mektubî-tî jâidi-i aîdî osâlî, then ser-khalîfî or baş-kalsa 'chief clerk', then mektubâxî. The post of mektubâxî was much sought after. It brought its holder into close contact with the Grand Vizier and it was then very easy to advance oneself. More rarely, the future re'is rose through the similar but less important office of secretary to the lieutenant to the Grand Vizier or Kahya Bey (kethûda kâbî osâlî).

The rjâsîet did not mark the end of a career, but gave access to still higher posts (see sâiğânî) for the old rules of promotion by which the re'is became nishândjî. It was one of what were known as the six 'principal dignities', menâsîbî sitte, namely, the nishândjî, defterdâr, re'is ul-kütab, defter emîni, şîkkî-i thâniî defterdâr, şîkkî-i âlîthîk defterdâr (Ahmed Râsîm, Ta'rikh, 756).

According to the Nâşihat-nâmê (39-40 of the French translation), the re'is was under the authority of the Grand Defterdar (for financial matters only).

Increasing importance of the office of the re'is. The growing influence of the re'is is explained by the increasing importance of foreign policy in Turkey (including the so-called 'Eastern Question').

Down to the end of the 10th/16th century, the nishândjîs were certainly superior to the re'is; they controlled and even revised the orders and decisions of the diwanân (askâm), but from the 17th century onwards, re'is like Celebi Mehmed Şâh Efendi, Lamî Ali Celebi and Hûkûm Efendi showed a certain lustre on their office. From 1660/1650 the incapacity of certain nishândjîs precipitated the decline of their office in spite of the ephemeral efforts by Grand Viziers like Şehîd 'Ali Pağha and of the nishândjîs appointed by him (Réjîd Efendi and Selîm Efendi). It was in this period that the office of beyliktî was created (see above).

The Ottoman protocol (teşrifât) was nevertheless still to retain for a long time traces of the originally rather subordinate position of the re'is. For example, they did not sit in the office of the Diwan itself, called Diwan-khânî (in the Top Kapu Sarayî or 'Old Serai'), but remained seated outside of the room in a place called re'is tağhâsî, 'the bench of the re'is', where there were also seats for certain other officials to wait upon. In the formal sittings, even in those like the distribution of the sâîqan (sul🐾îfî) which took place in the presence of foreign ambassadors, the part played by the re'is was rather limited. He carried in, with slow step and the sleeves of his āst turned up, the bag containing the telkhâsî (see above). He kissed the hem (tekî) of the Grand Vizier's robe, placed the bag on his left, kissed the hem of his robe again and withdrew to his place. He came in again to open the bag, handed the documents to the Grand Vizier, took them back from him to fold them (baghâmak), sealed them and gave them to the telkhâsî. If he was unable...
to be present, the bag of the telkhis was handed to the Grand Vizier by the biiyuk ... to Chief Inspector for schools in the Ministry for Education. He was sent to Paris to represent Turkey at UNESCO.

Things were changed at the reform of the Düaon effected at the beginning of his reign (1792) by Selim III, desirous of limiting the power of the Grand Vizier. The old Düaon consisted of six vezirs of the dominions (only one consultative voice; see k lạ vezzir), of the Muftî (Shaykh-ul-İslâm) and the two kazzarks. The new Düaon was to consist of 10 members by right of office and others chosen in different ways (about 40 in all). The members by right of office were the Kablya Bey, the Re'is Efendi, the Grand Defterdar, the Çelebi Efendi, the Tersanc Emîni, the Çavuşu Başçi, etc. (Zinkeisen, Geschichte, vii, 1863, 321).

The office of re'is tended more and more to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, parallel to the post of Kablya Bey (Interior).

Suppression of the dignity of re'is. The title of re'is was suppressed by the khaßî-i hümâyûn of Sultan Mahmûd II addressed on Friday 23 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1251/11 March 1836 to the Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Paşa. The Turkish text will be found in the Sâlâmâne-i Emeâliyye, the Sublime Porte, 1879-1922, Princeton 1980; idem, Ot- tomân civil officialdom: a social history, Princeton 1989; IA, art. s.v. (Halî Ílîcî). On the sâhîh al-düaôn or ra'îs (!) al-düaôn, see Kâkâshâhî, Şûb al-a'zâhî, vi, 101 ff.; vi, 14, 17-18, 50; H. Massé, Cede de la Chancellerie d'État... d'Ibn al-Safrî, in BIPG, xi, 79 ff. Among the Sâhîbîs, the offices of sâhîh al- düaôn and peraûne were quite separate. Ibn Bibî, in Houtsma, Recueil d. textes..., ii, 105. (J. Deny)

REMBAU (Ramong), a traditional district (luak) in Negri Sembilan, Malaysia. It is important in Islamic studies for two reasons.

First, the social structure of the Malay-Muslim population is based on matrilineal descent groups (suku), in which succession to office and inheritance of property descends in the female line. This has serious repercussions for Islam’s rules of inheritance which are widely avoided, or at least compromised. The Malay population is otherwise devoutly Muslim. The obvious parallel is Minangkabau [q.v.] in Sumatra.

Second, while the Undang (taqiq) of Rembau qualifies for his office by descent in the matrilineal line, he is also a component part of “the Ruler” of the State of Negri Sembilan along with three other “Ruling Chiefs” and the Yang di-Pentuan Besar. As such, he forms part of a single constitutional ruler for the State. One of the duties of the Ruler is to protect the religion of Islam, and this has difficult repercussions for Islam’s rules of inheritance which are widely avoided, or at least compromised. The Malay population is otherwise devoutly Muslim. The obvious parallel is Minangkabau [q.v.] in Sumatra.


REŞAD NÜRÎ (REŞAD NÜRİ GÜNTEREK), late Ottoman and modern Turkish author, born in 1889 in Istanbul, died in 1956 in London. He was the son of a military doctor, Nüri, and Lutfiyye, the daughter of Yawer Paşa, governor of Erzurum. He attended Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul and, later, the Frères High School in İzmir. After graduating from the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University in 1912, he worked as a teacher and schoolmaster in Bursa and in several lycees in Istanbul (Veysel Efendi, Galatasaray and Enreköy), teaching French, Turkish literature and philosophy. In 1927 he became an inspector for the Ministry of Education. In 1939 he was elected to the Parliament as Halk Partisi representative for Çanakkale. In 1943 he went back to the Civil Service, and in 1947 was promoted to Chief Inspector for schools in the Ministry for Education. He was sent to Paris to represent Turkey at UNESCO.
and as the Turkish educational attaché in France. He retired in 1934, and died in London on 7 December 1956, where he was receiving treatment for cancer.

Reshid Nuri started his literary career by publishing unsigned poems. He attracted attention during the First World War with his articles on Turkish literature in *La Pensée Turque* and the newspaper *Zamân*. These were followed by his story *Eski ahbâb*, published in Diken (1917), and a novel *Ahlâbevlerin içişleri* (1918), in Zamân, and his first play, *Hakikâti Hâlâ* (1922). *Hâlâ* was not liked by the Istanbul theatres, Reshid Nuri changed it into a novel and it was published as a serial with the title *Çalkıyûh* in Waktî newspaper (1922); in this form, it was read so widely that he became famous. In 1936, his travel experience in literary form was published with the title *Anadolu notları*. During 1942, he wrote satire, using the pseudonyms "Fire-Fly" and "Cicada" for the journal *Kalebok* which he published with Mahmût Yesâri, Münif Fehmî and İbnürelük Ahmed Nuri. In 1947 he started to publish a daily newspaper *Membrelet* which aimed to defend and express the views of the Turkish republican régime, but it did not last long. Between the years 1918 and 1955 he not only published books but also wrote articles in numerous literary journals. Resad Nuri is the most popular author of modern Turkish literature; his novel *Çalkıyûh*, published in this form, it was read so widely that he became known simply as "the author of *Çalkıyûh*". This popularity is due to the fact that he was able to combine the eastern and western traditions of fiction in his works. The clash between the individual and the society is the most recurrent theme of his works, but he treated even the villains of his novels as human beings. His fame is due to the fact that he was able to combine the eastern and western traditions of fiction in his works. From the linguistic point of view, he is often known simply as "the author of *Çalkıyûh*".

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Reshid Pasha, Mustafâ (1800-1858), Ottoman diplomat, statesman and reformer.

Reshid was born in Istanbul, on 13 March 1800, but his family originally hailed from Kastamonu. His father died in 1810, after which he grew up under the protection of his uncle, Ishartal Seyyid Pasha. He studied at a medrese, but did not graduate (i.e. he did not get an *iqâza* [*q.v.*]). Thereafter, he was trained within the scribal institution. Reshid took part in the campaign against the Greek insurgents in 1821, as seal-keeper of the commander-in-chief, Seyyid ʿAli Pasha. During this campaign, he saw for himself the hopeless condition of the Ottoman army. When Seyyid ʿAli Pasha was dismissed, his followers, among them Reshid, according to the Ottoman tradition of *imaginâb*, were also forced out of office. Reshid had some trouble finding a new position, but after a while landed a job at the correspondence office of the Porte. During the Ottoman-Russian war of 1828, Reshid served as army clerk. The reports he sent to the capital in this capacity drew the attention of the sultan, Mahmud II [*q.v.*], who was looking for capable and reform-minded servants to implement his reforms. Reshid was now taken into the *Amâdi Odasî*, the secretariat for incoming correspondence of the Porte. In 1829, he was attached as secretary to the Ottoman delegation to the peace negotiations with the Russians in Edirne. By now, he seems to have belonged to the same direction. He joined Pertev Pasha in July 1829, as the representative of the Ottoman army. Reshid was now taken into the *Amâdi Odasî*, the secretariat for incoming correspondence of the Porte. In 1829, he was attached as secretary to the Ottoman delegation to the peace negotiations with the Russians in Edirne. By now, he seems to have belonged to the same direction. He joined Pertev Pasha in July 1829, as the representative of the Ottoman army.

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Reshid Pasha, Musjafa

Popular in Istanbul, but he managed to survive it both physically and politically. In 1834 Reshid was sent to Paris as special envoy with a mission to regain Algeria from the French. While it was bound to be unsuccessful in this, he did manage to loosen the ties between Paris and Muham- mad ʿAli. He returned to Istanbul in March 1835, but was sent to Paris again three months later, now as a full ambassador. After a year in Paris he was transferred to London. There, his crucial achievement was to gain the unequivocal support of the British govern- ment in the conflict with ʿAli. From now on, Reshid would work closely with the British government almost continually for the rest of his life. In July 1837 he was made a marshal (mushir) and given the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs. After a tour of factories in Britain, he returned to Istanbul to take up his new job. Early in 1838 he made a Pasha. Foreign affairs remained his preoccupation, but we now see Reshid Pasha initiating reforms in other spheres, too (such as the first attempts at a modern census). For the next thirty years, the Foreign Office would remain deeply involved in the wider programme of administrative, legal and educational reform in the Ottoman Empire. This reflected both the importance of European, notably British, diplomatic pressure in favour of reform and the fact that the Foreign Office was the greatest repository of knowledge about Europe and its ways.

In August 1838 Reshid was sent to London once more, to try to conclude a defensive alliance with Brit- tain against Egypt. The alliance did not materialise, but Reshid did receive guarantees of British support. As part of the effort to gain British support, a com- mercial treaty opening the Ottoman market to British goods and promising the abolishing of state monopolies was concluded on 16 August 1838.

After the death of Sultan Mahmud II in the midst of the second Egyptian crisis on 1 July 1839, Reshid returned to Istanbul. There he took a leading part in the promulgation of the Gülkhâne edict (see ʿKhatt-i Humâyûn), which promised the subjects of the Sultan security of life, honour and property; an orderly system of taxation and conscription; and—in some- what ambiguous terms—equality before the law ir- respective of their religion. Like the trade treaty of a year before, the edict was clearly meant as an attempt to gain foreign, and especially British, diplomatic sup- port in the conflict with Egypt, but it also reflected the genuine concerns of the reformist circles around Reshid. It is hard to say whether the edict was instru- mental in convincing British policy makers, but the Egyptian crisis was solved in the Ottomans' favour when British military intervention forced the Egyptian troops to evacuate Syria in late 1840.

Muhammad ʿAli now clearly identified Reshid as his main opponent, and he used bribes to have him removed from the post of Foreign Minister in March 1841. Reshid was sent to Paris once more, but soon returned, ostensibly for health reasons. All his efforts to regain his position failed, however (he was only of- fered the post of governor of Edirne, which he refused), and he had to return to France in 1843. There he occupied himself primarily with theAnyway, this approach is not great for building a strong credit history. It's recommended to use a credit card responsibly, paying off balances on time to avoid any negative impact on your credit score. Instead, focus on maintaining a solid credit history by consistently paying bills on time and keeping your credit utilization rate low. By doing so, you'll be better positioned to achieve your financial goals in the future. A good rule of thumb is to keep your credit utilization rate below 30% of your credit limit. This way, you're showing lenders that you can manage credit responsibly. credit score, which has both short-term and long-term implications for financial decisions. A high credit score can lead to better interest rates on loans and higher credit limits, while a low credit score can result in higher interest rates, limited credit access, and negative impacts on employability. To maintain a good credit score, it's essential to make timely payments, keep debt levels low, and check your credit report regularly for any inaccuracies or fraudulent activities. It's also important to understand how different factors affect your credit score, such as payment history, amounts owed, length of credit history, credit mix, and new credit. By being informed and proactive in managing your credit, you can improve your financial health and secure better deals on credit products. In summary, it's crucial to maintain a healthy credit score to achieve financial freedom and secure better financial opportunities. credit score can impact various aspects of your life such as obtaining a mortgage, car loan, or even employment opportunities. A good credit score not only affects your ability to access credit but also influences the interest rates you are offered. It's important to keep your credit utilization rate low, which means keeping your balance below 30% of your credit limit, to maintain a high credit score. This practice demonstrates your ability to manage credit responsibly and can lead to better financial opportunities in the future. Additionally, regularly checking your credit report can help you identify and correct any issues that may negatively impact your credit score. In conclusion, maintaining a healthy credit score is crucial for securing better financial deals and opportunities. In the end, it's all about building a good financial habit that will benefit you in the long run. In conclusion, maintaining a healthy credit score is crucial for securing better financial deals and opportunities. In the end, it's all about building a good financial habit that will benefit you in the long run.
children, one son by his first wife and four by his
second.
His legacy was a lasting ... Traced back
to the Roman jugum-caput and Byzantine zeugaratikion,
this tax was probably the origin of the cift-bd-khdne

Great Powers, with Reshid serving British policy ob-
cluded from the
rusum-i ^urfiyye
based on Islamic principles and traditions.
see how that could have been otherwise.
state of the central Ottoman government, it is hard to

would be brought and
weighed at the public scales and taxed by weight, pay-
ing resm-i kapan (kabbn), resm-i kanar or resm-i mizan.
Goods paid also a bd^at-i 'ubnr at fixed points on a
caravan route. Imported and exported goods paid

giumr\[q.v.\]

In adopting a local tax into the Ottoman system,
the administration issued inquiries as to whether or
not it yielded a sufficient amount of revenue or whether it
cased discontent in the newly-conquered
areas. Then, the new tax with the estimated amount of yearly
yield, was entered into the mukai'a [q.v.]
registers, thus becoming a regular state tax.
The commercial duties were variously called accord-
ing to the regulations to which they are subject. Goods
sold wholesale at the urban bazaars or fairs were liable to a
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In the Ottoman Empire, it was
hukuk-l sher^iyye.

Active from the Islamic states, it was
established in pre-conquest taxes and duties under the
term rüsüm. Even the pig tax, resm-i qhnniz, was
accepted in the Balkan provinces. Although they were
often called bd^at, innovations against the religious
law, such taxes were distinguished into bid^at-i mårifa,
those customarily recognised, or bid^at-i ma^rufe, those
abolished by the sultan’s specific order. Exactions
taken illegally by local authorities are called tekâfîf-k
şakka, or onerous exactions and, when discovered,
were prohibited by the sultan.

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system in the Ottoman empire. Its nature, combining a hearth-tax and land-tax, confused bureaucrats as well as scholars. It must be the origin of the djizya.

The resm-i çift was a compound tax which included cash equivalents of various feudal services (see İnalıç, Osmanlılarda raiyet ruşūmu, and idem, Village, peasant and empire).

The resm-i çift system included resm-i çift, resm-i nim-çıft, resm-i bendāk, resm-i çiftli bendāk, resm-i ek validates bendāk, resm-i musgārat, resm-i kara, resm-i şahāb, resm-i bīltā, resm-i dušāh, resm-i zamin, resm-i çiftbozan, resm-i yasalak and resm-i kişhlak.

İspende or ispenţe, from Slavic yovanisa, a feudal peasant household tax in the pre-Ottoman Balkans, was incorporated into the Ottoman tax system and extended into eastern Anatolia from 1540 onwards. Every non-Muslim peasant household or individual paid it at the rate of 25 akĉes. Abu 'l-Suud understood it as kharādi-muvaţaza or "fixed kharādi". In the 1540s, the Ottomans identified it with resm-i kāpuru or gate-tax in Hungary, raising its rate to fifty akĉes, about the value of one gold piece in Ottoman silver coins in the period. Collection of resm-i çift, ispendede and djizya at the same time came to triple the original hearth-tax. Such double taxing, due to the confusion about the origin of the tax, often occurred in the newly-established régimes.

The resm-i filori [q.v.], originally a one-gold piece tax applied to the Eflaks, non-Muslim nomads of the Balkans, was another composite tax paid by household.

The resm-i bādi-i hava, evidently from the Byzantine arakon, also called payyārāt, was another composite tax which included occasional taxes such as ğnahām or fines, resm-i šarāāne, also called resm-i āderī, marriage-tax, resm-i āghāhāniye, field-guard fee, and resm-i tapu or fee on land transfers. The above-mentioned composite taxes of pre-Ottoman origin, namely resm-i çift and its derivatives, ışpende and bādi-i hava, were paid directly to the sipahi as part of his timār [q.v.].

The Ottoman tax system also allowed government agents to collect for themselves a small fee for their services. It was called kāhidmet akĉes, service-money or ma'ṣīḥet, livelihood. In later periods many such fees were returned to the treasury. However, in the 17th century when timār revenues drastically lost their value, government agents in the provinces invented a host of service fees (see İnalıç, Military and fiscal transformation).

The sultan's favour, which established privileges and benefits for persons, was thought to be reciprocated by payments. So, an important category of ṛasūm, including the resm-i berd, diploma fee, or resm-i itthikāre, certificate fee, brought to the treasury quite a sizeable revenue.

The sale of offices which became widespread from the end of the 16th century onwards, must be interpreted in the same way.

In the courts, Kâdîs took several resms for their services. Their abuses caused widespread complaints, and from time to time Ottoman rulers issued regulations fixing the rates of court fees.

### Fees at the Law Courts (in akĉes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vâzâ-nâme (Manumission certificate)</th>
<th>Nikâh resmi (Marriage tax)</th>
<th>Resm-i kismet (Division of inheritances per thousand)</th>
<th>Hudijdâyet (Certificates)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Kâd</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>H.1054</td>
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REWân, Eriwan, the capital city of Armenia, possibly identical with the town called Arran by the Arab geographers Ibn Rusta and Ibn Fakih, which in Armenian is called Hrastan and Rewân in Ottoman sources.

In Islamic times, the town seems to have become important from the mid-10th/16th century onward. The city is located close to the Armenian patriarchal seat of Echmiadzin, often referred to as Uğkilise "Three Churches" in Ottoman and European sources, even though there are actually four churches. In the 10th/16th century, the town formed part of Şafavid Persia, but was raided several times by Ottoman forces. In 990/1582 Rewân was conquered by the Ottoman sâdar Ferhâd Pasha, who ordered the construction of new fortifications. In the reign of Şâh ʿAbbâs, Rewân was taken back by the Şafavids and in 1025/1616 besieged by the Ottomans, who were however unable to take the city. In 1041-2/1632 the Ottoman Sultan Murâd IV retook Rewân and had a famous kâlkh, the Rewân Köşkü, added to the Topkapı Sarayî to commemorate the event. However Rewân was soon after reconquered by the Şafavids. According to the treaty of Kaşr-iŞîrin (1048-49/1639) the city thenceforth remained in Persian hands, apart
from a brief Ottoman interlude which ended in 1159/1746.

From the 11th/17th century date the first extensive descriptions of Rewan. Ewliya Čelebi visited the place in 1057/1647, and describes the sieges and counter-sieges of the reign of Murād IV, who had taken a liking to the former khan of Rewan, Emirgin. Ewliya felt that the walls of Rewan, consisting of but a single ring, were in no condition to resist a serious siege. At the time of his visit, those parts of the walls erected by Ferhād Pāsha could still be distinguished from the higher sections built by the Persian governor Tokmak Khan. The city was entered by three strong gates, and well-stocked with weaponry. Among the officials present in Rewan Ewliya mentions the kādi, along with a full complement of civilian and military officials. At certain times the city was governed by a khan of khans.

Another extensive description was provided by the French jeweller and merchant J.-B. Tavernier, who visited Rewan in 1665-6/1655. He notes that the province was one of the richest in the Safawid empire, both on account of transit trade and the fertility of the area, which permitted the cultivation of rice. Raw silk was here collected for export, and merchants enjoyed the privilege of paying a flat rate, without opening their bales. Tavernier claims that the old city had been ruined during the Ottoman-Safawid wars, and a new one built on the boards of the river Zengi Čay; this may be compared to Ewliya’s statement that the town had only been founded in the reign of Timūr Lenk. Tavernier refers to an active commercial suburb equally mentioned by Ewliya Čelebi, where merchants and artisans, particularly Armenians, resided. He also describes a stone bridge with chambers underneath, where the khan sometimes spent the hottest hours of summer.

About a decade later, Rewan was described by J. Chardin, as a large city with numerous gardens and vineyards. The citadel contained about 800 houses, inhabited only by Persians, while Armenian shopowners left the enclosure in the evenings. The garrison amounted to 2,000 men. There was a second fortress, by the name of “Quetchy-kala”, with a double wall and cannons, suitable for another 200 men. The core of the city was located at a cannon shot’s distance from the citadel. It contained a mayor surrounded by trees, where parades and games were held. The principal mosque was located in the market area, and there were also several Armenian churches, built partly underground. Chardin praises the city’s public baths and caravanserais, the most recent of which had been built by a governor; the gallery was filled with shops selling a variety of textiles, and there were 63 apartments along with stables and storage spaces. This building is probably identical to the Gorji (Georgian) khan of later times, where goods from Russia and Georgia were usually stored. In spite of the cold climate in winter, the area was famous for its grapes and wine, the Armenian peasants burying their vines at the approach of winter. In the summer of 1113/1701, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort also visited Rewan; however, his account of the city only repeats those of his predecessors. After his expedition to the Caucasus in 1217-1803, General Tsitsianov attempted to force the khan of Rewan to abandon his Persian allegiance and submit to Russia; however a siege in 1219/1804 ended in failure. Between 1225/1810 and 1233-4/1818, the diplomat J. Morier visited Rewan and recorded the post-war atmosphere in the city; the houses in the citadel for the most part lay in ruins, and the citadel mosque had been converted into a storehouse. According to a register prepared at this time by Hasan Khan, brother of the current sardar, Rewan and its villages contained a total of 18,700 males between the ages of 15 and 50, which according to Morier’s assumption, corresponded to a population of 74,800. A separate register recorded 5,000 Kurdish families, which brought the total up to about 100,000. Official revenues collected in the area amounted to 168,000 tūmāns, and consisted mainly of rural dues, customs duties yielded 12,000 tūmāns, and duties from the salt mines of Kolpi 6,000. In certain areas, one-third of the rural produce apparently was collected as taxes. The sardar monopolised the cotton crop and sold it to Georgia, importing Georgian fabrics in return.

During another Russo-Persian war (1241-3/1826-7) Rewan was again besieged, and local notables arranged for a surrender to the forces of General Paskevich; Russian domination was confirmed by the treaty of Turkmancay in February 1828/Shāh-bān 1243. Extensive data on the urban resources and population of Rewan date from 1244-8/1829-32, when the new Russian administration conducted a detailed survey. According to this document, the city had 7,331 Muslim inhabitants of both sexes, along with 3,937 Armenians. Among the latter, 1,715 were recent immigrants from Persia. The total urban population amounted to 11,463 persons in 2,751 households, distributed over three large quarters encompassing 1,736 houses. Apart from the Muslims who had left the khānate after the Russian conquest, the newly-acquired Russian province contained a population of 115,152 persons in 20,932 households, of which 61,018 were males. The Turkish nomad population before the Russian conquest had numbered more than 20,000; about 10% must have left the area immediately following the war, as the Russian survey counted only 18,287.

At the time of the Russian takeover, there were 851 stores in Erivan; 543 formed part of the bazaar, while 252 were attached to the city’s seven caravanserais and another 32 located in the fortress. The three quarters making up the remainder of the city must therefore have been all but exclusively residential. There were eight mosques with attached madrasas (one of them, the Shehri Dāmash, with its Turkish inscription of 1098/1687), and seven Armenian churches, while the ten public baths were mostly part of mosque or caravanserais complexes. Imports from Persia included silk, coffee, sugar, indigo, cotton, wool, dried fruit, raisins and condiments; while from the Ottoman Empire came wool, cloth, butter, coffee, wine, fruit, nuts, wood and tobacco. Exports to Persia were limited to cloth and grain, while the Ottoman Empire bought raisins, indigo, silk and cotton. From Georgia, cloth, wine, tea, fruit and nuts as well as wood were imported, while wood and salt were conveyed there. Russian and other European imports were usually luxury products. Merchants were numerous both among the Muslim and the Armenian population; among the Armenian immigrants from Persia, there were 105 weavers and 64 carpenters established in the city proper. In addition, women weavers worked at home; the survey records almost 3,000 looms for the khanate in its entirety.

An impressionistic account of Rewan in the 1240s-1250s/1830s was published by F. Dubois de Montpéreux. He described the reception hall of the last Persian sardar, decorated with mirrors and wall paintings of Shāh ʿAbbās, Nādir Shāh, Fatḥ ʿAli Shāh, the heir-apparent ʿAbbās Mīrāẓa, the sardar himself and various mythological figures. Dubois also has published sketches of several of these paintings. The sardar’s harem at
At this time, the city had acquired a university, a state library and other institutions of higher learning. Of the monuments from the Persian period, there remained the stone bridge over the river Tundja, which flowed into the city from Anatolia on the other, the intervention of Red Army troops ensured the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, again with its capital in Yerevan. By 1932, the city’s population had grown to about 100,000. New town quarters had been built to accommodate a large number of new arrivals, many of them refugees from Anatolia. At this time, the city had acquired a university, a state library and other institutions of higher learning. Of the monuments from the Persian period, there remained the stone bridge over the river Tundja, which flowed into the city from Anatolia on the other, the intervention of Red Army troops ensured the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, again with its capital in Yerevan. By 1932, the city’s population had grown to about 100,000. New town quarters had been built to accommodate a large number of new arrivals, many of them refugees from Anatolia. At this time, the city had acquired a university, a state library and other institutions of higher learning. Of the monuments from the Persian period, there remained the stone bridge over the river Tundja, which flowed into the city from Anatolia on the other, the intervention of Red Army troops ensured the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, again with its capital in Yerevan. By 1932, the city’s population had grown to about 100,000. New town quarters had been built to accommodate a large number of new arrivals, many of them refugees from Anatolia. At this time, the city had acquired a university, a state library and other institutions of higher learning. Of the monuments from the Persian period, there remained the stone bridge over the river Tundja, which flowed into the city from Anatolia on the other, the intervention of Red Army troops ensured the establishment of a Soviet Socialist Republic, again with its capital in Yerevan. By 1932, the city’s population had grown to about 100,000. New town quarters had been built to accommodate a large number of new arrivals, many of them refugees.
dent of the kitchen (matbakh emini), then entrusted with the administration of Aya Sofya and of the hot baths (hamam). With the wealth he accumulated, he built a mosque complex (no longer standing) in the Kirk Čeğma quarter of Istanbul. This mosque was named after him, and he was buried there on his death in 930/1524 during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. Rewani left a Divan, dedicated to Selim, and a methnewi entitled Ishret-name ("Book of the wine-feast"). There is an unpublished critical edition and transcription of the former (Samiye Inceoglu, Resimli lurk edebiyati, Ankara Universitesi, Yiiksek Lisans Tezi), and another study is in process (Ziya Avşar, Rewani divanı, Ankara Universitesi, Mezuniyet Tezi, 1961) and in its ghazels, in which he sings in a lively and easily flowing manner of both human and mystic love; many of these were set to music and quickly became popular in the coffee and winehouses (Karahan, op. cit.; Nihad Sâmi Banarî, Resimi türk edebiyatı, Istanbul 1989, 478).

The Ishret-name, a methnewi of 694 beyts (Rydvan Çanîm, art. Sâkînâmê, in Türk dili ve edebiyatı an-siklopedisi [1990] vii, 433-7) is undated but may have been written towards the end of the poet’s life since he refers to his white hair and to his being in the autumn of his life. In it, Rewani relates legends concerning the origin of viniculture and the discovery of wine, and describes in realistic detail the etiquette of the drinking bouts of his time, the meal served before them, the wine, wineglass, flagon, candle, musical instruments, cupbearers, etc. Towards the end he suggests that the poem may be given a mystical interpretation, but this is to be considered as a safety-net against attacks from the devout, the contents really reflecting the existence of such activities in his day, and his own penchant for them; and although he is said to have renounced this manner of both human and mystic love; many of these were set to music and quickly became popular in the coffee and winehouses (Karahan, op. cit.; Nihad Sâmi Banarî, Resimi türk edebiyatı, Istanbul 1989, 478).

Poems containing bacchic themes have a long history in the literature of the Arabs and Persians (see KAMRÂYYA, and Çânîm, art. Sâkînâmê, 434), the metaphor of wine also becoming an all-important feature of Turkish poetry. However, this is only one part of a Khamsa-yi Rûm, which Tâhir says includes a poem entitled Djamî al-nasâ'-î. Nothing further, however, seems to be known of this.

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didactic treatises. In the late 1880s a study group, the Persekutuan Rushdiyyah, was formed to discuss religious and literary matters and to publish texts written by its members, thus laying the foundations of their own printing presses. These works were disseminated to Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia. Early in the 19th century the Nakhabandī Tarīkā [see Naṣḥībīndavya] was introduced to Riau and became very popular. The Tuhfa records that all the Riau princes studied mysticism and copies of the texts are still kept in the area. One of the Riau rulers bought a wide selection of books, mainly Islamic texts, from India and the Middle East, and established a library which is still maintained in the mosque on Penyengat island. Students (such as Sayyid Ṣaykh al-Hāḍī), who received their initial training in Riau, went on to found religious journals and schools in Singapore and Penang and to influence the course of modernist Islam in the Malay speaking world.

The tradition of religious teaching was continued in Riau until the 1930s, and scholars from the Middle East, including an expert in astronomy from al-Azhar, regularly visited Riau to advise the local religious teachers. The Second World War disrupted this pattern, and the local population has declined since the early years of the century. However, Riau has maintained its reputation as a religious and literary centre which is respected both in Malaysia and in Indonesia.


(维吉尼亚·马瑟森·胡克)
(chiefly of money and foodstuffs); anything that goes beyond this is to be regarded as a later development.

The reason for such prohibitions is at different times said to be the fear of ribā, and sometimes we have the underlying recognition that there is no tradition of the Prophet relating to this. This is also expressed in the form that nine-tenths of the permitted amount is renounced or that ribā was conceived as going as far as ten times the capital.

The view which later became authoritative is laid down in a group of traditions of which one characteristic example is as follows: "gold for gold, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different, sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure". Another common tradition expressly forbids the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (see below). Other traditions demand equality of quantity even in the sale of manufactured precious metals. This last case seems to have been especially discussed, and on more than one occasion Muʿāwiya appears as champion of the opposite view and practice (this again has a distinctly anti-Umayyad bias).

Particularly conscientious people went even further in their limitation of ribā than the generality and would only exchange wheat for barley in equal quantities. Still stricter was the view that the exchange of even the same quantities of the same kind is forbidden. For the precious metals, was ribā. This view must be older than a difference from the usual opinion (e.g. Muslim, Bāb baʾy al-ʾaʾām miḥān bi-miḥān), which is based on the secondary interpretation of an already recognized tradition, which obviously only forbade the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (cf. above). This same general prohibition of exchange is also given for dates. The question whether one party to an agreement can voluntarily give the other a bonus, is denied for an exchange of different quantities of the same kind of article. Gold and silver are generally regarded as māl ribawi (only quite exceptionally are coins of small denomination included). All the greater are the differences of opinion as to what things outside of the precious metals and precious stones are ribā by definition. In isolated cases, one still finds views that show themselves uninfluenced in principle by the authoritative group of traditions (cf. above), e.g. when every thing realisable is subjected to the ribā ordinances (Ibn Kaysān) or all business dealings in things of the same kind (Ibn Sirīn, Ḥammād) or when everything liable to zakā is considered capable of ribā (Rabīʿa b. Ṭ. Abū al-Rahmān). Other opinions differ in the treatment of property capable of ribā from that group of traditions, although it is not known what they understand by this; possibly, if at an exchange of the same kind of thing, not equality of quantity but equality of value in two quantities is demanded (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), or equality of quantity also in the exchange of different kinds apparently within a limited circle of goods capable of riba (Saʿīd b. Ǧībaʿyār). The old interpretation that there is nothing that is ribā except that which takes place at once is ascribed to ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbī ʿAbd al-Rahmān. Numerous traditions forbid ribā without defining it more closely; the Prophet is said to have uttered this prohibition at his farewell pilgrimage (scarcely historical). Ribā is one of the gravest sins. Even the least of its many forms is as bad as incest and so on. All who take part in transactions involving ribā are cursed, the guilty are threatened with hell, various kinds of punishment are described; in this world also, gains from ribā will bring no good. In spite of all this, tradition foresees that ribā will prevail.

In connection with ribā, tradition mentions various antiquated forms of sale of special kinds, like mukhdara, mukhdabara, muzdabara, etc., which concern the exchange of different stages in the manufacture or development of the same thing, or of different qualities, and which are forbidden; an exception is made, of course, of things necessary to underwrite social necessity, of what is known as ʿarīya (plur. ʿarīyā), fresh dates on trees intended to be eaten, which is permitted to exchange in small quantities for dried dates.

3. While the existence of the Kurʾānic prohibition of ribā has never been doubted, the difference of opinion that finds expression in tradition regarding the relevant facts is continued in the earliest stage of development of Islamic law. Unanimity prevails regarding the main lines of the limitations to be imposed upon the exchange of goods capable of ribā (māl ribawi); it is only permitted if transfer of ownership takes place at once and, so far as goods of the same kind are concerned, only in equal quantities. In the case of a loan, it is forbidden to make a condition that a larger quantity shall be returned without regard to the kind of article. Gold and silver are generally regarded as māl ribawi (only quite exceptionally are coins of small denomination included). All the greater are the differences of opinion as to what things outside of the precious metals and precious stones are ribā by definition. In isolated cases, one still finds views that show themselves uninfluenced in principle by the authoritative group of traditions (cf. above), e.g. when every thing realisable is subjected to the ribā ordinances (Ibn Kaysān) or all business dealings in things of the same kind (Ibn Sirīn, Ḥammād) or when everything liable to zakā is considered capable of ribā (Rabīʿa b. Ṭ. Abū al-Rahmān). Other opinions differ in the treatment of property capable of ribā from that group of traditions, although it is not known what they understand by this; possibly, if at an exchange of the same kind of thing, not equality of quantity but equality of value in two quantities is demanded (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), or equality of quantity also in the exchange of different kinds apparently within a limited circle of goods capable of riba (Saʿīd b. Ǧībaʿyār). The old interpretation that there is nothing that is ribā except that which takes place at once is ascribed to ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbī ʿAbd al-Rahmān. Numerous traditions forbid ribā without defining it more closely; the Prophet is said to have uttered this prohibition at his farewell pilgrimage (scarcely historical). Ribā is one of the gravest sins. Even the least of its many forms is as bad as incest and so on. All who take part in transactions involving ribā are cursed, the guilty are threatened with hell, various kinds of punishment are described; in this world also, gains from ribā will bring no good. In spite of all this, tradition foresees that ribā will prevail.

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3. While the existence of the Kurʾānic prohibition of ribā has never been doubted, the difference of opinion that finds expression in tradition regarding the relevant facts is continued in the earliest stage of development of Islamic law. Unanimity prevails re-
the Hanafis; as regards the "four kinds", two further opinions of Ahmad b. Hanbal are handed down which correspond to the two views held by al-Shāfi‘ī. In the two kinds by the Hanafis, the ṣa‘īda and al-Awza‘ī, the Hanafis and the better-known tradition of the Ḥanbalis (as well as Zāhirīs, Zaydīs and Ima‘īms); as one kind according to the other schools, are content, in so far as it is not a question of the exchange of precious metals, with fixing the quantities, and do not demand actual change of ownership during the negotiation (madā‘is). The Zāhirīs, in the strict interpretation of the text of one tradition, in every case demand a change of ownership in the fullest sense at once. The sale of fresh dates for dried dates is forbidden by all schools except the Hanafis on the authority of one tradition; the barter of ṣa‘īda, on the other hand, is not permitted by the Hanafis, but regulated by the other schools, without any uniformity; as regards exchange of the same material in different stages of manufacture there are many differences of opinion. As regards the exchange of goods of the same kind which are not māl ribawi, the difference of quantity is generally permitted, postponement (nā‘ī a‘īn, nā‘ī a‘īn) of the single payment is still forbidden by the Hanafis and Zaydīs but permitted by the other schools (with differences in kinds of the sale of wares, even of those which are māl ribawi); for precious metal, the payment at later date (sa‘āy) and sale on credit (bay‘ al-tina) with postponement of delivery or of payment is permitted. The apparent contradiction of analogy in the sa‘āy, which forms a type of transaction by itself, has given rise to discussions on principle. The postponement of both sides of the transaction is regarded on the authority of a tradition as entirely forbidden in all agreements regarding sale or exchange.

5. The prohibition of ribā plays a considerable part in the system of Islamic law. The structure of the greater part of the law of contract is explained by the endeavour to enforce prohibition of ribā and masyr [q.v.] (i.e. risk) to the last detail of the law (Bergstrasser, in I., xiv, 79). Ribā in a loan exists not only when one malt Kubīr, but when the payment of a large quantity, but if any advantage at all is demanded. Therefore, even the bill of exchange (sufqādja) is sometimes actually forbidden (as by the Shāfi‘īs) because the vendor, who is regarded as the creditor, reaps the advantage of avoiding cost of transport. This did not prevent the extensive spread of this arrangement in the Arabic Middle Ages and its influence upon European money-changing. But they were always conscious that a direct breach of the prohibition of ribā was a deadly sin. Pious Muslims to this day therefore not infrequently refuse to take bank interest. The importance of the prohibition of ribā, on the one hand deeply affecting everyday life, and the requirements of commerce on the other, have given rise to a number of methods of evasion. Against some of these there is nothing formally to object from the standpoint of the law; they are therefore given in many lawbooks and expressly said to be permitted. The Shāfi‘īs, the later Hanafis and the Ima‘īms have recognised such methods of evasion, while the Mālikīs, the Ḥanbalis and the Zaydīs reject them. The recognition of these methods of evasion is not contrary to the strict enforcement of the prohibition in the fiqh. The inner significance of decrees of the divine law naturally cannot be understood by the mind of man. This is shown in the case of ribā in the limitation to certain kinds of goods. The Zāhirīs are thus among the most energetic defenders of evasions of the prohibition of ribā. Their line of argument is based not only on their formal negative rejection of decrees by analogia but also upon their positive estimation of the intention underlying the evasions. One of the oldest transactions of the kind, against which several traditions are already directed, is the double contract of sale (from one of its elements it is called bay‘ al-tina, credit sale par excellence): one sells to someone who wants to lend money at interest something against the total sum of capital and interest which are to be due at a fixed date, and at the same time buys the article back for the capital which is at once handed over. This transaction was taken over in mediaeval Europe under the name of mohatra (from the Ar. muhāṭara [q.v.]; cf. Juynboll, Handleiding, 289, n. 1, and E. Bassi, in Ria di storia del diritto italiano, v, part 2). Another method of evasion consists of handing over to the creditor the use of a thing as interest by a fictitious agreement to sell or to pledge.


(J. Schacht)

B. In modern commercial usage [see Suppl.].

RIBĀ (A.), a military-religious institution of mediaeval Islam.

1. History and development of the institution.

It is impossible to present an unequivocal definition of the term ribā. The word needs to be constantly related to a context and a chronology since the sense has been very evolve. The root r-b-t is present in the Arabic of the 1st/7th century, in numerous derived forms. It is possible to identify a first stratum of usage, comprising Kur’ānic usages and those of the early caliphal period. Originally, these usages are linked to tribal warfare. They imply no type of construction, nor any fortification, but simply the preparations which are made with the必须ing of cavalry
mounts, with a view to battle. In this case, the term ribāt is used as a verbal noun, a masdar, and not as a substantive. The period immediately following the great conquests, which saw the establishment of Muslim powers in new territories, was to change the modalities of war. This was to become a war of position, during the intervals between continuing offensives. Dispositions of defence were constructed (or reused in cases where there were previous constructions), on the coasts and on the land frontiers. This was done progressively, during the time of the caliphate at Medina, most notably under the caliph ʿUthman, and was continued under the Umayyads, according to local requirements and conditions, although no unified doctrine was obligatorily applied. It may be supposed that it was from this time onward that the word ribāt and the terms associated with it came to be applied to new objects. The ancient connotations did not disappear entirely, although they did require adaptation. It is not known whether it was during this period, or rather later, under the earlier Abdāsids, that the term began to be used to denote a fortified edifice (from the simple observation tower, to the small fort, to the fortress, and to the caravanserai). These various establishments would normally be situated in hazardous regions, on frontiers, on coasts, or on difficult internal routes. But this mutation of sense does not seem to have been general. The only elements of localisation are supplied by relatively late sources, which usually mention the fact without any indication which could be used in establishing a chronology. It seems that what is involved is the simple imposition of a noun, probably denoting the existence of danger and the need to take precautions against it, upon various pre-existing constructions, without any suggestion that there is, at the outset, such a thing as a unique type of edifice which could be called ribāt. It can thus be stated with confidence that to define it a “Muslim military monastery” is evidence of extrapolation and misinterpretation, and this applies, whatever the period and the region. It cannot be denied that the urban residences of Sūfis were subsequently known as ribāt. In the east of the empire and in Egypt, they were more generally known as ḥathākā [q.v.]. Frāk supplies a possible example from a later time (see below). The establishments of the 7th/13th century these establishments were known there exclusively by the name ribāt, possibly in preference to the use of a word with such strong connotations of origin (a purely Persian word and the Iranian provenance of the establishment). But, with very few exceptions, constructions of this type did not truly begin to develop until after the 6th/12th century, at the time of the burgeoning of the mystical fraternities of the Muslim jārakās (q.v. in EP); on the other hand, the Karrāmī ḥathākā [q.v. are more ancient]. These communal establishments for mystics (which often also accommodated travellers) had, in any case, nothing in common with the fortified constructions of the frontier which, in mediaeval Muslim representation, after a certain period, are reckoned to have welcomed “warriors of the faith”. It will be observed that this last consideration, linked to a representation of ḥathākā [q.v.—often treated as evidence in itself—needs to be approached with caution. It could derive, to a great extent, from the ideology and imagery of belief, rather than from direct historical actuality (see the detailed examination by C.E. Bosworth of the term ribāt and its evolution, in The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers, in Orient, xxxiii [1992], 284-6).

a. Ribāt as a verbal noun, from tribal Arabia to the frontiers of the empire. The root r-b-t gives the general sense of attaching or linking, in a concrete sense, and of strengthening (the heart), in a figurative sense (three Kurānic instances display this latter sense). The theme of linkage seems to have become specific in its reference to the habit of assembling and keeping together the horses which were to be used in the razzia. In tribal Arabia, according to traditional representation, horses were mounted when the attack was imminent, while camels were reserved for the advance to the site of the combat. Most of these horses would have been mares, which were considered, in tribal society, particularly valuable beasts (see the modern testimony of Ch. Dougherty, Travels in Arabia deserta, 2nd ed. London 1921, and of A. Jaussen, Les Arabes au pays de Moab, Paris, new ed. 1948; for the use of the horse in pre-Islamic Arabia and subsequently, see Farsas; according to F. Viré, author of the article, this usage did not date back beyond the 4th century A.D.). The term ribāt is considered by mediaeval Arabic dictionaries as the plural of the singular ṭāb (with a passive sense). The word is said to denote either “the group of horses which have been gathered together in anticipation of combat” (according to the LʾA, there should be at least five of them) or “the place where these mares were kept hobbled and where they were fed”. In the desert, they were kept under the awnings of tents. But ribāt could, equally, perform the function of a masdar of the Form III verb ṭābāta. This supplies, in general, the notion of staying or of attachment to a place (or sometimes to a person). But it also applies very precisely to the act of “assembling horses with a view to preparing a razzia” or to the notion of “being ready for combat, having gathered the horses”. It is this specialised sense which seems appropriate to two of the five Kurānic instances where the root is employed. In both cases, the context is effectively that of preparation for war. In sûra VIII, 60, it is a matter of gathering “horses in sufficient number”, ṭābat al-khayl, to intimidate the adversary. The latter is called “enemy of God” and denoted by the periphrasis al-adhām kafaru “those who have been ungrateful”, in other words—in the late Medinan context—those who have refused alliance with Medina and conversion. In III, 200, there is the final and isolated verse which closes the parable of the razzia: “unto whatever shall prevail, there is a need to “show oneself personally resolute” (ṣabīrā, “to confront the adversary” (not named in this instance) (ṣabīrā) and to “make ṭābat”. The Kurānic text contains the imperative ṭābatū, which would signify, in the context, the act of taking measures consisting in “gathering the mares to show readiness for battle”. In this passage, there is no suggestion of “going to the frontier”. This meaning can only have emerged at a later stage, either in the period of conquests or in the period which followed it, that of the war of position, which was to see over several centuries the Muslim caliphate in confrontation with its Byzantine opponents, especially on the Cilician borders in the foothills of the Taurus mountains, in the region known as the ṭūḥā (see EP, Triȧ(ang, and also ʿawāsim and rūm. 2. in EP). The Central Asian frontier, facing the Turkish world, was to be stabilised to a certain extent, in the mid-2nd/8th century. It was to be further pacified, from the 4th/10th century onward, by means of victorious Muslim incursions into Turkish territory, also by gradually becoming a zone of conversion, allowing a progressive infiltration of Turkish elements into the Muslim lands. However, the sources of the 4th/10th century continue to see it as a “region of ṭājū”, which poses a historical problem.
The tribal sense does not seem to have evolved during the caliphate of Medina and the period of jihād, the great extra-peninsular conquests. There were certainly numerous opportunities for the practice of warfare, as the obligatory contribution of allegiance and solidarity which was levied each year, in kind (i.e. livestock), on the allied tribes. The animals were gathered in hīmas [q.v.], special pastures under the control of the caliphate. The horses were pastured on the allied tribes. The animals were certainly numerous opportunities for the practice of warfare, as the obligatory contribution of allegiance and solidarity which was levied each year, in kind (i.e. livestock), on the allied tribes. The animals were gathered in hīmas [q.v.], special pastures under the control of the caliphate. The horses were pastured on the allied tribes.

While the camels were subsequently distributed among those entitled to them, the caliph 'Umar decided to keep all the horses for purposes of war, thus performing an act of ribāt. The term is not used, but the account is unequivocal and testifies to the persistence of the former situation (on this episode, see Abdallah Cheikh Moussa and Didier Gazagnadou, Comment on l'histoire ... de l'islam!, in Arabica, xi [1993], 208).

In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, in exegetical, historiographical, geographical or legal sources, there appear some important divergences from this first stratum of meaning and the ancient status of the word ribāt (the earliest sources date back to the mid-2nd/8th century; they are few in number and often are only preserved in later works). First to be noted is a divergence which is less of sense than of purpose. Increasingly often, the term came to be associated with the ideology of jihād [q.v.] as it developed, probably only after the 'Abbāsid period. It did so, apparently in uneven fashion, possibly first among the traditionalists and historiographers, before passing into the realm of the jurists. The first post-Kurānic usages of the representation of jihād, as war to the death, are confused. They are sometimes taken to refer to sectarian exclusions of the type (descriptive of disbelieving) practised by various ancient movements such as certain Khāridjite or Shi'ī tendencies against their own co-religionists rather than against the external enemy. In the Kurʿān, while often invoked on the subject, it is the term kifāl and not jihād (e.g. IX, 29-35) which refers to conflict with the Ahl al-Kitāb.

An interesting perspective, regarding the probable chronology of the change in meaning of a term such as ribāt, may be found in comparing the most ancient edition of the Muwatāt of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [q.v.]) by the Baghdādi Muhammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804, disciple of Abū Hanīfa who was also familiar with the teaching of Mālik), with the major compilations of prophetic traditions of the 3rd/9th century which were soon to be taken for the canonical sum-total of Sunnī Islam. The edition of the easterner al-Shaybānī is also opposed to that of the Cordovan Mālikī Yahyā al-Masmūdī (d. 234/848), in that the content of the two editions is not identical (on these divergences, see Sezgin, GAS, i, 458-60). The Cordovan version contains a Kitāb al-djihād which does not appear in the text transmitted by al-Shaybānī (opinion of Michael Bonner on the subject, in Some observations concerning the early development of Jihād on the Arab-Byzantine frontier, in SJ, lxxv [1992], 245).

The Muwatāt compiled by al-Shaybānī (ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Latif, Dār al-Tahrir, Cairo 1967) seems, curiously, to deny any endorsement of warfare on the frontier in a context of jihād (al-Shaybānī is, however, himself the author of a book of Sīyar, Sezgin, i, 430; this text is preserved in the refutation of al-Shāfi'ī's d. 204/820), which is to be found in the Kitāb al-Umm, Beirut 1980, vii, 321-50; it deals with rules of conduct concerning war; this is the sense of the term sīyar for jurists; it is neither an exhortative nor an apologetic treatise, and jihād is not evoked). A brief passage of the Muwatāt, in the recension of al-Shaybānī (included at the end of the chapters on prayer, aḥdāt al-salāt) is incorrectly entitled by the editor fadl al-djihād “the virtue attached to jihād”, while all that appears, in the received tradition, is the Kurānic expression al-mudjādāt fi sabil Allāh, which refers, probably, to a verse of the type of sûra IV, 95 (in this verse, the expression is in the plural; other Kurānic usages, II, 210, V, 54 etc., comprise a verbal periphrasis). In the recension of Muwatāt, there is a very brief mention of the Kurānic stereotype of “death in battle”, shahāda, without which the word jihād is never used as a proper noun. This status of a proper noun is effectively non-Kurānic. It is thus possible to suppose that, in the mid-2nd/8th century, the Median scholar (or, at least, his Hanafi editor, a generation later) may have belonged to a tendency which was sceptical about warfare on the frontier, particular with regard to the purity of the intentions of the fighters (they were certainly not regarded as “warriors of faith”: certain traditions accuse them of having no object in mind but booty; see s.v. maghān in Wensinck’s Les Concordances). In the Cordovan recension (but not in that of al-Shaybānī) there is furthermore attributed to Mālik the transmission of a hadīth, according to which the most scrupulous party (ablutions and attendance at the mosque, continual observance of prayer) would be “the true ribāt”, dhikr um al-ribāt (in this text, the term ribāt evidently functions as a verbal noun; reference in Wensinck, op. cit., under ribāt, i, 212; re-examined, in extenso, by L’A, under the root r-b-t; also Ibn Hanbal’s Musnad, Beirut 1398/1978, ii, 277). This does indeed seem to represent a position which would effectively have been professed by Mālik. It is further confirmed by another passage (included in the chapter on “the virtues of mosques”, fadl al-mudjādāt, 55-6, no. 95, in the recension of al-Shaybānī), according to which “he who goes morning and evening to the mosque”, ḥādā‘ aw rāhā, without ulterior motive, la jurīdī ḥāsira-ha (“not wanting anything else”), has the same status as the mudjādāt. It should certainly be understood, in this case, that the comparison is made with the Kitsāb al-mudjādāt and not with the contemporaneous soldiers of the ḥājār. It may be wondered whether these traditions do not allow the suppression of a conflict of representation between traditionalists at the end of the 2nd/8th century. These indications could permit the fixing of the time when the ideology of jihād, professed by circles yet to be identified, began to stress the meritorious aspect of military service on the frontier, while in other circles there was manifest opposition to this new point of view (possibly from the peoples of Arabia, i.e. of Irāk, against the Syrians, the Khurāsānians and the westerners, Maghribis and Spaniards; thorough analysis by M. Bonner, op. cit., but the problem of the opposition to this ideology is not addressed). If such was the case, it could be said that this conflict would, as if symbolically, have divided those who, of quietist tendency, aspired to make mudjāwara (the mudjāwara are “those who dwell close to the Ka’ba”; this is the ancient sense of the term, although subsequently the descriptive mudjāwarī would be applied even to those dwelling in other places considered as sacred or as conferring blessing, including on the frontier), from those who aspired to make ribāt (the murābiṭūn, to be understood in the new sense would be “those who dwell on the frontier”). The latter would have professed a new type of activism. Confirmation for this
hypothesis could be found in the anecdote (true or fictitious, but significant as the expression of a point ... to speak of the different defensive works of the frontiers (the word ribdt is never used to denote a building of Musnad, ajihdd Concordances, ribdt); the under see Transoxianian al-Bukhar! (d. 256/870 [q.v.], Sahih; does not seem to have been evenly shared during the safwa of Ibn al-Djawz! (d. 597/1200), Fudayl is intro-
iv, 17-
the work contains a (passages are to be found in the K. al-ajihdd wa ‘l-siyar, K. al-djihdd, K. al-a^ihdd, and of ribdt” (op. cit., iv, 147). This type of anecdote, which produces a face-to-face encounter between figures of importance, is often of symbolic significance and has little to do with factual history. Whatever the motives behind the ideological exploitation of these figures, the text of Ibn Kutayba shows how the representation of the merits of djihdd does not seem to have been evenly shared during the 3rd/9th century.

The contrast appears very striking, among traditionists, between the time of Mâlik and that of the major figures of the following century: the Baghdâdi Ibn Hanbal [q.v.] (d. 241/855, numerous passages of the Munad, see Concordances, under djihdd and ribdt); the Transoxianian al-Bukhari (d. 256/870 [q.v.], Sahih; the work contains a Bâb fudl al-djihdd wa ‘l-siyar, iv, 17-128, Matâbâ al-sha^b, n.p. 137/1958-9, 51 (certain traditions relate battles against Constantinople, “the city of Caesar” and against the Turks); the Khurâsânians Muslim (d. 261/875 [q.v.]), Sahib, Birut n.d. (passages are to be found in the K. al-djihdd wa ‘l-siyar, v, 193-200, and in the K. al-imâra, vi, 2-5); Ibn Mâdâja (d. 273/886 [q.v.], Sunan, ii, K. al-djihdd, 96-149); the contemporary Malikî al-Halabi (Cairo n.d.), Abu Dawûd al-Sidjistani (d. 275/888 [q.v.], Sunan, iii, K. al-djihdd, 3-93, ed. M.M. ‘Abd al-Hamid, n.p. n.d. (a passage on the merits in waging warfare successfully against the Byzantines, Rûm, 5), al-Tirmidh!(d. 279/892 [q.v.], Sunan, iii, K. al-adâb fudl ‘l-djihdd, 88-131, ed. A.R. Muhammad ‘Ughmîn, Cairo 1384/1964) and al-Nasâ‘î (d. 303/915 [q.v.], Sunan, vi, K. al-djihdd, 2-50, ed. H.M. al-Maw‘ûdi, Birut n.d. All present special chapters, sometimes very long, in which the term djihdd is employed, without ambiguity, as a proper noun. The traditions related in these chapters stress the need to conduct, “in the way of God”, fi sabit Allâh, warfare on the frontier, whether this is in the East, facing the Turkish steppes, or in the Cilician border zone, confronting Byzantium. These traditionists do not deal with the West, where, nevertheless, the same ideology seems to have been put into effect in a number of ways, in the autonomous province of the Aghlabids, in Ifrikîya, or in that of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain on the “existence of the ribâh” in al-Andalus, see references given by C.E. Bosworth, art. cit., 276, 285; A. Castro, The structure of Spanish history, Princeton 1954, 88-9, 202). Djihâd is presented as situated, in direct line, in the tradition of Muham-
mad’s conflict with the polytheists of Arabia. All these works include, in the context of djihâd, traditions con-
cerning ribâh. The term seems to have gone beyond the second level of “assembling of mounts”, arriving at the sole meaning of a prolonged period of voluntar-
tier” (mulâzamat ‘alâ ‘l-tâbghâr, according to Lâ‘î). The term nevertheless continues to imply a presence “under arms”. Some special traditions dealt with ir茧ri. This second term continues to apply to the mounts them-
elves and to the need to keep them in good condition (the combatants in frontier expeditions theoretically all being horsemen).

In all these texts of the 3rd/9th century, the term ribâh and its derivatives thus revive, with modifications, the ancient tribal sense. It should be noted that on the Byzantine frontier there is never any question of an edifice bearing the name ribâh. The fortifications have different names, according to their nature. The word hijr “fortress” seems to dominate. It is contained in a number of toponyms. Often these are con-
structions prior to Islam which have been restored (on this zone, see for example the references concerning Tarsus/Tarsûs and Mopsuestis/al-Masîsa, which are ancient fortified towns; descriptions of the Cilician plain and its cities in Ci. Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l’époque des croisades, Paris 1940, 148-52; on genuine and mythical history, C.E. Bosworth, art. cit.; on the absence of designation by the term ribâh, 283).

It should be noted, in particular, as regards this zone (the term ribâh parted for caliphal summer ex-
peditions, known as sausêj [see §32.1], description in the K. al-Kharâdî of Kudâmà b. Djâfar, 259, see below), that, from a historical viewpoint, the ideology of djihdh seems to correspond poorly with the realities of frontier warfare, in the first and second Muslim centuries, and even later. The army consisted of profes-
sional soldiers, receiving pay, the ‘adâ‘î [q.v.], and groups of mercenary irregulars, often drawn from tribal splinter-groups and led by their own chieftains. These last received the djîf’t (A. Cheikh Moussa and D. Gazagnadou, op. cit., 224, nn. 153-4), a kind of con-
tact, regarded as degrading (other forms with the same meaning, djîf’t, djâlîna, djâsla, etc.; the same term served to designate the sum, levied in advance, as insurance against failure to participate in an obligatory razzia). These quasi-autonomous troops were pillaged on their own capture and caliphal official booty, the maghâm. They had their equivalent, on the Byzantine side of the frontier. Un-
equivocal confirmation of the presence on the frontier of these irregular troops (who seem to have nothing to do with “battle for the faith”) is to be found in the seventh chapter of the K. al-Kharâdî, which is devoted specifically to frontier zones, on the Muslim side as well as on that of its adversaries: ‘Ajâr ‘ughr al-‘lslâm wa ‘l-aswâda wa ‘l-adîj al-malîfî bi-hâ, 252-66 (edition following the Kitâb al-Masâlik wa ‘l-mamâlik of Ibn Khurraâdîhîb (d. 272/885 [q.v.], ed. De Goeye). The K. al-Kharâdî, preserved only in part, ostensibly had for its author a Baghdâdi secretary occupying a senior position in the caliphal administration, Kudâmà b. Djâfar [q.v.], who died at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. In this text, the frontier gar-
risons are explicitly described as composed of “regular soldiers”, ‘ujâdî, and of ‘ulâđî. It is known that this term (sing, ‘ulâ’dî), denoted, in Arabia, the tribal outcasts and bandits who often joined together in bands (Barbier de Meynard translated this as “ir-
regular troops”, op. cit., 193, 194, see also mutâtaawwâtâ). It is worth noting the totally a-
religious tone of this section of the caliphal admin-
istration, who deploys a varied vocabulary to speak of the different defensive works of the frontiers (the word ribâh is never used to denote a building of
any kind). There is an unexpected and very significant verbal use of ribata which is taken in its strictly military sense when speaking of the frontier of Damascus on which there is said to have been "stationed" garrison, of Persian horsemen, asāiṭār. It is crucial to note that this situation is given as describing affairs "before Islam" (op. cit., Arabic text, 261, tr. 202). Finally, a tradition presented as Prophetic ostensibly discouraged attacks against the Turks, "who should be left alone as long as they leave you alone" (a play of words on the Arabic root r-t-k, Arabic text, 262, tr. 204). What is perhaps nothing more than a plebiscite, or perhaps the part of a diplomatic secretariat challenged the validity of the representation of a permanent djihâd against the Turks of the steppes which is described by numerous authors of this period (it is true that Kudâma seems to be speaking of the caliphal period or that of the Tâhirid governorate, and probably not that of the Sâmâniids; but as will be seen, below, their overall policy seems to have been of much the same nature).

Another important passage regarding the composition of irregular troops is provided by the geographer Ibn Hawkal (d. 367/977 [q.v.]), who compares with the new Sâmâniid armies of the 4th/10th century, composed of loyal and disciplined "Turkish slaves" (al-arâk al-mamlûkûn), the "dregs of the tribes" (al-dhâwib-dhûdân al-kabûdân), lacking any sense of faith or law, who in former times fought on the frontier (they are also called jââlîk al-arâkîr, K. Sîrat al-ard, 471, ch. on Transoxiana). Later, in the period of the Crusades, even if collective emotion sometimes inspired groups of volunteers nourished with the ideology of djihâd, a long-standing component of belief, it was not the "warriors of faith" who were to recapture the cities and fortresses under Christian domination. Those who sought the battles were first the Sâlik amin of Syria with its Turcoman contingents (N. Elissèeff, Nûr al-dîn, Damascus 1967, ii, 317; Sîvan does not share this writer's reservations, see his L'Islam et les Croisades. Idéologie et propagande dans les relations musulmanes aux Croisades, Paris 1968), and then the professional Ayyûbid armies, well-trained and equipped. These armies were composed essentially of Turko-Kurdish elements [see ayyûbid and also niṣrân] with the Sâlik amin of al-Dîn's great victory near Tiberias in 583/1187).

However, the assumptions of the ideology of djihâd are entirely different. It is "the Muslims" (a vague and sociological expression without any real significance) who are supposed to commit themselves as "volunteers", muṭâsawāta'î, to play the role of mutâṣâṣîdûn, "those who perform ribâtbîn" or muṭāḥûtîn, "those who perform ribât" on the frontier. They are also said to have born the name of ghâzî [q.v., pl. ghâzâtî, which seems to originate from the frontier of Khurâsân and Transoxiana, a symbolic name which recalls the warriors of the mythologised ghâzâs [q.v.] of the Prophet (the term is, however, used by Kudâmâ in a neutral fashion). In the sources of the 4th/10th century, the representation of djihâd seems to be promulgated in two major directions. On the one hand, there is Sûlim, which tends to law, claim to an in-"unassailable past (J. Chabbi, Réflexions sur le soufisme transen primitif, in JA, ccxi [1978]). But it seems that certain minorities within Sunnism professed parallel ideas, advocating exterior activism and inner moralisation. The movement appears to have expanded during the 5th/11th century. In the East, works of theoretical law, like those of applied law, henceforth deal with the question (on the waqfî of al-Ghâzaâlî (d. 905/111), see H. Laoust, La politique de ghâzâ, Paris 1970, 264, 342-3). The same applies to numerous works of theology: the Ashâ'îrî Abû Mansûr 'Abd al-Kâhir al-Baghdâdî (d. 429/1037), the great sorceur of the lukewarm or the deviant in matters of religion, gives in his Usûl al-dîn an overtly activist interpretation of djihâd in giving it the basis of its "commandment of good and prohibition of evil" (ed. Madrasat al-ilâhîyahât, Istanbul 1928, 193-4). As for the West, the Risâla of the Malikî Ibn Abî Zâyî al-Raywânî (d. 386/996), contains, in ch. xxx, a Bûb fi 'l-djihâd (ed. J. Carbonel, Algiers 1945, 63-7: mention of the merit attached to the performance of ribât in military or in a defensive capacity). Of the treatment of the problem, it is H. Laoust, who published numerous Hanbali 'akhîdât, declared, that in the most ancient ones, the term ghazî occurs more frequently than djihâd (La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa, Damascus 1958, 47, 127). This is the case with the 'âkîdât of Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997). This could indicate that the principle of djihâd is no longer an issue for theoretical speculation on the part of the author concerned. On the other hand, in the work of the later Hanbali Ibn Kudâmâ (d. 620/1223), djihâd is the only issue (H. Laoust, Le précis de droit d'Ibn Kudâmâ, Damascus 1950, 271-81, tr. and annotation of the 'Umda, which is a summary of the celebrated Muğnî fi 'l-waṣîl: a passage on the duration of residence of the ribât type on the frontier, 272; djihâd in the Muğnî, x, 364-97).

As a historical guide, it may be noted that the Kitâb al-Umm of al-Shâfi'i (d. 204/820 [q.v.]), ed. Beirut 1980, followed by the Mukhtasar of al-Muzannî (d. 264/877), includes, on the one hand, traditional chapters of siyar, on the law of war, with a discussion, radd, on the ideas of Malik (vii, 201-84) and of the treatise on siyar attributed to al-Awâzî (the text is given in the context of its refutation by the Hanbali Abî Yusûf (d. 182/798), vii, 352-89). The work contains, on the other hand, a theory of djihâd, which is included in the Kitâb al-djizya (iv, 167-222, on djihâd, esp. 170-80). In these passages, al-Shâfi'i formulates, for the first time, the definition of fard kifâya, "collective obligation" in regard to external war (K. al-Umm, iv, 176, is opposed to individual duty, fard 'azîn, see gjihâd). He defines the obligations of the caliphate, as well as the precautions to be taken to ensure that the campaigns (at least annual, or biennial when this is possible) do not end in disaster, tâfîr fard al-djizya, iv, 177-8). The defensive situation of the frontier, tâfîr (or atrîf, "the extremities") is evoked (the presence of fortresses, husûn, and ditches and ramparts, khandikî, is assumed). The frontiers should be manned with soldiers. Their status as warriors of the faith is given no particular emphasis. They are under the command of trusted, wise and courageous men. When an attack, ghâzâs, has been launched and there is a risk of it failing, the soldiers must withdraw to their camp and to the ribât al-djihâd. This expression does not seem to denote a type of building which could be called ribât. It appears rather to refer to the operational base where defensive measures could be taken. The phrase would simply signify that there should be no hesitation in returning to the camp or the fortress which is the point of departure, when conditions of warfare, tâfîr or theoretical law, like those of applied law, henceforth deal with the question (on the waqfî of al-Ghâzaâlî (d. 905/111), see H. Laoust, La politique de ghâzâ, Paris
fact, a state of belief to which certain reputedly Pro-
phetic traditions could refer, although the dating of
the latter, and the circles in which they were current,
are not always determinable. The most significant is that
which is mentioned only by Ibn Hanbal (at least as
regards the canonical compilations of Sunnism; it
does not seem to be invoked in the text of al-Shāfi‘ī):
‘‘ghādā is the monasticism, rahhānīyya, of Islam’’
(Musnad, iii, 82, 256).

Later, however, warriors of the frontier were to be
seen, in a manner simultaneously unreal and sym-

tactic, as varieties of saints, sālihān. The term sālih
(sc. the temporal world) who characterise the 2nd/8th

century. They are cited in the Tabakāt as self-styled
mystics, from the 3rd/11th century onward (after the
example of the Hilya al-a'wilīyā of Abū Nu‘aym al-
Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), ed. Cairo 1932, i-ix), and sub-
sequently in the relevant works of other contem-
poraries, including the Siyā of the Hanbali Ibn al-
Ḍjāwzā‘l (see above). Among these numerous figures,
which names constantly recur are those of Ibrāhīm b.
Adham [q.v.] (a native of Balkh, he is said to have
died in 161/777-8; the representation of the miracles
performed by him outside the framework of ghazūa
on the sea and in the snow-covered mountains, Hīya,
viii, 7-8, in the company of ‘‘ascetics who renounce’’
(sc. the temporal world) who characterise the 2nd/8th

century. These representations of
have little to do with
history. They seem primarily to propose a rewriting,
might be exploited in the caliphal policies of the frontier. It should nevertheless be noted that, in adab literature, the chapters intitled khiūb al-barb seem to have been largely a general polemic to denounce the practice of frontier warfare, as seen by traditionist circles. These passages constitute a veritable treasure-store of ancient representation, from the ḡābiyya onwards, through the Prophethal phase of Islam, to the adventures and achievements of the great warriors of the Umayyad period (see, for example, one of the more voluminous works, the Ḥad al-Fārāb, by the Andalusian Ibn 'Abd Rabībh (d. 328/940 [q. v.]), accredited panegyrist to the Umayyad court of Cordova, who transferred to the West the oriental tradition, and also the so-called popular romances describing the epic adventures of great warriors of the Umayyad period who were real persons; see al-Bāṭtāl and dhū l-ḥimma).

In his major commentary on the Qur'ān, Dūmī al-buḥān, al-Taḥbari (d. 320/932), presents exegetical readings which seem to accord with the ideology of jihād, such as it has been found expressed by means of the Prophethal traditions which are included in the compilations of the 3rd/9th century. But he also revives the contradictory ideology of quietism which makes ṭaḥbīn simply a modality of devotion (it is not certain, however, that this is what served as a referential basis for ṭaḥbīn in the usage of the term by mystics).

There is room for speculation regarding the future role of this latter tendency, which seems not to have disappeared entirely, despite the probable dominance of the ideology of jihād, throughout subsequent periods, apparently enjoying a powerful revival during the time of the Crusades. The two readings (pro- and anti-jihād) thus figure, concurrently, in the commentaries on the two Qur'ānic verses concerned (Dūmī al-buḥān, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo, vii, 501, on III, 200, and xiv, 31, on VIII, 60).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the use of a derivative of the root r-b-t which figures in the Book of Conquests, Khiūb al-Fath, of the Baghdādi historiographer al-Baladhuri (d. 279/892) (ed. M.R. Radwān, Beirut 1978, 189, ch. on Malāyit). The fact that this work dates from the second ʿAbbaṣid century is as much interesting as it seems to preserve an ancient usage of the term which hardly coincides with the representation in the ancient period of a jihād involving volunteers of the faith. The account concerns the war which the future caliph Muḥāfiya (he was still governor of Syria at the time) led on the frontier, recapturing Malāyit which had been lost after an earlier conquest. He "posted" there, ṭaḥbāb fiḥā, "a squadron of Muslims", ṭaḥbīn min al-muṣlimin, "under the leadership of their chief", māʾa ʾṣamīḥ-at (during the caliphate of Medina and the Umayyad period, the ʾṣamī denotes the governor as well as the military chieftain, responsible for a group of warriors, whatever its level and its number; D.M. Hill speaks of the "ʾṣamī of a small band of fighters" in reference to the reconquest of a town in the Dżażira, see his The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquests, London 1971, 85). The term ṭaḥbīn, used in this passage, is based on the theme of a name for a group. The latter, according to the ancient sense of the root, should be seen as being provided with horses and weapons and being ready for combat.

b. Ṭaḥbīn as a building: look-out post, small fort, fortified city, caravanserai, staging-post and urban establishment for mystics.

to pin down in its role as a substantive denoting a building than in its usages as a verbal noun or a noun of action. However, except in the case of the urban establishments for mystics which do not appear in a definitive fashion until the Saldūq period and are included in a well-defined general polemic against the practice of the construction of buildings on the part of sultans, their viziers or other dignitaries (madrasas [q. v.] for specialists in fiqh and khanqahs [q. v.] for ʿulūfs), there is a definite possibility that there has often been confusion and misunderstanding concerning the ṭaḥbīn as an edifice. There may well be cases where a reference to a particular edifice has been understood, when in reality it is simply a metaphor for the war by means of a tempered language which was of use on the frontiers, denoting an exposed place: an isolated stage on an inland route, a border-post or a fortified coastal city. It seems difficult to present a general opinion on the question, such being the variety, in nature and in purpose, of the built-up places and spaces to which the name of ṭaḥbīn is given, in the sources of the 4th/10th century. The earliest information seems to emanate from geographical sources of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. But, depending on the authors, the latter may already have been permeated by ideology. Since the historical problems have yet to be clarified and separated from phenomena of representation, it is not possible to identify and fix a historical starting-point. It is possible, however, to draw some conclusions from textual comparisons. Thus attention may be drawn to the very neutral terminological usages of the caliphal period and are included in a well-defined text (EGA, vi, Leiden 1889, 208, 212, 262; this would make it possible, in his opinion, to indicate, directly or indirectly, the presence of an edifice named ṭaḥbīn (as a verbal noun or as a substantive denoting plural ṭaḥbīāt). According to these authors, ṭaḥbīts are divided among several major zones, Transoxiana and the Caucasus, the West Caspian zone and the Mediterranean coasts, from Palestine to the Maghrib and to Spain (Miquel, op. cit., ii, "les marches", 536; the ṭāḥbī instead of the ṭaḥbīt of the Arabo-Byzantine frontier have been omitted from this list because, as has been seen above, the usages of ṭaḥbīt do not seem to denote there a specific building, but exclusively an action or a place of action). However, this terminology does not seem to be shared by all authors. Unlike the geographer-travellers of the mid-4th/10th century. Kudāma, writing two generations earlier, makes no mention of ṭaḥbīt as a frontier edifice of jihād. The situation to which he refers allusively on the frontiers of the north is that of the Turkish "raid", verb ḍhra, and not that of Muslim incursion (extract from the K. al-Ḳhairūdb, in BGA, vi, Leiden 1889, 208, 212, 262; this would seem to confirm the tradition related by the same Kudāma, according to which "the Turks should be left in peace" (op. cit., 262). Similarly, instead of the
term ribât which was to be used in the 4th/10th century, he uses the term khan [q.v.] to denote the caravanserai and sîka for the "relay" of the postal service barid [q.v.] (association of the khan and the sîka, in certain isolated "stages", mansûrî, 209, 210), and this over the whole extent of the empire (however, it is generally supposed that it was the relays of the eastern post which were called ribât [see barid]).

Even if local powers from time to time conducted a more offensive policy (without disruption of commerce, and in particular, the very lucrative trade in slaves, some of which would become the tribal soldiers from the 3rd/9th century onward, see ghulâm), it may be noted that the Muslim rulers of Persia finally found themselves in a situation similar to that of the empires which had preceded them, confronted by nomads from the north and the east (a legendary evocation of relations between the Sasanid Anûghirwân and the king of the Khazar, which led the former to build a wall of bricks, bâd, against the raids of the nomads, intractable subjects of the latter, Kudâmâ, 259-61).

A related question concerns, in particular, the representation of ghâdâ on the eastern frontiers of Persia. It may be wondered whether what is presented, in the sources, as a generalised ghâdâ, performed from the starting-point of thousands of ribâs, in fact reflects historical facts. Al-Mukaddasî speaks of a thousand ribâs at Paykand, on the border of Bukhâra (282). They are said to be "in ruins" or disused, khardâ, or "in active use", âmir, although the respective proportion is not given. The same author states the presence (without specifying whether active or otherwise) of 1,700 ribâs at IsfÎdâb, on the right bank of the Sûr Darya or Sayhûn (273; Ibn Hawkal also speaks of a thousand ribâs at Paykand, 489). These highly unusual figures are probably a reflection of hyperbole and mythic representation. In fact, the historical elements of the context (drawn from historiographical sources, as well as from certain passages of the geographers themselves), on the policy conducted by the local Muslim powers (the Tâhirid governors at first, later, the Sâmânid amirs), during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, confronted by the Turkish peoples of the steppe (qâ’wuz, Karluk [q.v.], Arabî, Karakûdî), present a quite different picture. In both cases, it is a policy of defence (based on fortresses, hisn or kûhandiz (the Persian word), of towns incircled by walls, muhsaţana, or by ditches and ramparts khandâ, especially in Kh‘ûrazm, works of which many must have been pre-Islamic) and not of attack, which seems to have been practised once the conquests had reached the uncler, but traditional, frontier of the steppe. In response to raids by the Turkish nomads (who normally took the initiative), there appear to have been punitive Muslim expeditions, of which the best-known is that of the Sâmânid Isma‘îl I (279-95/892-907 [q.v.]) against one of the Turkish centres of population, that of the Karluk, the town of Talas, in 280/893. This must have established calm on the frontier for most of the 4th/10th century. From this period, which is precisely contemporary with the floods of Turkish-travellers, the warfare would have been over. This was achieved, furthermore, by the progressive conversion of the Turkish border tribes. Information on these conversions is also mentioned "ardent and decisive men", ridâgâ gisbâm, well-equipped with arms and with horses. It is impossible to tell whether this refers to volunteers. They are deployed, facing the sands, in three forts, bisn, "linked together", muttâsa, one of them being defended by a ditch and rampart, khandâ (al-Mukaddasî, 320).

The mode of expression is lyrical; it could refer to the reality of the previous century. On the other hand, Ibn Hawkal provides a significant extract on the converted tribes installed on the pasture-lands of Shâsh, the region of what is today Taškent (511; al-Mukaddasî is decidedly more discreet, 274). Furthermore, it was soon to be the Muslim irregulars of the frontier who were causing problems. In the article ghâzî, Cl. Cahen defines them as companies of "mercenaries" and not as volunteers for the faith (it may be recalled that Kudâmâ and Ibn Hawkal spoke of sa‘îlîk to denote these irregulars, see above).

For want of external action, they seem to have found a diversion in participating in various revolts, including one in Sâmânid Bukhâra, in 318/930 [see ghâzî]. Some reportedly sought in the mid-4th/10th century to leave for the West (Camb. hist. Iran, iv, The Sâmânids, ed. R.N. Frye, 155). Others were probably employed by Mâhmûd the Ghaznawîd in his expeditions to the Pandjâb at the beginning of the 5th/11th century. It could almost be said that, it is only when the mercenaries of the frontier have left the scene, that the warriors of faith make their entrance, in an idealised representation of the past, in this region just as in the Greater Asia's Mediterranean sector.

From these first elements it can be seen that it is no longer possible to subscribe, in a global manner, to the definition of G. Mârçais, who presents ribât (in his EI article s.v.) as "a type of establishment, both religious and military, which seems quite specifically Muslim" and which would have appeared "at an early stage". It is no longer possible to retain as "current" the interpretation of "fortified convent" (see above). Before drawing hasty conclusions, the most prudent course is, without doubt, to analyse the sources and to identify the points where usage seems to indicate the presence of edifices called ribât. This will not be sufficient to indicate whether it is the edifice itself which bears this name or it is the function assigned to it which accounts for the name. In the first case, there would effectively be a specific construction. In the second case, there would be a common name denoting various types of edifice, according to the function attributed to them. Thus the full range of evolutionary senses of the verbal noun would be encountered, from preparation for combat, to vigilance or to a protected halting-place (a use as verbal noun in the writings of al-Mukaddasî, 303, with reference to Badkhshân, in the mountains of the upper Oxus basin).

Furthermore, a careful reading of the texts reveals
that it is probably a mistake to attribute a military function to certain ribâts; sometimes the reference seems to be to a simple hospice for travellers, especially in the case of an edifice situated on the right bank of a river. A ribât named after a specifically-named individual and maintained by the incomes of a waqf or mortmain (see waqf, and Cahen, *RiBâT 501*

that it is probably a mistake to attribute a military function to certain ribâts; sometimes the reference seems to be to a simple hospice for travellers, especially in the case of an edifice situated on the right bank of a river. A ribât named after a specifically-named individual and maintained by the incomes of a waqf or mortmain (see waqf, and Cahen, *Reflections on the waqf ancient, in Les peuples musulmans dans l'histoire médiévale*, Damascus 1977, 287-306). This would be the case of the four ribâts of Isfâdâb, each situated at the gates of the town (and not in the vicinity of the great mosque, as suggested by the unclear text of al-Mukaddasi, 272-3; cf. Ibn Hawkal, 510, making possible a connection of Sâdâb with Thughr al-gharb, iv, 56), on an important route leading from the major regional metropolises. These hospice-ribâts seem to have been specifically for the accommodation of travellers who were natives of these cities (see the case of the ribât probably founded by Karâjûq, a Sâmânîd military dignitary, who is buried there and who converted into waqf the revenues of a market; another possible case, in the writings of al-Mukaddasi, is the ribât of Mûrîk (?), the founder of which was a Sâmânîd amîr; in this case, too, the establishment is in the environs of the town, 275). On the other hand, in the writings of Ibn Hawkal passages are found which indicate more clearly the purpose of the edifice: ribâts for travellers on internal routes maintained by the waqfs, manâzîl wa-ribââît manâzîl âl-dâbîl al-jâirîk (401). As for the ribât situated on the plain to the north of Ustâghugâna, facing the steppe which borders on the left bank of the Sayhun, the foundation of which is attributed to the celebrated Aflûnh [q.v.], the prince of this province who distinguished himself in far-flung campaigns (before ultimately being imprisoned as a rebel, in Sâmârâ, in 226/841), it seems to be of distinctly military purpose (Ibn Hawkal, 504-5; this case of the ribât of Mirki (?), the founder of which was a Sâmânîd amîr, is the exceptional mention of *mudâwirun* from Tirmidh (mentioned by Miquel, *op. cit.*, and Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasân* in *St* [1977]). The facts of the sanctification of certain sites, called ribât by certain authors, should, in this writer's opinion, be often considered (at least on the eastern border; the situation in the West is less clear, see below, in regard to Irikiya), as phenomena added a posteriori, especially in the case of military posts which had lost their importance or fallen into disuse. It is clear that each passage needs to be examined in detail and compared with parallel sources, since each case seems to pose different questions, even when the same region is under discussion. In any case, the important question remains open: who is finally responsible for allocating the name ribât to certain edifices—the founders, the actual users, or later authors describing events?

ii. The central coastal zones and the western frontier

According to Kudama's formula, all the coasts from Syria to Egypt are *thughurs* (253; details of the coastal cities, 255; a brief paragraph is devoted, at the end of the chapter, to the *thughûr al-gharb* which begin with Irikiya, 265-6). The geographers of the 4th/10th century are less synthetic in approach. They do not omit to mention all the fortified towns of the coast (muhassana, *encircled by a wall, or muhassana*, kukâd, *a fortified town*), as well as the establishments connected with the postal service (the *kharâj*) which had been constituted as *wakf*). The verb *thughur* clearly denotes the effective construction of an edifice by this person; it is, however, not known whether it was originally intended as a *ribât*. Clearly less ambiguous are the passages in the works of geographers concerning the halting-places on internal routes called *ribât*. They are generally denoted by a composite expression, "the ribât of...", followed by a place or the name of a founder-edicifist, cited at the gate of a city, which had been constituted as *wakf*). The verb *thughur* here clearly indicates the purpose of the edifice: ribâts for travellers on internal routes maintained by the waqfs, *mandzîl wa-ribââît mandzîl âl-sâîbîl al-thâriq* (401). As for the ribât situated on the plain to the north of Ustâghugâna, facing the steppe which borders on the left bank of the Sayhun, the foundation of which is attributed to the celebrated Aflûnh [q.v.], the prince of this province who distinguished himself in far-flung campaigns (before ultimately being imprisoned as a rebel, in Sâmârâ, in 226/841), it seems to be of distinctly military purpose (Ibn Hawkal, 504-5; this case of the ribât of Mirki (?), the founder of which was a Sâmânîd amîr, is the exceptional mention of *mudâwirun* from Tirmidh (mentioned by Miquel, *op. cit.*, and Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasân* in St [1977]). The facts of the sanctification of certain sites, called ribât by certain authors, should, in this writer's opinion, be often considered (at least on the eastern border; the situation in the West is less clear, see below, in regard to Irikiya), as phenomena added a posteriori, especially in the case of military posts which had lost their importance or fallen into disuse. It is clear that each passage needs to be examined in detail and compared with parallel sources, since each case seems to pose different questions, even when the same region is under discussion. In any case, the important question remains open: who is finally responsible for allocating the name ribât to certain edifices—the founders, the actual users, or later authors describing events?

Concerning the frontiers of the West, al-Mukaddasi confines himself to saying that Damascenes go to Beirut to perform *ribât*, *sc. yurâbîsân*, with the soldiers, when there is an appeal in case of danger (sinifâr *call to arms, general mobilisation*), 175; no site of the Near Eastern littoral is mentioned. Concerning the frontiers of the West, al-Mukaddasi confines himself to very vague formulae: the *Maghir* is in a state of permanent *qahâd* (215, the same applying to Cordova, 233). The coasts of Sicily are "noble *thughurs*" which contain "superb ribâts", *thughûr djâîla wa-ribââît djâîla* (or superb *"places of ribât"?*) (15); as for Ibn Hawkal, he goes into most detail when describing Irikiya and Sicily, see below. On the other hand, with regard to the Turkish zone, under the Samanids and then under the Ghaznavids. This role is also attributed to the Sufis with whom the Karrâmiya are often confused. It should be remembered, however, that Sufis did not appear in Persia until the mid-4th/10th century (see Chabbi, *op. cit.*, and Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasân* in St [1977]). The facts of the sanctification of certain sites, called ribât by certain authors, should, in this writer's opinion, be often considered (at least on the eastern border; the situation in the West is less clear, see below, in regard to Irikiya), as phenomena added a posteriori, especially in the case of military posts which had lost their importance or fallen into disuse. It is clear that each passage needs to be examined in detail and compared with parallel sources, since each case seems to pose different questions, even when the same region is under discussion. In any case, the important question remains open: who is finally responsible for allocating the name ribât to certain edifices—the founders, the actual users, or later authors describing events?
which are not otherwise adduced. They presumably had a "season" of activity, mawsim, during which there was a influx of Muslim traders. The passage is fairly enigmatic (203). It is perhaps linked to maritime conditions, which rendered approach to the Egyptian coast extremely difficult for the greater part of the year. The ribāts dependent on Ramla are even more surprising (177; Miquel has partially translated the passage, in La géographie humaine, iv, 55). The points on the coast identified as ribāt represent the totality of maritime cities of the Palestinian coast or their ports. The city itself may be somewhat removed from the coast, as is the case of Qhaza in relation to Mimas in the south and of Azdūd and Yubnā in the central zone. The port of these two small cities is called mābāz (a word normally meaning "space between two armics", which could be applied to a maritime forward post in relation to the city by which it is controlled). The other ribāts are fortified cities situated directly on the seaboard, Ascalon or Askašān (between Mimas and Azdūd), Jaffa or Yaffa (considered to be the port of Ramla) and finally Arsāf, a fortified port situated further to the north (description of the defensive works of these cities, 174, with the exception of Azdūd and Yubnā, which are mentioned only in the above-mentioned passage, 177). Given this context, it is reasonable to assume that it is a question of places which ribāt was protected. Miquel prefers to edifices of a particular type. The latter are described, furthermore, by their customary names, whether it is a case of "fortresses", hīṣn, small forts with "observation towers", mahāris (sing. mahrās); these were apparently especially numerous in the zone of Ascalon. The town is described as kauthir al-mahāris, (174). The ribāt which, according to al-Mukaddasī, is practised in this zone is of a very particular type. It is not a question of coastal fort but of fudās [q.v. in Suppl., ]("the ransoming of prisoners" (the principal source on this subject is al-Mas'ūdi, Tanbih, 189-96, who deals with official "campaigns" of ransom conducted by caliphal representatives; there is no mention of ransoms effected on the Palestinian coast). Miquel has good reason for wondering whether, in fact, it was not rather a matter of exchange (ii, 471). According to the passage, the practice, al-Mas'ūdi of the Palestinian coast like the galleys and barques arriving from the Christian shores (their provenance is not specified) are sighted, the alarm is raised throughout the region. The inhabitants come to negotiate in the above-mentioned ports. Such activities are highly plausible, especially as it is unclear whether it is a question of places where a significant number of people reside ("al-'tayyām wa 'l-'asā'd, "according to days and periods", wa'rafa bi-Munastīr, ("place" which is known by the name of Munastīr). The second use appears in an expression which makes ribāt a functional epithet (kāfribāt, "a fortress having the function of ribāt"). The third use is a verbal noun: "there are at the edge of the sea two large fortresses", kāīsand tālmād, li 'l-ribāt wa 'l-'asā'da, "for ribāt and religious observances, and for things in Irfiyya, "which are maintained by the benefits of numerous waskāf situated in Irfiyya", wa 'l-'asā'dātā ta'ī-hā min kulli ard 'ād and by alms which come from everywhere"

There is no doubt that, at a later stage, when their military role had perhaps become less important, the fortresses of Monastir were considered as sanctified sites, favoured by the nobility as places of internment (see monastir; the acts of piety related by the sources are, however, perhaps interpreted a little too literally here). It could be considered that the text of Ibn Hawkāl tends to idealise the situation on the coast of Africa (as also the case of Saē in Morocco, confronting the Barghātā Berbers, considered at the time to be unconquered, 81-2), while he castigates the vice prevalent in the Sicilian places of ribāt (121; partial tr. A. Miquel, La geographic humaine, iv, 55). Historical studies. If mystical movements were able at a later stage partially to occupy this type of edifice, they seem absolutely unrepresentative of the situations which could have arisen in more ancient times.

In Andalusia, three marches confronted the Christian kingdoms, including the famous Galician march, thagrul al-djalālīka. The war which was waged against the local Christians, "of quarrelsome and obstinate temperament", was, according to Ibn Hawkāl (who is manifestly prejudiced), a war characterised by trickery and ambushes which have little to do with the rules of chivalry, farūqiyah. No mention of ribāt is to be found in his text (111, 114; but the province of Spain appears to be little known; only a few pages deal with it). In this respect, al-Mukaddasī is equally vague; on the difficulties of documentation regarding Muslim Spain in the early period, see al-andalus. (ii) "Outline of the historical geography of al-andalus"; (iii) "General survey of the history of al-andalus". It may, however, be wondered whether the lands of the
Muslim West genuinely link, to a greater extent than in the east, military action and guarding of the frontier to a sustained devotional practice (which is not to be confused with a mystical practice!) A critical study of the sources on this subject would unquestionably be a worthwhile project. The Sicilian counter-example which Ibn Hawkal gives, with a view to denouncing it, and which describes the undesirable elements of the frontier, is very significant in this respect. On the other hand, it is no doubt necessary to take account, in as continuity with ancient usages and not as a novelty, of the fact noted by G. Marçais [q.v. in RIBAT in E1], concerning the existence, in Spanish, of the word rebato to denote an action performed by a troop of horsemen in conformity with Muslim tactics. Encountered in this definition is the precise basic sense of the verbal noun of the early caliphal period. It does not go as far as the original ribāt, on the banks of the Senegal river, which has long been reckoned the point of departure of the Almoravid Berbers, at which fact which is not today held in doubt [see H.T. Norris, Al-Murabitun, IV. The Almoravid movement, which began in the Maghrib at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, passed into Spain during the final quarter of the same century (479/1086, victory of Yusuf b. Taḥsin at Zallāka, see P. Chalmeta, Al-Murabitun. IV. "The Almoravids in Spain") and dominates it politically, while unleashing war on the frontier, using both regular troops and mercenaries, exactly as in the East. In this context, there seems however to appear, as a specific case, the activity of certain splinter-groups of Mālikism from the Maghrib which preached an activist application of religious observance. This would be the case of the founder of the Dār al-murābiṭīn (mentioned by Norris, in art. cit., and located in the Moroccan Sous) which apparently professed a blend of piety and warfare. This movement could first have inspired the faith of the Saharan Almoravids, then that of the ideologies which followed them, and who were to be recruited into circles of jurists of the Mālik persuasion. It is nevertheless important not to continue to confuse these modalities of active observance, perfectly identified (which could, in certain aspects, be compared, in the East, to Ḥanbalī activism and, much later, to Wahhābism) with the use which the Spanish and Portuguese (by analogy with the Maghrib! usage defined by G. Marçais in his article, see P. Chalmeta, Al-Murabitun. IV. "The Almoravids in Spain") made of the institution of ribāt. On the contrary, the Almohad ribās of the 6th/12th century, mentioned by G. Marçais in his E1 article, seem, at first sight, to be of a far more classical nature, since their role is that of ribāṭ Tāzā (q.v. in E1), the base of operations for anti-Almoravid action. As for the ribāṭ al-fath (q.v.), it was the muscling point for men and materials awaiting transfer to Spain. Before becoming the site of the future city of Rabat, this area of coastal ribāt apparently served as a necropolis for the Morinids (after the example of certain ribās of Ifrikiya, for the local dynasties: see ribāt in E1). It should probably be born in mind that it would be impossible to continue to deal with the problem of ribāt, in general and without reference to the precise contexts in which the usage of this term have been forged and evolved. The phenomenon of the establishment of these ribāts as in continuity with ancient usages and not as a novelty, as it was noted that the phenomenon became established—at the earliest, but still in a very uneven manner—from the second half of the 5th/11th century, in the Saljuqs lands of Persia. Similar structures were apparently also in evidence among the Ghaznawids of northeastern Persia, as far as the approaches to the Pāndžāb. It subsequently spread very widely over the newly-conquered territories, arriving, from the 7th/15th century onward, in the Dihī Sultanate (q.v.), when this region was settled by Persian élites beeing from Mongol domination, henceforward established throughout Persia (K. A. Nizami, Some aspects of khānqah life in medieval India, in Sl, viii [1957], 51-69). In the same manner, the progress of these establishments seems to have followed, in the West, the advance of the Saljuqs and their successors, first in Zangid Syria and then in Ayyubid Egypt, as well as in Anatolia (q.v.) and Andalus (q.v.), the latter being the result of the Saljuqs advance, as well as the result of the development of the mystical brotherhoods, furūk (sing. furūk, q.v. in E1). The entire Muslim world was thus affected. Local particularities and significant disparities between these institutions are to be noted, however, resulting from the circumstances of foundation (whether or not the initiative was sponsored by a dynasty or a powerful individual, and the level and permanence of the wakf intended for their support). It should be noted, for example, that the genesis and evolution of mysticism in the Muslim West, Maghrib and Spain, seem to have been quite different from what took place in the East, partly as a result of the quasi-exclusive domination of the Mālik school of law, which was able to impose certain obstacles in matters of the spiritualisation and the practice of faith. In these regions, as was later to be the case in sub-Saharan Africa, the overwhelming mystic phenomenon was maraboutism (elements in E. Douét, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, Algiers 1908, repr. Paris 1963; G. Drainé, Essai d'histoire religieuse du Maroc: conférences et soussais, Paris 1951; E.
Dermenghem, *Le culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954). However, the Şûfi brotherhood movement was ultimately to be established in the West also. There it took on some quite specific traits (on the mystical brotherhoods in general, see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sûfi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, on the establishments and the phenomenon of *ziyâra*, “pious visiting [of a shrine or tomb]” see ch. vi, esp. 166-80). The thesis which continues to be propounded, in regard to the Muslim West, consists in saying, following E. Lévi-Provençal [see *ziyâra* in *ÉP*] that the an- cient local term of *tekke*, which also appears in towns, in the same places and during the same centuries, was the dominant usage in numerous regions, or *ribât*. There is sometimes concurrence of the two terms in the same zone (Syria and Egypt). In lists of establishments compiled in a later period and applying to Egypt as well as Syria (see below), the appellation *ziyâra* is also found referring to urban establishments which seem to be of the same nature as *ribâts* or *khankâhs*. It is not known in what circumstances this third term (which is supposed, a priori, to be of western origin) is applied in these central regions. As for designation by the word *ribât*, it is seldom an exclusive usage, except in Trâk, in the region of Baghdât (but only until the Mongol period). It is, in fact, this declining caliphal metropolis which seems to have imposed, for a time, the most important and probably the most ancient stratum of urban *ribâts* (cf. the present writer’s article on the pre-Mongol period of foundation of the Baghûtât *ribâts*, see below). Elsewhere, it is the appellation of *khankâh* which seems to have originally been prevalent, this applying to all the lands of the Muslim East or lands of the Levant, controlled, directly or indirectly, by powers of Sâlûdîk origin (Syria and Egypt). It is this, moreover, which seems to have impressed both travellers like Ibn Djubayr in the 6th/12th century and Ibn Baštûta in the 8th/14th century (see below). The names given to these establishments, most of them founded between the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries, were not subsequently to change, though the foundations could be of very different nature, in terms of their dimensions, their importance, their financial means, even their users, whether or not under the control of successive powers. The most important foundations often accommodated the tomb of the founder, even if the latter had no connection with mysticism (see *kubba*, where the primary concern is with tombs in *madrasas*; see also the term *turba[turâbe]*). This was to be the case especially in Mamlûk Egypt (see *khankâh*). Lists of establishments are to be found in certain relatively late sources. For Egypt, they feature in the *Khitât* of Ibn al-Muâcallâh (d. 845/1442 [q.v.]; according to this author, the city of Cairo is said to have contained 23 *khankâhs*, 12 *ribâts* and 26 *ziyâras* [op. cit., Bulâk 1270/1853, repr. offset, Baghûtât n.d., ii, 414-36]. These establishments evidently do not all belong to the same period. The chronology here is defective, needing to be restored before any analysis is attempted. Thus it is possible that the *khankâhs* could be the most ancient, which would explain the astonishment of the Maghribi travellers who passed through Cairo, between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries (if the lists supplied in the sources are to be believed, there had, however, been *ziyâras* since the 7th/13th century, in Syria and in Egypt). For Damascus, there is a list comparable to that of Cairo, but of even later date. It is owed to ’Abd al-Kâdir al-‘Nu’aymî (d. 927/1521, see Brockelmann, S II, 164) and feature in the *Tanbih al-tâbîn wa-irhdâl al-dârîn* (2 vols., Damascus 1948; al-‘Nu’aymî makes frequent references to Yusûl Ibn Shaddâd, d. 632/1235, for the more ancient establishments). The figures were reportedly as follows: 29 *khankâhs*, 26 *ziyâras* and 21 *ribâts* (to this list should be added an indeterminate number of *tekkes*, from the Ottoman period [see *dimmâshq*]). This Turkicised word denotes an establishment of the same type as those already mentioned, its Arabic form being *takîya*). Here, too, the chronology is defective, and the dates of foundation of the establishments are not given systematically. Historical exploitation of these lists has yet to be undertaken. In the Maghrib, it was to be the appellation *ziyâra* which was prevalent before the Ottomans. The latter were to build a certain number of *tekkes*, alongside older establishments, except in Morocco, which escaped their domination (given the conditions of local mysticism, the Maghrûbi *ziyâras* are not necessarily urban establishments, see Trimingham, *op. cit.*, index, 314). The observation of Ibn Djubayr (who was in the East at the end of the 6th/12th century, see below, *Rihla*, 330) suggests that while *khankâh* was probably unknown in the West, there were nevertheless usages of the term *ribât*, taken in the sense of a generic term. It should be noted that, in another *Rihla*, of two centuries later, Ibn Baštûta, the great traveller and a native of Tangier (q.v.; he is said to have died in 779/1377 or a little earlier), for his part uses *ziyâra* as a term of reference to denote all kinds of establishments, from institutions for mystical brotherhoods to simple wayside hostleries. This uniformity of nomenclature does not seem to correspond to reality. It could be the product of extrapolation, deriving from a typically Maghribi usage. In his accounts, often lively and spiced with anecdotes, this traveller-narrator would be unlikely to mention the terminology actually used in the regions of which he speaks. Furthermore he would not have expressed himself at least once, in reference to Cairo when he declares, “as for *ziyâras*, which are here called *khankâhs*”. The passage is included in a chapter devoted to the various establishments of Cairo (the mosque of ‘Amr, the *madrasas*, the *mârisîns* and the *ziyâras*, see his *Rihla*, Beirut 1967, 37). In pre-Ottoman Turkey, it is also *ziyâras* which are attributed by him to the Turkoman organisations of the *âbûs* (q.v.), who were to revive, in Anatolia, the most ancient tradition of the *futuhََات* (q.v.; see also Cl. Cahen, *Pre-ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 196-200). The word *ribât* seems to be completely absent in the *Rihla* of Ibn Baštûta. There is a single isolated use of the term *ribâha*, apparently denoting an oratory regarded as a sacred site (placed under the mythic patronage of the prophet *Iyâs* and of *Qâdir*, see *Rihla*, 319-26).

Returning to the genesis of the process, it will be noted that the most distinguishing feature of these new kinds of establishment is that they are situated, in principle, in cities (except in the case of marabout edifices, many of which reflect the local configuration of places collectively recognised as “sacred” and not on a frontier or in an exposed place. Just like the *madrasas* or colleges of law [q.v.], which also appear in towns, in the same places and during the same
periods, the urban establishments for Sufis were to be almost exclusively financed by the system of waqfs (see above). These enabled them to continue in existence and to survive, without too much damage, some particularly turbulent political phases. These were sometimes private waqfs (especially as regards small and ancient foundations, for the use of a single master and his disciples). Later, in establishments of importance, these were to be public or semi-public foundations, initiated by persons belonging to the higher echelons of the state or of the court. There are cases, for example, of foundations created by princesses and sultans (the position in Baghdād from the 5th/11th century to the 7th/13th century is well-known through local chronicles such as the Muntazam of Ibn al-Djawzī [q. v.]; see J. Chabbi, La fonction du ribât à Bagdad du Ve siècle au début du VIIe siècle, in REI, xlii/1 [1974]).

But this phase of official foundations, which began in Persia with the first Sālūḏiks of the 5th/11th century, seems to have been preceded by a much more obscure period during which the transition was made from the very overt tradition of the diffusion of knowledge, *ʿilm* (religious knowledge, in this case), which was normally dispensed in the mosques, *maṣjid* [q. v.], or the great-mosques, *dār al-ʿilm* [see mašrūʿ], to instruction conveyed in the enclosed space of the new institutions. The latter did not, however, cause the disappearance of the former. It is, yet again, in Persia that the process seems to have begun, probably on the basis of previous local models. The invention of the Muslim khankāh (a word in Persian undifferentiated in gender which has evolved into a feminine in Arabic) is probably the most ancient. It may be attributed to the ascetic preachers of the movement of the Karrāmiyya, on the basis of a model which is possibly Manichaean. The earliest foundations seem to have been established, in north-eastern Persia, between Transoxiana and Khorāsān, during the Sāmānīd period, probably from the end of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Until around the middle of the following century, the khankāh seems to belong specifically to the movement represented by those whom al-Mukaddasī calls khankāhs, “man of the khankāh” (44; khawānsīr to Sufism. On the other hand, the association which he seems to establish, in several passages (412, 414, 415), between ribāḥ and Sufism has been interpreted as suggesting that “convents” are to be envisaged. But an anecdote which locates in Susiana and in which he is personally involved (he is mistaken for a Sūfī on account of the woolen gown which he wears), seems to show that this is not the case, 415; the Sūfīs have their circle, maṣṣāsī or “meeting place”, in the great mosque of Susa; they seem to have an inclination to travel, they are considered as bearers of sanctity and they receive donations; the ribāḥ which they frequent are not their own property, but the small forts on the nearby coast in the region of Abbādān which, at the time, must still have been in a reasonable state of repair). The equivalence between the two terms ribā and khankāh, which for Syria, and in the context of Sūfism, to be established two centuries later by the traveller-pilgrim Ibn Dujaybīr [q. v.], seems to be far removed from current opinions (his *Ribḥa* ed. Wright and De Goeje, Travels of Ibn Jubayr, GMS, V, 1907, tr. M. Gaudrelof-Denmonbynes, Ibn Jobair, Voyages, Paris 1949-65). This text is extremely valuable because it offers testimony de visu. The passages on the Sūfīs and their recognised establishments, all situated in urban surroundings, are exclusively concerned with the Syria of Salāḥ al-Dīn (Ibn Dujaybīr was residing there in 580/1184). It is the terminology of the khankāh which seems to be asserted here first, in a spectacular fashion (see Cānēn’s remarks on the utilisation of Persian terminology in Ayyūbīd Syria: L’immigration perse dans les origines de l’Islam aux Mongols, Communication, Rome 1970, rep. L’emigration persane des peuples musulmans dans l’histoire medievale, Damascus 1977, on khankāhs, 448; on the pre-Ayyūbīd period, see N. Elĭsēĕf, Nur ad-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569H/1118-1174), Damascus 1967, index). The very expression used by Ibn Dujaybīr suggests that he knew elsewhere of the ribāḥ for Sūfīs ("the ribāḥ which are here called khankāhs", see below, tr. 330). The conditions of foundation, maintenance, as well as the magnificence of certain establishments, are the object of precise observations (the seminal passage with the exclamation, “the Sūfīs are the kings of this land!” (text 284, tr. 330-1; foundations by princesses, text 275, tr. 318; a case of double appellation, khankāh and ribāḥ, text 243, tr. 279-80).

It is for the moment impossible to detail the successive stages of evolution which led to the situation described, from the 6th/12th century onward, by concordant sources. Thus it is not known why it is the term ribāḥ, long associated—in the ambiguous conditions which have been described—with the history of the frontier, which comes to be established (in the Arabic version) as the designation of establishments *inter muros*, dedicated to the shelter of mystics. It could evidently be supposed that, by this means, the mystic establishment reverts to the old sense proposed by the contemporary traditionalists who held that religious ob-
servance constituted the true ribāt. But it may further be supposed that the word is linked to the symbolic representation of dhähā, which becomes the mystic suggestions, the original Muslims themselves. It is this interpretation which is proposed, in Irak towards the end of the 4th/Badis aliphate, at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, by a major connoisseur of Baghdaóżī establishments, the core author Abū Ḥāfīẓ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234) in his compendium of Sufism, the Kitāb ʿAwarif al-maʿarifī (publ. as a supplement to the Ḥa-Thulūm al-dīn al-Qhāzālī, Maktabaʿ ʿAwarif al-maʿarifī, ch. 13-18, of which are devoted to what could be called “the rules of ribāt”; the rules of ribāt are said to have been defined in Per- sian by the Sufi Abū Saʿīd, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century). The proposed interpretation has the merit of coherence, but it supplies no historical justification. It has to be recognised that, for the mo- ment, no explanation is available which could be sup- ported by admissible historical evidence. Furthermore, there are certainly considerable differences, according to periods, regions, types of foundation, be- tween the establishments which are quite simply called ribāt, ḥānākāh, sāwā-i or, later, tekke. Ibn Ǧuḥayr says most astonished at finding in Syria establishments which resemble, according to him, palaces, ḵūsūr. This indicates that the entire history of the word, in its mystical sense, remains to be written. All that is certain is that, once launched, in very disputable conditions, the movement was to be ir- reversible. It was all the more so in that it was soon to be supported by the mystical brotherhoods. But it could be that an even greater contribution was made by the untiring activities of the founders. It may be supposed that, over and above the pious work with which they associated their name (such establishments usually bore the name of their founder), aristocratic persons soon came to regard the establishments which they had initiated and financed as a not inconsiderable perquisite of power, albeit symbolic.

With more precise regard to ribāt, and as a way of concluding the account of the adventures of this word, it may be noted that it is the final evolution of the term which tends to cover, with its sense, all the ancient and intermediate stages of its itinerary, through the succuha, the ribāt against society itself. It is doubly interesting as a result of this that there is regularly encountered, in translation, a misinterpretation which could be described as functional, that which, in defiance of all the ancient usages, makes of ribāt a “military con- vent”—one thing which it never was.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (J. CHABBI)

2. Architecture.

Ribāt architecture developed from notions of preparedness and defensibility and from models in conquered lands that could be appropriated for these purposes. Early ribāts varied in size and complexity from isolated watchtowers to fortresses with cells for the muḥāsibān, a mosque, storehouses, stables, and towers. Examples of the former cannot be identified with any certainty, and only two verified examples of the latter survive in Tunisia. The first, heavily renovated and remodeled, is in Monastir [q.v.]. The second, situated on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Abū Raḵrāt (Wed Bou Regreg) opposite the town of Saʿīd [see SAS]. After the establishment of the French Protectorate, it became the administrative capital of the Sharīfīy empire, the usual residence of the sultan of Morocco and the headquarters of the makūzīn [see MARIZAN] and of the French authorities. The choice of Rabat as the administrative centre of Mor- rocco brought to this town considerable develop- ment in place of its earlier somnolence.

When Morocco regained its independence (1956), Rabat became the official capital of the land, and the seat of political (Royal Palace, Parliament), ad- ministrative (government ministers, services of the state) and military power. All the diplomatic repre- sentatives were concentrated there. But the economic and commercial capital remained Casablanca (head- quarters of large businesses, banks, export and import agencies, etc.).

Morocco is thus the only North African state which has two capitals with specialised functions, 56 miles/90 km from each other, a fact which avoids, to some extent, too great a concentra- tion of powers and functions in one dominating metropolis.

The foundation of Ribāt al-Faḥ was the work of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤHĪDŪN]. The site of the “Two Banks” (al-I ṭawāqīn) of the estuary of the Bou
Regreg had previously been the scene of Roman and pre-Roman settlements: the Punic, later Roman Sala was built on the left bank of the river higher up at the site of the royal Marinid necropolis of Chella (Siha [q.v.]). The Muslim town of Salá on the right bank, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century, in order to protect it against the inroads of the Barghawatá [q.v.] heretics at the time when it was the capital of a little Ifránid kingdom, had fortified on the other side of the Bou Regreg a ribád [q.v.], which was permanently manned by devout volunteers, who in this way desired to carry out a vow of dhikár [q.v.]; the geographer Ibn Hawkal is authority for its existence at this date (ed. de Goeje, 56). But we know very little of the part played by this ribád in the course of the sanguinary wars later fought between the Barghawatá and the Almoravids [see al-Muraribîýn]. It is not even possible to point out its exact situation. It was perhaps the same fortified spot that is mentioned in the middle of the 6th/12th century under the name of Kašr Bani Targh by the geographer al-Fażārî.

The final and complete subjugation of the Barghawatá meant that a different part was to be played by the ribád on the estuary of the Bou Regreg. In 545/1150, the founder of the dynasty of the Muʿminind Almohads, ‘Abd al-Muʿmin, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A similar ribád was also established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, ‘Ayn Ghabûl. The permanent establishments, mosque, royal residence—formed a little town which received the name of Al-Mahdyîya [q.v.] as a souvenir of the Mahdî Ibn Tûmar [q.v.]. On several occasions, very large bodies of men were concentrated around the ribád, and it was there that ‘Abd al-Muʿmin died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558/1163.

The development of the camp went on under ‘Abd al-Muʿmin’s successor, Abū Yaʿkūb Yûsûf (558–80/1163–84), but it was the following prince of the Muʿminind Almohads, ‘Abd al-Muʿmin, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A similar ribád was also established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, ‘Ayn Ghabûl. The permanent establishments, mosque, royal residence—formed a little town which received the name of Al-Mahdyîya [q.v.] as a souvenir of the Mahdî Ibn Tûmar [q.v.]. On several occasions, very large bodies of men were concentrated around the ribád, and it was there that ‘Abd al-Muʿmin died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558/1163.

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a long period of decline for Salé which found expression not only in the gradual diminution of its trade but also in a very marked hatred of each town for the other. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rabat, like Salé, had completely lost its old importance. They were both occupied by French troops on 19 July 1911.

After the installation of the Protectorate, the demographical and spatial growth of Rabat was intensified. The population in 1912 was estimated at 24,283 (comprising 23,000 Moroccans and 1,283 Europeans), adjacent to Salé with 17,000 inhabitants, and Morocco in 1952, after independence, the census population of 156,209 inhabitants for Rabat (114,709 Moroccans and 41,500 Europeans). In 1982, the date of the latest official census, valid until the present time, Rabat had a total of 256,100. But one should take into account not only the residents of the capital city but also those of Salé, closely linked with Rabat (316,700 inhabitants) and ca. 150,000 in the surrounding suburbs. Hence the whole agglomeration of Rabat-Salé has more than a million people, forming the second largest urban grouping of Morocco, after Casablanca, and spreading its buildings over more than 130 km².

The “bipartite urban settlement” which as grown out of the “Republic of the Two Banks” has thus become strongly symmetrical, from all points of view. Together with its suburbs it forms three-fifths of the population of the agglomeration, the essential part of the tertiary sector jobs and even the industrial ones. The industrial concerns, estimated at 8,000 in 1986, make the capital the sixth of the industrial centres of Morocco, which hardly allows one to visualise it as a residential and official city. Rabat provides numerous jobs, distributes the resources to a multitude of officials but also to modest households existing in the shadow of the property classes (informal employment). As for Salé, it provides housing for employees and workers and appears as a “dormitory town” narrowly dependent on its powerful neighbour.

The urban structure of the two cities also differs. It is true that the two madinas have always faced the mouth of the Bou Regreg and contain the historical remains of the two cities (gate of Bab el-Alou and the ancient mellah and Kasba of the Udaya at Rabat; and the gate of Bab Sabta, and the Marinid Great Mosque and Medersa at Salé). But the Rabat madina has been less densely packed than the Salé one, and its role in the agglomeration is secondary. On the other hand, the Salé madina is overpopulated but in other respects is more attractive to the population on the right bank of the river.

The extensions extra murs, in effect the 20th century quarters, are of a very different nature on each side of the river. In Rabat, these are large, well-spaced blocks, with wide roads and numerous green spaces, which have brought about, since the beginning of the “colonial city”—where the town planners Prost and Ecochard distinguished themselves—a relatively harmonious city (quarters of the Centre, the Residence, Tour Hassan, Orangers and Aghdal). The sites laid out after independence (Amal Fath, university campus, enlargement of the quarter of the luxurious villas of Souissi and the spacious plots of Ryad) have perpetuated this tendency, even if some poverty belts have grown up in the southern suburbs. The expanse of these suburbs, which are either “spontaneous” or have been remodelled by the state, is incontestably more limited than on the Salé bank of the river.

In Salé, beyond the madina, there is a rabbit’s warren of “refuge quarters” which have gradually grown up, biting into the old market gardens and throwing into relief the lower-class and dependent nature of this city, which is neither a rival nor a twin of Rabat but which has become simply an annex of the capital city.

Strangely enough, although Rabat is the undisputed national capital, it is not a regional centre. Its hinterland is limited to the Zaer country to the south, an important region for stock-rearing, and to a string of bathing resorts along the Atlantic coast. Contrariwise, the economic hinterland of Salé is much more extensive and clearly dominated by the city of Salé itself, and comprises the regions of the Sehoul and the Zemmour. Thus Salé has retained an active role within the adjoining rural world, which is characteristic of traditional Islamic towns, whereas Rabat seems to have turned its back on the countryside, as befits a relatively new and probably still to some extent artificial town.


caravan route, two stages from Sarakhs. It consists of four four-iwán courtyards, each containing a mosque. The larger inner court is surrounded by extensive suites of rooms; the outer court served mainly for stabling.

On the pishtaq [q.v.] at the rear of the inner court is an inscription with a date in which the units ended in 8. The iwán behind it has a stucco inscription dated 549/1154-5 in the name of the Saldjuk sultan Sandjar [q.v.], crediting the work to his wife Turkán Khátun. At this date, Sandjar was being held captive by the Ghurids: A. Godard (Khorasan; in Alhéfi-I Iran, iv [1949], 7-68) suggested that Turkán Khátun's work involved mostly decorative repairs, and that on stylistic grounds 508/1144-5 was the date of the original foundation.

Although the building was restored in the 1970s, leading to the find of a cache of 11-14th century metalware and pottery, a lacquer box and a Šafavid firmân under one of the floors (M. Y. Kiani, Robat-e Sharaf; Tehran 1981), there has been no systematic study of the building to confirm Godard's sometimes problematic hypotheses regarding attribution of the work to the original building period or to restoration. For instance, the stucco revetment of the squinch of the mosque, ascribed by Godard to 1154-5, is almost identical to that of the Šarut Gunbad in Turkmenistan dated 491/1098 (S. Blair, The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana, Leiden 1992, 180).

The stucco is extraordinarily varied, ranging from the multi-layered arabesques of the soffit of the axial iwán to archaic work (best published in A. Hutt, Iran I, London 1977, Pl. 65) suggesting the involvement of the same team responsible for the stucco of the tomb of Sandjar at Marv. The range of brick decoration and vaulting techniques, as yet inadequately published, is equally impressive.

This sumptuousness, together with the royal restoration inscription, make it likely, as J. M. Rogers has pointed out (in J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), Histoire des dynasties des rois de Perse, Paris 1970, 298-299), that the building was as much a palace as a caravanseray. A monumental gateway with the fragmentary remains of a royal inscription at nearby Du Barar (W. M. Clevenger, Some minor monuments in Khorasan, in Iran, vi [1968], 58) may have been the gateway to the caravanseray/palace or a surrounding bay."
movement. (2) Ca. 1013-1019/1604-10. After the move to the new capital, Isfahan, in 1006-7/1598 and the addition of the honorific 'Abbasī to his name, ca. 1011-12/1603, Rida rebelled, ceasing to portray courtly figures. His staccato style of draughtsmanship fits the subject-matter of the period—lone, anguished men in the wilderness. (3) Ca. 1019-44/1610-35.

Resuming court employment, Rida introduced a ponderous figural style, a palette of half-tones, and multi-figure compositions to his oeuvre. The single-page subjects include portraits of shahs, courtiers, Persians, and soldiers; the multi-figure compositions are amongst the most important contributions to Persian miniatures. In 1013/1604, the Safavid ruler Shah Ismā'īl, son of Fath-Allah, was put to death by the partisans of Karlm Khan, the grandfather of Rida Kulī, chief of Khudjandl, who gave the name of the shah to his son, Abbas Mirza. Abbas Mirza's education to him. In 1018/1609, Shah Ismā'īl was recalled after a serious illness to help his partisans in his efforts in poetry were published under pseudonym of Hidayat. In 1022/1613, he returned to Pars where he received his education; he then entered the service of the state under the Qajars (cf. Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm, tr. Schefer, 203).

His lyrical poetry of the notables of Carda Kilata (district of Damghan), aimables que j'aie rencontres dans aucune partie du monde” (Gobineau). A descendant of the poet Kamāl Khudjandl [q.v.], the grandfather of Rida Kulī, chief of the notables of Carda Kilata (district of Damghan), was put to death by the partisans of Karim Khān Zand against whom he supported the Kajars (cf. Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm, tr. Schefer, 203). His father became one of the dignitaries of the court of the Kajars; in 1215/1800, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he heard of the birth of a son in Tehran to whom he gave the name of the imām. Becoming an orphan in 1802, Rida Kulī spent his early years in Fārs; he was brought back from Fārs to Tehran, lived some time with relatives at Māzandarān, then returned to Fārs where he received his education; he then entered the service of the state under the patronage of the governor-general of Fārs. His earliest efforts in poetry were published under the pseudonym of Hidayat. In 1829, on the occasion of Fāth 'Ali Shāh's stay in Shīrāz, he composed a panegyric and other poems which gained him the royal favour; but a serious illness prevented him from leaving Shīrāz. In 1838 Muhammad Shāh showed such esteem for him that he entrusted his son 'Abbās Mīrzā's education to him. The political troubles that followed the Shāh's death in 1848 sent Rida Kulī into retirement. In 1851 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh recalled him and sent him on an embassy to Khāji. He was next appointed to the Ministry of Education, became Director of the Royal College (dar al-funūn), then fifteen years later, tutor (lāli-hākī) to the crown prince Muhammad al-Dīn, whom he followed to Tabriz, where he spent several years. He returned to Tehran where he died in 1288/1871.

His very numerous works include e.g. some treatises on theology and letters (for which mention only the Mīstāf al-kunūz, a commentary on difficult verses in Khākānī, and the Niṣābd-nāma-yi salātīn-i ʿadīm-niṣāād, on early Persian dynasties: analysed in JRAS [1886], 198). His lyrical poetry (Duvarī) totals about 30,000 lines. Of his six mathnawīs (enumerated by himself, Mathnawī al-fusahā, ii, 382) only the epic entitled Bekhtā-nāme (or Gussīānī-i rām, lit. Tabriz, 1270/1853) is published: it celebrates the tragic loves of the hero and the Persian poets of Arab origin Rabiʿa Kızdārī Balkhi, known as Zayn al-ʿArab. His other works which have been published are mainly of a documentary nature and therefore of very important.

The Fībrīs al-tawārīkh ("RePERTory of chronicles"), chronology, lit. in part at Tabriz) was presented to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh before the author's departure to Khārazm (1851); the Adjamal al-tawārīkh (lit. Tabriz 1283) is a short précis of the history of Persia composed for the crown prince Muhammad al-Dīn; the Raudat al-safā-yi Nāṣirī, continuation of the Raudat al-safā of Mir Ḵān al-ʿArabī (lith. Tehran 1278-9, 3 vols. fol., also Tehran 1338-9/1959-60, 10 vols.), is a work of considerable size, based on eastern sources (of which several are still unpublished) and on official documents, most of which are reproduced in full; in addition to the record of political events the work contains much geographical, literary and artistic information.

The Roudād al-ʿArifin ("Gardens of the initiated"), biographies of mystical poets, with an excellent introduction on Sūfism, was prepared for Muhammad Shāh (lith. 1305. Tehran, printed Tehran 1336-40/1957-61, 2 vols. in 6). It is closely connected with the Madjmaʿ al-fusahā ("Assembly of eloquent individuals"), of first importance for the history of Persian poetry (lith. Tehran 1294, 2 vols. fol.; this last work, the author's best, contains after a general introduction on the history of Persian poetry, biographies and select pieces from all the poets (the poet laureates form the first section); at the end is an autobiography and an anthology of the poems of Hīdāyat (ii, 581-678; autobiography and a number of the verses reproduced by the author of the Fatār-nāma-yi Nāṣirī, ii, 125). The researches necessary for these last two works showed Hīdāyat the inadequacy of the dictionaries at his disposal; he intended to remedy this by his Fardun-i angūman-ārd-yi Nāṣirī (lith. Tehran 1288) which, preceded by a remarkable introduction, gives the different meanings of each Persian word, with quotations from the classical poets. The work entitled Madārīg al-balāgha (lith. 1331) is a glossary of rhetorical and poetical terms with many examples taken from different poets. Lastly, we owe to Hīdāyat the first editions of the Duvarī of Manūcīhī (lith. Tehran 1297), of the Khāzīn-nāma (ibid. 1275) and of the Naftārīn-nāma (lith. Tehran 1302) of the Shāhīn-nāma, which is the continuation of the Khārazmīan empire of Muhammad Zaydārī (publ. posthumously, Tehran 1308). Its autobiographical character gives the attractive "Narrative of a Journey to Khārazm" (Fatār-nāma-yi Khārazm, ed. and tr. Schefer, in PEOV, Parī 1879) a special place among his works; he undertook this journey in 1851 as ambassador sent to settle the differences between the courts of Tehran and Khīwā. This journal is a valuable document for the history of the Khānates and has been utilised by later Persian historians (notably Muhammad Ḥasan Ḵān [q.v.]); besides valuable historical, archaeological and geographical matter, the book, which is written in a simple and natural style, is a contribution to the study of the manners and customs of the period (notably, conditions of travel); we find in it pretty pictures of native life and charming landscapes. Several of Hīdāyat's biographies of mystical poets have taken a prominent part in literature, politics and administration.

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A. Kegl, Riza Kuli Xan als Dichter, in WZKM, xi (1897), 63-74; Nizâmit-i 'Arudi, Câher makâla, ed. Brownie, index, 320, s.v. Mağâma, ul-Fusaha; Storey, i, 224, 239, 342-3, 906-12, 1206. (H. Massé)

**RİDA NÜR, Rıza NüR (1879-8 September 1942)**, Turkish medical doctor, politician, diplomat, born of a prominent family which contributed significantly to the cultural and political life of Turkey in the late Ottoman and early Republic periods. For the present article, we will focus on his political career and contributions to modern Turkey.

Rıza Nür’s father was a career officer in the Ottoman army, rising to the rank of major general. His family was known for its loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, and Rıza Nür’s youth was marked by a deep sense of national identity.

In 1908, at the age of 19, he entered the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Istanbul, where he studied under prominent physicians of the time. His academic excellence was recognized, and he was awarded a scholarship to pursue further studies in Europe. In 1913, he returned to Turkey to join the Ottoman military.

During World War I, Rıza Nür served with distinction in various campaigns, including the Gallipoli Campaign and the Battle of Mudros. His contributions were significant, and he rose through the ranks to become a major general.

In 1920, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Rıza Nür joined the Republican movement. He was appointed as Minister of Education in 1920, a position he held until 1922.

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic, Rıza Nür continued to serve as a supporter of the new government. He was a key figure in the consolidation of the new republic and its international recognition.

Rıza Nür’s career falls into two distinct phases: his first forty-five years as a commoner, and the fifteen years of his rule as Shâh. As with other founders of dynasties, Rıza Shâh’s origins are comparatively obscure. His official date of birth is 13 March 1878, and he was born in the village of Alasht in the Sâvâd Kûh of Mâzandârân. His father, ‘Abbas ‘Ali Khân, who was an officer in the Kâdîrjân army, died in the same year. His mother, from an emigrant family from Erivan, then took him to Tehran where, around 1893, he joined the Şâh’s Cossack Brigade. This unit, established by Nâşir al-Dîn Shâh in 1879 and officered by Russians, was at that time the most effective unit in the Iranian army. Rıda enlisted as a common soldier, but was soon promoted successively to corporal, sergeant, and sergeant-major, and in 1911, having seen active service in the turbulent period which followed the constitutional movement of 1905-6, was commissioned as a second lieutenant, and a year later, promoted to lieutenant. After further experience campaigning against recalcitrant tribes, in 1915 he was promoted to the rank of major. He was regarded as a model officer, with a reputation for both bravery and conscientiousness. He also seems to have become politically engaged about this time, as the result of neutral Iran’s occupation by British, Russian, and Ottoman forces during the course of the First World War.

In 1916, he became a lieutenant-colonel, and a year later was appointed commander of the Cossack regiments. It seems that Rıda Khân felt increasingly bitter that the force in which he served, although regarded as the “crack” unit of the Iranian army, was an instrument of Russian influence in Persia. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 shattered Iran's peace, and the Cossacks, like other units of the Persian army, were engaged in fighting against the Cossacks and the British in northern Iran. Rıda Khân, who had been promoted to the rank of general in December 1918, was forced to take command of a much reduced force, which, despite militarily inconclusive results, he bombarded Enzeli, and the Dangal movement under Kûtak Khân [q.v.] in Gilân forced a response from the feeble central government, resulting in Rıda Khân’s participation in the fighting in Gilân, in which, despite militarily inconclusive results, he returned to Tehran with an enhanced reputation for courage and resourcefulness.

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Promoted to the rank of full general, he was now appointed to command the Cossack regiments stationed in Kazvin, and it was probably here that he first made contact with the British. In October 1921, the British forces stationed in northwestern Persia (a holdover from the First World War) were placed under the command of General Edmund Ironside, who, along with other British officers, came to respect the morose giant as the outstanding figure among the Cossack officers of the Kazvin garrison. Only a few months later, there occurred the coup d'état of February 1921, involving inter alia the pro-British journalist, Sayyd Diya’dî al-Dîn Tabâštâbâ’i, which provided the opportunity for Rıda Khân’s rise to power. For the
Sayyid needed military force to carry through his coup, and Rıdâ Khan was the man to provide it, when his Cossack force advanced on Tehran from Kazerün (19-21 February 1921). At the time, public opinion in Tehran assumed that the British must have been behind these events, a viewpoint later frowned upon during the Pahlavi period, when the coup was represented to have been a spontaneous act in which Rıdâ Khan played the leading part. Recent publications (e.g. Zirinsky, *Imperial power and dictatorship*) provide much valuable material, but not British government sponsorship.

Diya', who became Prime Minister following the coup, sought to initiate a coherent programme of internal reform and to end the threat of further national disintegration and fragmentation, working within the framework of the Constitution of 1906-7, and with Ahmad Shâh Kâdâr (1327-42/1909-24) as a constitutional monarch. Although lacking political acumen, Diya' was a high-minded patriot of considerable ability and from the outset understood that reform had to include military reform. In the first proclamation of his new government (24 February 1921), he declared himself in favour of "An army before and above everything. Everything first for the army, and again for the army ... until our armed forces reach the highest stage of development" (Wilber, *Riza Shâh Pahlavi*). There was a radical break between Diya' and Rıdâ Khan which had led to their collaboration, for Rıdâ Khan had long deplored the modernisation of Persia's armed forces, and even if it did not trust him, the army was indispensable to the politicians. As Sardâr-i Sipah, Rıdâ Khan, semi-literate and unpolished compared with the old-style Persian aristocracy, found himself "odd man out" in a government in which his colleagues were mostly, and inevitably, scions of the old Kâdâr ruling elite. Diya' himself did not last long—by May, he had resigned and gone into exile—and his replacement as prime minister was Kawâm al-Saltana, a former governor-general of Khurasân, and among the Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiýâris and Kâškâlis, a process which was to continue in the years following his accession to the throne. The two processes complemented each other. The army, reorganised, well-disciplined and imbued with a spirit of, if not loyalty, then at least respect, became the agent for the forced reassertion of the authority of the central government throughout the provinces, while its successes in the field reinforced its prestige and self-confidence, making the man who had willed it into existence—Rıdâ Khan—indispensable to the politicians.

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April 1926, Rida Shah now embarked upon a brutal but effective programme of modernisation which left untouched almost no area of Iranian life. The overall social structure remained superficially the same, but military officers, bureaucrats and contractors came into prominence, often becoming richer and certainly more influential than the former court nobility, landlords, clerics, and bādāris. Now, cronymism became the most direct road to wealth and power, and vast fortunes were dubiously acquired, that of Rida Shah himself being of spectacular extent. The predominant characteristics of the new regime were centralisation and despotism of licenses and permits, enforced by a horde of officials, police and, ultimately, the army. Most manifestations of free speech or opposition were ruthlessly stamped out, and the fiscal capacity of the régime probably exceeded that of any of its predecessors. In this sense, Rida Shah's rule strongly resembled the governing style of the other dictatorships which emerged during the 1920s and 1930s.

The poet Iqthi was murdered; the novelist Buzurg Alawi was imprisoned, and there were others. The style of Rida Shah's government was despotic and martial, with the Shah taking the important decisions, which were then carried out by his ministers, most of whom (Dāwar was an exception) were ciphers. In foreign policy, Rida Shah's achievements were more positive in that, conscious of the past diplomatic history of his country, he was able to diminish the role of both Great Britain and the Soviet Union in its internal affairs, establishing an international persona for a country which had for so long seemed to be an Anglo-Russian protecorate. He had abandoned the European name of Per- sistem. His first, Hamdām, had a daughter of the same name; the second, Tādji Malik, gave him Shams, the twins Muhammad Rida and Ashraf, and 'Ali Rida; the third, Turān, a Kādgār, gave him one son, Qulām Rida; and by irtam, also a Kādgār, he had four sons—"Abd al-Rida, Mahmūd Rida, Ahmad Rida and Hamīd Rida—and a daughter, Fatimah. In the years of open war, Rida Shah rashly assumed a pro-German stance, intended to reduce Iran's dependence on Great Britain and the Soviet Union, while the Nazis assiduously wooed and flattered him. With the outbreak of war, both Great Britain and the Soviet Union demanded that these German connections be severed. The Shah, however, prevaricated, and he was forced to witness the invasion of his country by his erstwhile and Soviet Union, while the Nazis assiduously wooed and flattered him. With the outbreak of war, both Great Britain and the Soviet Union demanded that these German connections be severed. The Shah, however, prevaricated, and he was forced to witness the invasion of his country by his erstwhile and...


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This science also goes by the name of al-djarh wa-l-ta'afil (i.e. the science of disparaging and declaring trustworthy, sc. hadith transmitters). For a survey of the medieval Muslim hadith scholar’s wielding of the technical terms and criteria used in ridjal criticism, see al-Dharn wa-l-ta’afil, for a modern appraisal of the same, see, what follows, and also G.H.A. Juynboll, Muslim tradition etc., Cambridge 1983, chs. 4-5.

The classical period

The first hadith expert whose name is linked to the science of “men” was Shu’ba b. al-Hadhjdijd (d. 147/763) (cf. the edition of J. Aguade, Madrid 1939, p. 769). He followed this by a string of other hadith experts, e.g. Yahyâ b. Sa’d al-Każjân (d. 198/813), allegedly the first whose judgments were compiled in a book (cf. Ibn Hâджjâr, Lisân al-mizân, i, 5), ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Mahdi (d. 198/813), Muhammad b. ‘Umar al-Wâkidî, the author of the Magâzî (d. 207/822) and Abu Nu’aym al-Fâdî b. Dukâyân (d. 219/834) (q. v.), but their collections of data have not been preserved except for occasional quotations in biographical lexicons compiled later. The oldest extant printed collection deserving the qualification ridjal lexicon is the Kitâb al-Tabakât al-kabîr by Ibn Sa’d (q. v.) (ed. Ed. Sachau et alii, Leiden 1905-17, 9 vols., with some 4250 entries), who died in 230/845. Muhammad b. Sa’d used to be al-Wâkidî’s secretary, which permits the assumption that the data we find in his work may be at least partly al-Wâkidî’s. As its title indicates, Ibn Sa’d’s tabakât work is built upon the successive “generations” (literally “layers”) of hadith transmitters from each major urban centre in the early Islamic domain. Ibn Sa’d preceded his ridjal information by an extensive biography of the Prophet. Large numbers of the ridjal dealt with are only mentioned by name, and their historicity—if any—is well-nigh impossible to establish.

From the beginning, isnâd criticism comprised two main approaches, knowledge of ridjal and that of ‘ilm (the plural of ‘ilam, usually rendered “hidden defects”), sc. mostly in isnâd, highlighting links between certain pairs of transmitters which are subject to dispute). Ridjal studies contain of necessity numerous references to ‘ilm, while ‘ilm studies are in fact ridjal works analysing (the absence of) certain links among the earliest works after Ibn Sa’d’s Tabakât still reflect both approaches in their titles, such as the Kitâb al-‘Ilam wa-ma’rifat al-ridjal of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) (q. v.), in which there is not yet discernible an alphabetical arrangement of the ridjal treated (cf. the edition by T. Kocyugi and I. Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963, i). Later ridjal-cum-‘ilm works often have the title ta’ârikh. In its earliest usage this term does not necessarily mean historiography per se, since the “men” surveyed in such works are not described in their political roles but are mostly assessed exclusively as to their merits or demerits in the transmission of hadith. On the whole, the genres of tabakât, ‘ilm and ta’ârikh (the last-mentioned in the hadith-technical sense of the term) show in many early works a considerable, if not total, overlap.

Khalîfa b. Khâlid (d. 240/854) (see Ibn Khâyât al-Muhaddisi) specialized his ridjal material from his other information by producing a tabakât work proper (cf. the edition of A.D. al-Umai, Baghdâd 1967, with 3,300 entries), next to a ta’ârikh, the earliest published annalistic chronicle of Islam (cf. the editions of A.D. al-Umai, 2nd impr., Damascus-Beirut 1977, and Suhayl Zakkar, Damascus 1967, 2 vols.). Al-Tâbarî’s Ta’ârikh, Islam’s best-known annalistic history compiled a little more than half a century later, is arranged like Khalîfa’s, but is concluded by a ridjal section entitled Dhayl al-muḥaddisîn min ta’ârikh al-salabâb wa l-tâ’afî (ed. De Goeje, iii, 2296-2561). Furthermore, the title Ta’ârikh was given to works of even more varied, almost encyclopaedic, contents: the Ta’ârikh of the Andalusian author ‘Abd al-Malik b. Habîb (d. 238/853) contains only a relatively brief section on tabakât, cf. the edition of J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, 156-78. Many 3rd/9th century ‘ilm, tabakât and Ta’ârikh works by authors contemporaneous with, and somewhat later than, Ibn Sa’d have not been preserved, but references to these can be found in GAS, i, title index, and Juynboll, Muslim tradition, 238-41. In the following, only some of those works that are presently extant in printed editions will be surveyed in roughly chronological order, together with their respective salient features and innovative approach (if any). In order to illustrate the ongoing updating at the hands of later compilers, resulting in constantly swelling numbers of transmitters described (for this phenomenon, see Juynboll, Muslim tradition, 137-46), the number of entries will be included where that could be obtained from the editions or otherwise approximated.

Among the most critical early isnâd experts is Yahyâ b. Ma’in (d. 233/847). Several of his ridjal works in different redactions of pupils bearing various titles (cf. GAS, i, 107) have recently become available in print (editions by Ahmad M. Nûr Sâyîf, Damascus-Beirut 1980). Quotations from his works in later collections are mostly introduced by kâla ‘an Yahyâ…, or kâla Yahyâ…

Allegedly less severe, but as frequently quoted, is ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allâh Ibn al-Madînî (d. 234/849). His works acquired such fame that references to them mostly begin with the words: kâla ‘Ali… His ‘Ilal (al-‘hadhîth wa-ma’rifat al-ridjal) was printed in Beirut, 1972 (ed. M.M. al-A’zami), and Aleppo 1980 (ed. ‘Abd al-Mu’ti’i, Aman Kâl’adî).

After Ibn Sa’d’s Ta’abakât, the first similarly extensive ridjal lexicon is that of al-Bukhârî (d. 256/870) (q. v.). As was the case with Ibn Sa’d, information on a great many individual transmitters in al-Bukhârî’s Ta’ârikh kabîr (ed. Haydarâbâd 1361-3, 8 vols.) is lacking or very brief and constitutes evidence of the as yet overall scantiness of biographical data in circulation. But the proliferation of single strand commentaries has become so widespread, also because of wide-scale imitation of Ibn Hanbal’s skill in devising them, that manmbers of transmitters populating these strands had to be accounted for in al-Bukhârî’s lexicon, with its 12,791 entries. After all the persons called Muhammad have been enumerated, a still loosely applied alphabetical order of names is observed: ‘ims, and within each ‘im the patronymic of the transmitter is arranged only on the basis of the first letter; within each new entry the frequency of ‘ims is mostly the determining factor in the order observed, not the alphabet. Shortened versions of al-Bukhârî’s Ta’ârikh are his Ta’ârikh awsat and T. saghir (cf. the latter’s edition by M.I. Zâyîd, Aleppo 1976-7, 2 vols.). Al-Bukhârî has brought those, in his opinion, especially questionable transmitters together in a separate collection, the first of its kind, called K. al-du’qfd* al-saghir, with 418 entries (edited together with a similar work by al-Nasa’î (d. 259/873) compiled a very critical al-Bukhârî’s Ta’ârikh with 388 entries entitled Shu’bî al-adl al-ridjal, ed. Suhayl al-‘Adl al-Samarra’i, Beirut 1983, in which he especially criticized ‘Irâkî transmitters.

Later, as the above shows, the term ‘ilm became so widespread, also because of wide-scale imitation of Ibn Hanbal’s skill in devising them, that many hundreds of transmitters populating these strands had to be accounted for in al-Bukhârî’s lexicon, with its 12,791 entries. After all the persons called Muhammad have been enumerated, a still loosely applied alphabetical order of names is observed: ‘ims, and within each ‘im the patronymic of the transmitter is arranged only on the basis of the first letter; within each new entry the frequency of ‘ims is mostly the determining factor in the order observed, not the alphabet. Shortened versions of al-Bukhârî’s Ta’ârikh are his Ta’ârikh awsat and T. saghir (cf. the latter’s edition by M.I. Zâyîd, Aleppo 1976-7, 2 vols.). Al-Bukhârî has brought those, in his opinion, especially questionable transmitters together in a separate collection, the first of its kind, called K. al-du’qfd* al-saghir, with 418 entries (edited together with a similar work by al-Nasa’î (d. 259/873) compiled a very critical al-Bukhârî’s Ta’ârikh with 388 entries entitled Shu’bî al-adl al-ridjal, ed. Suhayl al-‘Adl al-Samarra’i, Beirut 1983, in which he especially criticized ‘Irâkî transmitters.
The compiler of Islam's second most revered canonical tradition collection, Muslim b. al-Hadjdjadj (d. 261/875 [q. s.]), devoted the middle part of the introduction to his Thikdt to ridjdl-critical remarks (cf. the Eng. tr. of this introduction in *JSAI*, v. 273-92). Difficulties in the identification of persons only known by their kunya gave rise to the kunya genre, in which the compiler, following the example of Ibn Hanbal's *al-Asâmid wa l-kunâ*, collected his *al-Kunâ wa l-asâmi*?, cf. the facs. edition of Damascus 1984; a similar work was compiled by M. b. A. al-Dulabl (d. 310/923), cf. the edition of *Almasâli al-Mufradâ* (ed. Haydarabad 1973-83, 9 vols.) is, like Ibn Sa'd's *Tabakat*, preceded by an extensive biography of the Prophet. It is further organised on the basis of three tabakat: that of the Successors and those of the following two generations. The technical term *thikdt* from the title is not to be taken in its literal sense of "reliable persons"; a sizeable number of strictly unknown transmitters, the most extensive early record of those transmitters defined as *sâkh sunna* (for this technical term, cf. *JSAI*, x [1987], 112-6; moreover, it often indicates that the transmitter thus qualified was considered to have been responsible for certain *sunnas*—to be interpreted in this context as legal or ritual prescriptions—to have come into existence, an allegation confirmed by their frequently-observed position as "common link" in the *insâd* bundles of said *sunnas*. The work was edited in a strictly alphabetical arrangement of its 2,116 entries by 'Abd al-Mu'tâfi Khâdîjî, Beirut 1984.


Ibn Sa'd's lexicon entitled *riajâl*, a lexicon with 1,602 entries (ed. Haydarabad 1985), with a host of original data not found in other such works. The annals covering the first 134 years are now lost; for the rest of the work, see the edition of A.D. al-Umarî, Baghdâd 1974, 3 vols. Ibn 'Abî Mâlik (d. 279/892 [q. s.]), compiler of one of the six canonical collections, added to his *Djami*? a final chapter on *sâli*; this important *sâli* collection was rearranged by one Abu Tâlib al-Kadîr (d. ?) and edited by Shubbi al-Sâmarrâ'î et ali. Beirut 1989. The Hâshimi Ibn Râdjab (d. 795/1393) wrote an extensive commentary on this *sâli* chapter called *Ghârî al-Tirmidhi* (cf. the edition of Shubbi Djâsim al-Humaydi, Baghdâd 1396). Besides being a *riajâl*-cum-*sâli* book, Ibn Râdjab's study is now recognised as one of the most important *ridjdl*-theoretical monographs of the Middle Ages.

Abû Dâwûd (d. 275/889), the compiler of one of the canonical collections, had a pupil, Abû Ubyad al-Adjarri (fl. ca. 300/913) who collected his master's pronouncements on *ridjdl* entitled *Su'ilât a'dâ'ib anhâ Abû Dâwûd*, etc., see the edition of M. A. K. al-Umarî, Medina 1903.

Ibn Hisârî al-Bardjiçi (d. 301/914) compiled a *K. al-Tâbâkât fi l-asâmi*? or *mufradâ min asâmi*? al-*ulâmââ* wa-a'dâ'ib al-*hadîth* which is available in two editions by S. Shubbi, Damascus 1987, and 'Abdubh 'A. Kûshk, Damascus 1990.

Muhammad b. 'Amr al-UKâyîl (d. 322/934) compiled a *K. al-Da'âfi* wa *lamârik*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'tî A. Khâdîjî in 4 vols. with 2,101 entries, Beirut 1984. Apart from the data which are also found in its predecessors in this genre, the book constitutes a major enlargement in that it contains numerous examples of prophetic traditions which the weak and rejected transmitters described are supposed to have brought into circulation.

'Abd al-RAHMÂN b. ABî HÂTIM al-Râzî (d. 237/938) produced a massive *ridjdl* lexicon entitled *K. al-Dhârij* wa *'tâlâtî*, which is almost wholly based on the data provided by his father, Abû Hîtim Muhammâd b. Idrîs al-Râzî (d. 277/890) and the latter's life-long friend and fellow-tradition expert Abû Zûrâ' al-Râzî. For the transmission paths along which this *ridjdl* information reached Ibn Abî Hîtim, see Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 243 f. In this lexicon, Ibn Abî Hîtim applied a similar, loosely alphabetical, order in listing names as did al-Bukhârî in his *Târîkh*, with which it works in that, with its 18,040 entries (over 5,000 more than al-Bukhârî's) it lists an even greater number of strictly unknown transmitters, the so-called *maghâli*. He also wrote a separate study on *sêlè*, see the edition (entitled K. al-*sêlè*) of Cairo 1343-4, 2 vols. It is the first such work in which the traditions with their respective *sêlè* are primarily arranged according to the order of chapters observed in tradition collections. To Ibn Abî Hatim we also owe a brief *ridjdl* work on the shortcomings of al-Bukhârî's *Târîkh*, entitled *Bayân khos* al-Bukhârî fi *târîkhik* Haydarabd 1961.

Muhammad b. Hibbân al-Bustî (d. 534/965 [see *tabâkât*]) was the author of a large tradition collection but he also produced several major *ridjdl* works. One, his K. al-*Târîkh* (ed. Haydarabd 1973-83, 9 vols.), is, like Ibn Sa'd's *Tabakat*, preceded by an extensive biography of the Prophet. It is further organised on the basis of three tabakat: that of the Successors and those of the following two generations. The technical term *thikdt* from the title is not to be taken in its literal sense of "reliable persons"; a sizeable percentage of *ridjdl* dealt with are *maghâli*. For lack of more precise characteristics, they were labelled *thikdt*. This term was often used especially in order to classify transmitters about whom little, if anything, was known. The traditions in whose *insâd* they occurred, however, had a certain appeal, which prevented *ridjdl* experts from rejecting them altogether. While describing this type of tradition, about whom (next to) nothing is known, later *ridjdl* experts frequently refer to Ibn Hibbân's lexicon using the term *wathikatuka* ibn Hibbân, or *gharakos* ibn Hibbân fi *ttâlât* ... or similar expressions, thereby indicating that that transmitter, as well as the mostly innocent tradition(s) he is reported to have transmitted, may be preserved, be it merely for the sake of comparison. Furthermore, there is Ibn Hibbân's *Kitâb al-Maghâli* (wa *'tâlâtî* min al-muhaddithin, ed. A. Aziz Bey al-Kâdirî, Haydarabd 1970, 2 vols., also listing often the traditions in whose proliferation the weak transmitters dealt with in the lexicon are alleged to have had a hand. Ibn Hibbân's *Maghâli* *ulâmâ* al-ansâr, a lexicon with 1,602 entries built upon the *tabakat* principle, was edited by M. Fleischhammer, Wiesbaden 1959. By general agreement, the most extensive early lexicon of doubtful transmitters was that of 'Abd Allâh b. 'Adî (d. 365/976). What was said for al-Ukâyîl's lexicon is equally true for Ibn 'Adî's K. al-Kâmîl fi (ma'rifat) al-*da'îf* al-*hadîth* (al-muhaddithin wa-*ttâlât* al-*hadîth*) with approximately the same number of entries (more than 2,000). However, it surpasses al-Ukâyîl's in size, especially in doubtful traditions quoted in connection with their alleged originators. This lexicon is, furthermore, the first in which the Arabic term *madâr* is occasionally used to indicate that
certain mains, or main clusters, are due to one particular transmitter who is held responsible for disseminating these to a number of pupils. The term "mains," first used in Ibn al-Madini's 'ridāl is in Ibn "Adī's usage a genuine technical term which comes closest to the term "common link" coined by Schacht (cf. The origins of Muslim juriprudence, Oxford 1950, 171 ff.) and further elaborated in Juynboll, Muslim tradition, 206-17.


The post-classical period

With the 4th/10th century, there begins, as Brockelmann defined it, the post-classical period, with initially relatively little activity in the compilation of "ridāl works. On the basis of a remark of "Abd al-Raḥmān b. "Alī Ibn al-"Aṣwāzī (d. 597/1200 [q.v.]), one could almost infer that, during the two centuries after al-Rādakūni's lexicon, there do not seem to have been any basically new additions to the genre, for Ibn al-"Aṣwāzī enumerates in the introduction to his Kitāb al-"Uṣūl wa l-matrukin (see the edition with 4,018 alphabetical entries of Abu 'l-Fidā'ī "Abd Allāh al-Kāfī, Beirut 1986, i, 7) the sources from which he compiled his work: they are the same as all those listed hitherto, the last being the al-Rādakūni work. After Ibn al-"Aṣwāzī, however, various major, and increasingly more-embarking, "ridāl lexicons did see the light which were constantly subject to expansion as well as abridgements at the hands of subsequent compilers.

At the centre of these activities stands Yūsuf b. al-Zakī "Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizī (d. 742/1341 [q.v.]). He is the author of a colossal biographical dictionary of transmitters occurring in the Six Books and a few minor collections entitled Tahdhib al-khāmil fī asmā' al-ridāl, which grew out of a work by "Abd al-Ghānī b. "Abbās al-Wirshī al-Mīzī al-Darāqūṭ (d. 600/1203, cf. K. al-"Iṣdājī amīz al-Dhahabī, ed. Cairo 1970, 7 vols. with 8,859 entries; Mīzīn al-īlādī, ed. A. M. al-Badjawī, Cairo 1965, 4 vols., with 11,053 entries. In this last work he assembled not only all the weak transmitters he could find but also scores of at first sight blameless ones. This lexicon was revised and enlarged by Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-"Aṣkālānī (d. 530/1140 [q.v.]), resulting in his Liṭān al-mīzān, Haydarābād 1329, 6 or 7 vols., with ca. 15,000 entries. A large number of data concerning political, cultural and literary history as well as theological discussion can be gleaned from both lexicons. The Liṭān is especially rich in examples of traditions which are deemed fabricated by the man in whose biography they are cited, allegations that could often be confirmed by modern isnād analysis, as was the case with the "dā'ūsā' lexicons of al-"Ukjāyli and Ibn "Adī described above.

All the time, other types of "ridāl lexicons, too numerous to list all, had made their appearance. Some of these are described here by genre.

(1) The generation of Companions received special attention, something which was probably also stimulated by the establishment of their collective ta'dīl, a dogma that seems to have found its first formulation sometime in the course of the final decades of the 2nd/8th and the first decades of the 3rd/9th centuries (cf. Juynboll, Muslim tradition, 190-206). The earliest author credited with a lexicon exclusively devoted to Companions and their alleged roles in the transmission of prophetic traditions was Muḥammad b. "Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī Muṭayyān (d. 297/909). No mss. of it are listed in GĀS, i. Ibn Ḥibbān compiled a Ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥāba alāmmā wa hāru wa l-anum al-ṣaḥīḥ (ed. Burān al-Dannawi, Beirut 1988, 23 vols., with 1,600 entries), of his work. Hāshim in his work is devoted to the subject and available in a printed edition. It was improved upon by, among others, the following: Ibn "Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071 [q.v.]), K. al-īlādī asmā' al-ṣaḥīḥ, ed. A. M. al-Badjawī, Cairo 1960, 4 vols. with 4,225 entries; 'Īzz al-Dīn Ibn al-"Aṣwāzī, Bombay 630/1233, Usd al-"Uṣūl fī maʿrūf al-ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo 1970, 7 vols. with 7,705 entries; al-"Aṣwāzī, Taddrij asmā' al-ṣaḥāba, ed. A. D. al-Hakīm Sharāf al-Dīn, Bombay 1969-70, 2 vols. with 8,859 entries, and finally Ibn Ḥaḍjar, K. al-īlādī fī tanāzīl al-ṣaḥāba, ed. A. M. al-Badjawī, Cairo 1970-2, 8 vols. with 12,290 entries. To be sure, in this last source not all persons paraded were Companions in the technical sense of the word; Ibn Ḥaḍjar added scores of borderline cases in his so-called second, third and fourth shīfīs.

(2) A specifically Muʿtazilī-influenced "ridāl work is K. al-ḫāmil al-akhrūr wālmaʿrūf al-ridāl by Abu 'l-ʿKāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balḥī (d. 319/931 [q.v.], and Juynboll, Muslim tradition, index s.n.). An edition is in preparation in Leiden University Library.

(3) The third Shīʿī "ridāl work is that of Muḥammad b. Umar al-Kaṣhī (d. ca. 340/951 [q.v.], see the corrected reduction with 520 entries of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068) in the edition of"
Ahmad al-Husayni, Karbala 1963. The work is based on the tabakāt principle, describing the persons in the entourage of the respective imāms. The majority of people enumerated are assessed as to their political position in society, but the lexicon does give extensive hadith-technical information. The other Shi'i lexicons are perfectly ordinary hadith-related, alphabetically arranged dictionaries of transmitters closely resembling their Sunni counterparts. To the same al-Tusi we owe a work called Rijāl al-Tusi, ed. M. Sādiq Āl Bahār al-ʿUlmāʾ, Naḍaf 1961, comprising some 8,900 transmitters. Al-Nadājī (d. 450/1058) wrote a K. al-ʿĀmilī’s edition of Dir al-ʿĀmilī, Tehran 1989. Ināyat al-Din Dir al-Kuḥṭāy (fl. ca. 1016/1607) compiled a lexicon in which he incorporated five earlier major rijāl lexicons, including the three just mentioned, entitled Maḏima al-rīḍālī, ed. Dīyāʾ al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, Isfahān 1384, 7 vols. Muhammad b. ʿĀli al-ʿArḍabīlī (fl. ca. 1100/1689, cf. Zīrīkī, 4th impr., vi, 294-5) produced a Dhātim al-rīḍālī, Kumm ca. 1667, 2 vols. See further, ʿilm al-rīḍālī.

4. A Muslim’s collections were especially subjected to a sort of ʿinsād scrutiny, resulting in riḥālī lexicons too numerous and too varied to enumerate all of them, in which in one way or another transmitters occurring in one collection are compared with those occurring in the other. Information on these kutub riḥālīyya can be found among the secondary works listed in GĀS, i, derived from (commentaries on) the two ʿAṣḥāb. But there is also a small and useful transmitters’ lexicon on those of Malik’s Musawwat by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). For a study of the collection of the third collection, ILM AL-RIDJAL. CVols. See further, ʿilm al-rīḍālī.

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6. A special type is furthermore the so-called āṭāf compilation, that is an alphabetically-arranged collection of the Companions’ musnads, with every tradition ascribed to each of them shortened to its ūsūr (i.e. gist of the tradition), accompanied by the ʿinsād standards supporting which it occurs in the Six Books and a few other revered collections. The most famous representative of this type is the Taḥṣīl al-ʿāṭāf bi-muṣaffa al-rīḍālī by al-Mizzī; for a more detailed description, see ʿilm al-mākūlā. The work was imitated but never improved upon.

7. In an attempt to solve onomastic and topographic problems around transmitters’ identities, several lexicons were compiled listing ambiguous names with accompanying solutions as to their proper vocalisation and attribution. The best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992. The Best-known examples are the works entitled Mūḏāt uṣūlāt al-ʿamāma by ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082 and 487/1094), see the edition of Maria Luisa Ávila and Luis Molina, Madrid 1992.

RIDWĀN, the guardian (khdziri) of Paradise, is absent from the Kurʿān, early tafsīr, hadith and descriptions of Paradise. In Ibn Hāšim, 268, this angel is still called Ismāʿīl. The proper name Ridwān may result from a personifying exegesis of the ridwān (ʿAllāh's favour) which believers will meet in the hereafter (Kurʿān, III, 15, etc.). In the anonymous 4th/10th century Kādāb al-ʿAṣama (e.g. ms. Paris 1656), Vaihingen, for Ridwān, opens the gates of Paradise, dresses and serves the believers, draws away the veils from the face of ʿAllāh, etc. Slightly later he appears in the Shīfī legend about ʿAlī and Fāṭima (q.v.) and in Ismāʿīlī cosmogony (H. Halm, Kosmologie und Heilsteher der frühen Ismāʿīlīya, Wiesbaden 1978). He is accepted figure in Arabic belles-lettres, at least from al-Māʾarrī (R. al-Gh福德ri) onwards, and in later Islamic literatures throughout.

(R. W. Raven)

RIDWĀN or RIDWĀN B. TUTUSH b. Alp Arslan, Fakhr al-Mulk (d. 507/1113), Seldīk prince in Aleppo after the death of his father Tutush in August-September 1097, Ridwan acknowledged the Djanah al-Dawla, the latter established himself in Damascus and thus at controlling the whole of Syria and Palestine not still in Fatimid hands. However, Ridwan’s brother Dukāk and his Atabeg Tughṭiγin held on to Damascus, and after Ridwan broke with Djanāh al-Dawla, the latter established himself in Hīmṣ. For one month, in Ramadan-Shawwal/1112, his son Roger. He substantially avoided taking part in a djihād against the Crusaders led by Tughṭiγin and Mustafā b. Altuntāsh of Mawjil, sending only a tiny token force, but died on 1 Rabīʿ I 507/16 August 1113, to be succeeded briefly by his son Tāḍj al-Dawla Alp Arslan [see Ḥalāb].

The Sunni sources regard Ridwān, from his use of the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs, with disfavour, stigmatising him as al-mawān, sayyīʿ al-sīrā, etc. They even accuse him of having been converted to Ismāʿīlīsm by the local leader in Aleppo, al-Ḥākim al-Munadjiḍjim; it seems impossible to confirm this truth here. He is further condemned for his miserliness, since he left a large treasury at his death. His diplomatic and political skills were, however, considerable, and within what was at that time a highly complex situation in Syria, he successfully maintained his power between the Crusaders and various Muslim rivals for nearly nineteen years.


(C.E. Bosworth)

RIDWĀN BEGOVIĆ ʿAli Pasha (in Serbo-Croat RIZVANBEGOVIC Ali-pasha; ca. 1783-1851), wesir of Herzegovina from 1833 until his death by assassination in March 1851. He was an interesting individual, whose biography well reflects the complex circumstances and unstances affecting the subject here. He is further condemned for his miserliness, since he left a large treasury at his death. His diplomatic and political skills were, however, considerable, and within what was at that time a highly complex situation in Syria, he successfully maintained his power between the Crusaders and various Muslim rivals for nearly nineteen years.

He was descended from an old Muslim family. Towards the end of the 18th century his father, Dhu ’l-Fikār (Zulfikār), was governor (with the title ‘kapetan”) of the town of Stolac (in southern Herzegovina, to the south of Mostar [q.v.] and its environs, hence his name of Stočević (or Rizvanbegović-Stočević) which is also encountered in the texts. ʿAli Paša is said to have been born in this town ca. 1783 (considerably earlier, according to V. Corović, ca. 1761). Following a dispute with his father (over a trivial issue, according to S. Bašaγić), he parted from his family while still a young man, only returning (and bringing with him a considerable sum of money, ʿAbbas) to his stepfather, the Atabeg Djanah al-Dawla Husayn, of Antioch and Edessa, Bohemund’s successor) and his Muslim rivals such as Djanah al-Dawla, as his neighbour, and the ensuing years were filled with Ismāʿīl Pasha (in Serbo-Croat Stočević) which is also encountered in the texts. ʿAli Paša is said to have been born in this town ca. 1783 (considerably earlier, according to V. Corović, ca. 1761). Following a dispute with his father (over a trivial issue, according to S. Bašaγić), he parted from his family while still a young man, only returning (and bringing with him a considerable sum of money, ʿAbbas) to his stepfather, the Atabeg Djanah al-Dawla Husayn, of Antioch and Edessa, Bohemund’s successor) and his Muslim rivals such as Djanah al-Dawla, as his neighbour, and the ensuing years were filled with Ismāʿīl Pasha (in Serbo-Croat Stočević) which is also encountered in the texts.
The relations with the diverse populations of the region varied considerably, according to time and circumstances. Hence in the early stages he showed his gratitude to the local Serbs (who had given him strong support during the conflicts of 1831-2), authorising the church of the Serb Orthodox bishop of Mostar, and supporting the Serbian Orthodox clergy in its opposition to the appointment of Greek bishops to positions of authority in the church. Furthermore, he helped the Franciscans of Bosnia to acquire their own vicariate in 1846, and obtained for them in the same year a firman permitting the foundation of a Catholic monastery at a place called Siriški Brijeg. As for the Muslim community, he contributed a substantial number of buildings and had a number of building constructed at Mostar and elsewhere, including a mosque at Buna.

Regarding "external affairs", these were confined, as will be seen, to relations with Montenegro [see KARA DAGI] and with the Porte. This process began in 1836 with the battle of Grahovo, in the course of which Herzegovinian troops, commanded by Ali Paša and Ismail Aga Cengić, inflicted a heavy defeat on Montenegrin units, with the result that Grahovo became (temporarily) Ottoman territory. This defeat outraged the Montenegrins, who ultimately assassinated Ismail Aga Cengić in 1840. But in the meantime, the internal situation had changed considerably, and the rumour circulated among the Muslim circles of Herzegovina that the death of the aged Ismail Aga Cengić had been welcomed by Rizvanbegović, since for a considerable time previously Ismail Aga had been the leader of a party opposing Rizvanbegović, accusing him, on the one hand, of imposing increasingly draconian taxes on the population, and on the other, of brutally and shamelessly advancing the material interests of his own family. He had in fact undertaken a methodical redistribution of the former "captainates" (rights of authority which had become hereditary within certain leading local families) into larger administrative units, which he then allocated to his sons and relatives. In spite of all this, to avenge the death of Ismail Aga and to silence the afore-mentioned rumours, Rizvanbegović in 1841 attacked the region of Drobnjak, slaughtering a number of its male inhabitants, while in 1842 rivalry over Grahovo resumed. With the aim of putting an end to the war, a meeting took place the same year at Dubrovnik between Rizvanbegović and the bishop of Montenegro, Peter II (the illustrious poet Petar II Petrovic Njegoš), in the course of which the frontiers between the two countries were fixed. But the Porte was unwilling to recognise this accord, and negotiations continued for some time longer, until 28 October 1843, the date of the final signing at Kotor of a new accord which broadly stipulated a return to the frontiers as they had stood before the conflicts of 1836.

However, resentment against Rizvanbegović and his sons increased, to such an extent that even in Mostar an overt coalition against him was formed. Furthermore, Ali Paša had finally sided with the leading "feudal" Muslims of Bosnia, who were opposing, with weapons at the ready, the implementation of reforms introduced in Turkey by Mahmud II.
When, in 1850, the renowned "executioner" of the Bosnian Muslim nobility, C6mer Pasha Latas, sent by the Porte to suppress the rebellion, set about methodically mopping up the pockets of resistance, his troops decisively defeated those of Ridwanbegović in a battle which took place near the town of Konjic. Ali Pasha himself was taken prisoner on 5 February 1851, then displayed in Mostar, his capital, in a humiliating fashion (seated back to front on an ass, holding the animal's tail in his hands), then sent to the transfer, on or about 20 March 1851, not far from this town, the elderly Ali Pasha Ridwanbegović was "accidentally" killed by one of the soldiers escorting him. He left four sons: Hafiz Pasha, Nafidh Pasha, Rüstem Beg and Mehem Ali Pasha. His daughter Habiba (1845-90) was a renowned poetess, a professional also followed by his grandson Hikmet ("Arif Beg Ridwanbegović, 1839-1905).


RiÓF (A.), "countryside".

1. As a geographical and territorial term.

1. One sense of this term early emerged from the Egyptian context, where an arid country is traversed by a river with food-producing fringes: the image is that of the fertile (and cultivated) banks of the Nile [see vik]. It includes two ideas, that of "fringe" (bank, littoral and, by extension, flank, limit) and of "fertile countryside", "abundance" (as opposed to the desert; and, by extension, "countryside" as opposed to the town) (see the lexicon of Lane and Kaziminski).

2. In Morocco, where the natural environment is different, the sense of "fringe" is further found:

(a) Amongst certain groups of transhuman pastoralists, partly Arabophone, who call rif, in the circle of tents, those which are on the periphery (Querleux, Les Zemmour, in Archives Berbères, ii [Rabat 1915-16], 127). By extension (?), certain Berberophone groups of the Middle Atlas use it to define a group of tents held together by a close relationship in the male line (the equivalent of the iibs of other Berber speakers) (R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, 181 n. 1).

(b) In north Africa, the Rif, which extends from the Straits of Gibraltar to the approaches of Moulouya. Its presence here as a toponym, with a varying definition of extent, is probably due to the configuration of the geographical relief along the Mediterranean coast (however, this etymological version could be moderated by the fact that, in the western, Arabophone part of the Rif, the villages sometimes call certain of their quarters Rif). The term appears as a neologism at the beginning of Sanâ’ (Radjab 1974/January-February 1967). Learning in Shawwâl 1974/April 1567 of his dismissal, Ridwan departed for Istanbul where, despite earlier efforts to defend his actions through dispatches, he was censured and imprisoned. His exoneration followed the assassination in Cairo during Djumâdâ I 1279/November 1567 of Mahmûd Pasha who, it was discovered, had concealed Ridwan’s alarming reports from Yemen. Ridwan again became sanâq beyî of Ghaza in 1279/1567-1, and in Shawwâl 1280/March 1573 was named beylerbeyî of Abyssinia (Habeb al-Râbi‘), while appointed deputy of the Rif’s bey ’al-Râbi‘ II 1293/August 1574. He is next mentioned only in 987/1579, in the Persian campaign. In late 990/1582 or early 991/1583 he was made beylerbeyî of Anadolu, in which office he died on 1 Râbi‘II 993/2 April 1585.

Bibliography: Ms. sources include (in Arabic) the anonymous versified al-Tijân al-awdfrat al-thamân; Ibn Dâ‘îr, Fâshî, Ísâ b. Luflâlîh, Râbî‘ al-rûh; and (in Turkish) Lukmân b. Sayyid Husayn, Muqâm al-tîmâm.

of the 7th/13th century to designate the ancient Mauretania Tingitana (H. Ferhat, Sabta des origines jusqu'à 1366, diss. Paris I, forthcoming). Ibn Sa'id [q.v.] defines it as "littoral"; known under the name of the "Rif of the Ghumara"; Ibn al-Abbâr [q.v.], somewhat differently, describes it as "adjoining the Ghumara"; and al-Bâdisi, in the 8th/14th century, extends it from Sabta to Temlen.

History very early touched the Mediterranean shores of Morocco. The principality of Nakûr [q.v.], in the plain behind the bay of al-Husayma [q.v. in Suppl.], was founded in 90/709 by a commander of the Caliph in Damascus, Sâlih b. Mansûr al-Hîmiyâr (the town was built some time around 143/761), thus preceding the foundation of Fès. The town seems to have been subject to the same sort of hazards as the Idrîsîd kingdom, squeezed between the Umayyads of Cordova and the Fatimids. It hardly survived, and was razed by the Almoravids (473-4/1080-1). The Idrîsîd (and, in the first place, 'Umar b. Idrîs, to which the place; 2,450 m) since it is deeply in the integration of the Rif chain to the emergent nation. With Kà'fàt Hâdjrâl al-Nâsr (within the tribe of the Sumâra), they even had an ephemeral capital there (4th/10th century), where they left behind a line which was rendered famous, in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, in his hermitage on the Djabal al-Âlam (amongst the tribe of the Bân 'Arûsî), by the sbîh Mâwîlîyâbîl 'Abd al-Sâlim Ibn Mâghîbî, considered to have been the master of al-Sbîhî. It was the Almohads, masters of both shores, who really brought about the development of the littoral, with Sabta [q.v.]. Bâdis and a series of petty maritime settlements. The loss of al-Andalus, however, ruined it, and the consequent pressure was unceasing: the fall of its main ports (Sabta/Ceuta in 818/1415), the establishment of the Spanish presence at several points on the coast, the "guerra de Africa" with the seizure of Tétouan (1859-60), and finally, the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate (1912). The disorders which accompanied or preceded it (al-Raysûnî, Bû Hamârâ) had hardly any long term effects, but it was a different matter with the resistance led by Bin 'Abd al-Krim al-Khâtûbî (1921-6), the first war of liberation in the 20th century; the victory of Anwal (1921) had a deep effect on colonial peoples (see further, II. below).

Thus there are, in Morocco, three senses of the toponym Rîf:
(a) The Rîf of the chroniclers is a mountainous region bordering on the Mediterranean;
(b) The Rîf of the geologists is a region of folded strata from the Alpine period, about 360 km long and 80 km at its maximum width, laid down at a late date up against the Atlas region. Its altitude is not so great (Tidjane 2,450 m) since it is deeply entrenched and forms a juxtaposition of mountainous compartments rather than a homogenous mountain chain (G. Maurer, Les montagnes du Rîf central. Étude géomorphologique, Tangiers 1968); and (c) The Rîf as understood by the population is exclusively formed from this eastern half of the chain together with the hills which prolong it as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, where the language spoken is dhamâghtî (wrongly still called dhamazîght). Arabised into tarifî, belonging to the Zanâitiya variety of the Berber tongues of Morocco. Its inhabitants are the only one bearing the name of Rîfyâ (Rwâfa, Rîfyûn).

In their turn, the geographers distinguish a Rîf influenced by the Atlantic, humid and with good vegetation, and a sub-arid Rîf. The division is one of relief (the boundary passes where the limestone spine culminates, then through the central ridge of the Sahândjââ Sraïr, a little to the west of the meridian al-Husayma-Tingitana, and, one of climate (it follows an isohyetal curve which begins at Djabâla on the coast, bends eastwards, passes to the north of the Targa basin and turns back southwards at the level of the above-mentioned meridian; see Maurer, op. cit.); and one of humans, since a series of linguistic and cultural pockets (Arabophone "Rîf" round the Bânî Frah; Ghmara further to the west; Sahândjââ further to the south, each with Berber islets of speech) extend along this fringe by spreading westwardly from the Rîf, in the east, from the Djabâla, in the west.

In effect, although one cannot date its appearance, the word Djabâla only later replaced, in the western part, the term Rîf and its inhabitants are called Djabâla (sing. Djabîl). They form an arc which connects the Tingitana peninsula with the valley of the Warghâ. They are the heirs of the ancient Ghmara [q.v.] (an ethonym which has persist ed only for the nine tribes, called Ghmara forming an enclave between the highest crest of the mountains and the sea). Ibn Khâldûn classed this group amongst the Masmûda family. Several traits remind one of the other great sub-group of the Masmûda, the mountain peoples of the Sûs (Swasa). Thus we have a number of learned men (fsâkûh; alamaâ and tulâba); the deserted settlements of the Rîf are traditionally attached to the Swasa; and finally, although Arabised for many centuries, the speech of the Djabâla retains Berber inflections which connect it with tagelhîthi rather than other varieties of Berber. On the other hand, certain traits connect the Djabâla territory with certain massifs of the Algerian and Tunisian Tells: an important vegetation cover, a great density of population, intensive labour and a great variety of production, large villages with thatched roofs, etc. One last peculiarity is the intensi ty of the urbanisation phenomenon; there is a real urbanisation belt around the Tingitana peninsula, often going back to Antiquity and in any case to the time when there were close communications with al-Andalus.

The Rîf and its maritime façade are probably the last great challenge which must face Morocco in order for its development to succeed: it is endeavouring to leave behind the accumulated backwardness (illustrated by the fragility of an over-exploited region, the monoculture of Indian hemp over a large area of the Rîf and the poverty of its infrastructures) and to close the dossier of the colonial period. Sabta/Ceuta, Melilla and a few islets remain occupied; the commercial domination of these two towns in respect of smuggling activities affects, notably, the regional structure of small and medium enterprises (see G.E.R.M., Le Maroc méditerranéen. La troisième dimension, Casablanca 1992).

Assets are not lacking: water, halieutic resources, sites for beaches and mountain resorts (cedar and pine plantations), banking facilities (Nador is the second most important financial centre after Casablanca) and, finally, the closeness of a key crossroads of the Mediterranean. From being on the periphery (more as a result of modern history than from geography, however), the Rîf—in its regional setting—is able to renew its age-old vocation of being a focus for economic activities and a bond of union between continents.

III. The Rif War of the 1920s.

This frontier region of the Moroccan empire, protected by its geographical configuration, has always remained more or less rebellious against the central authority, e.g. since the time of the principality of Nakūr [q.v.], but especially, in recent times, against the authority of the makhzan. The rivalries which appeared amongst the European powers (above all, between Germany, France and Spain) from the 19th century soon precipitated disorders. The imprudent activities of sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAziz led to the appearance of a pretender, the Ṭuḥta, in 1901 of a pretender, the Ṭuḥta, who from a base at Taza led a fierce rebellion during 1907-8. This frontier region of the Moroccan empire, protected by its geographical configuration, has always remained more or less rebellious against the central authority, e.g. since the time of the principality of Nakūr [q.v.], but especially, in recent times, against the authority of the makhzan. The rivalries which appeared amongst the European powers (above all, between Germany, France and Spain) from the 19th century soon precipitated disorders. The imprudent activities of sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAziz led to the appearance of a pretender, the Ṭuḥta, who from a base at Taza led a fierce rebellion during 1907-8. Agreements reached after great effort favoured the intervention as a pacifying influence, but one which was sometimes hazardous if not contradictory, of France and Spain. A chieftain of the Rif rose to power thanks to German intrigues under cover of the First World War, Muhammad al-Raysuli/Raysuni and to gain the reactivation of the war, he was chosen as one of the four imāms accompanying the mission, also on the recommendation of al-ʿAṭār. In Paris, Rifāʿa, on his own initiative, studied French in order to be able to read works in that language, beginning with history and geography, later taking up philosophy and literature. His object was to translate the books he read into Arabic. During his stay he made friends with leading French orientalists, such as A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and E.-F. Jomard (1777-1862), who also appreciated him as a learned Muslim scholar. Under their benevolent supervision, he became aware of the new discoveries of Egyptology and of western values and culture in general. On his return to Egypt at Muhammad ʿAlī Pasha ʿs request, he published his observations and impressions Tāghtīs al-šibrāt īlā talkhās Barīz in 1834, a work which he had already written in Paris. This rihla description became very well known and until the 1850s it remained the sole work in which Arabic-speaking readers were offered a description of a European country. J. Heyworth-Dunne has called it the only human document of the age by the only orator of this period to have produced anything of the kind. After his return from Paris in 1831 and especially after the death of al-ʿAṭār, Rifāʿa became Muhammad ʿAlīs right-hand man among the ʿulāmāʾ. Rifāʿa was an intellectual-cum-public servant acting as the main ideologue of the ruling family, a position of unquestioning adherence to the policy of the powers to be. Even when expressing his own opinions in written form the limits were defined by others. Therefore, the final assessment of his contributions must also be an assessment of the endeavours of his patrons. Between 1831 and 1834 Rifāʿa was employed as a translator first at the School of Medicine and then at the Artillery School. The real breakthrough came in 1836 in connection with the reorganisation of the Schools Administration when he was chosen as one of the permanent members—and the only Egyptian—of the Council. In 1837 Rifāʿa was made head of the newly-created School of Languages, where the European system was successfully adapted to the method employed by the ʿulāmāʾ, and, in 1842, even entrusted with the editorship of the official newspaper al-Wakāʾīs al-Misriyya for a time. But without question, his most important work was as a translator and supervisor of translators. He was rewarded in 1846 with the honorific title Bey.
All this came to an abrupt end with the death of Muhammad ʿAli; he was succeeded by his grandson ʿAbbās I [q.v.]. ʿAbbās was assassinated, and following his death, Rifaʿa died. The translation movement came to an abrupt end, and the School of Languages was closed the following year. Only when Saʿid [q.v.] succeeded ʿAbbās, who was a general, did Rifaʿa regain favour and was allowed to return to Cairo in 1854. He became head of a military school but when it was closed in 1861 he remained unemployed until the reign of Ismāʿil [q.v.]. Ismāʿil reopened the School of Languages in 1863 and appointed Rifaʿa as director; he was also one of the group that planned the new educational system. In 1870 Rifaʿa became the editor of Rawdat al-madārīs, a periodical for the Ministry of Education; he occupied this position until his death.

It was a moot question whether Rifaʿa owed most of what is regarded as European influence on him to his teacher at al-Azhar, Ḥasan al-ʿAṭrār, or if he was a generaliser of ideas from France. The main problem which he had to face as the ideologue of Muhammad ʿAli’s innovations was how to have his countrymen partake in the modern world while remaining Muslim. In his writings he tried to answer this question. Though a prolific author, nothing Rifaʿa wrote after Taḫlīṣ ʿal-ʿamāl li-l-bandt wa-l-bāṃūn (1872). In the latter he compiled the ages of the ancient Egyptians, Alexander the Great, the Romans and the Byzantines, and it ended where Rifaʿa’s grandfather came to Basra in 512/1125 in Baghdad, when Ahmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Mansūr al-Battāghi, resident at Nahr Dakla in the neighbourhood of Basra. This Mansur (of whom nothing is known) was 50 years old. 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Faḍl, and the kāhirah from his uncle Manṣūr, who bade him establish himself in Umm Ḫubayda, where (it would seem) his mother’s family had property, and where subsequently Yahyā al-Nadżārī al-Anṣārī was buried. In the following year, 540/1145-6, Manṣūr died and bequeathed the headship of his community (maḥyakhabah) to Ahmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to Umm Ḫubayda and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm Ḫubayda is not mentioned by Yaḵūt, though found in one copy of the Manṣūd al-ṣittāt. This fact renders it impossible to trace the history of Umm Ḫubayda for by far the greater number of his disciples (mursīdun) and even deputies (shuṭūn), the princely style and the colossal buildings (khulqfād^), and even the occasional575/1181-2. He held an important position in the order of Nur al-Dīn al-Shattanawfī, which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices. Thus Ahmad ibn al-Ǧāfari (d. 645/1268), so that this branch became the Haydariyya order, which he witnessed in India (Rihla, ii, 4-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 273-4); an eastern counterpart of these practices were those of the Kalandaris [see KALANDARIYYA], dervishes of the Ḥarifīyya order, which he witnessed in India (Rihla, ii, 6-7, iii, 79-9, tr. ii, 274-5, iii, 583).

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporaries, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. [see RIFAYYA] were unknown to the founder, and introduced after the founding of the order; in any case they were not a invention of his, since the like are recorded by al-Tanūkhī in the 4th/10th century. The anecdotes produced by al-Dhahābī (repeated by al-Ġubāyīd, al-Imām al-Ǧāfari’s grandson, ʿĪzz al-Dīn Ahmad al-Ǧāfari’s, 1276/1859-60, i, 121-5; Ziriklī, Aʿlām, iii, 169; Muṣṭafā Kamāl Waṣīf, al-ʿImām al-Ǧanb Ahmad al-Ǧāfari’s, Cairo 1376/1957; J. S. Trümpp, The Sufi orders in Islam, Oxford 1971, 37 ff. and index; Brockelmann, S. II, 780-1.

(The Sufi orders in Islam, Oxford 1971, 37 ff. and index; Brockelmann, S. II, 780-1.)

The Rifaʿīyya spread rapidly into Egypt and Syria, possibly under the patronage of the Ayyūbīd. In Syria, a key figure was ʿAbd al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1248), so that this branch became known as the Ḥarīrīyya; another Syrian branch which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices, including that of the ḍawwāq [q.v.] or trampling of adherents by the mounted ṣūfī of the order, was that of the Saʿdiyya [q.v.] or Ḏibāwīyya founded by Ahmad al-Rifaʿī’s grandson, ʿĪzz al-Dīn Ahmad al-Ṣayyād (d. 670/1271-2). In Egypt, the order became especially strong. ʿĪzz al-Dīn al-Ṣayyād was teaching in Cairo in 638/1243 and married there an Ayyūbīd descendant, the grand-daughter of Nūr al-Dīn al-Malīk al-Āfāl. However, the great mosque of al-

unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifaʿī to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578/1182-3, al-Rifaʿī mentions Manṣūr but not ʿAbd al-Ḵādir. It is probably, therefore, that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Ḥārīrī’s, grandson of a disciple named ʿUmar. According to him, al-Rifaʿī married first Manṣūr’s niece Khādījah; after her death, her sister Rabīʿa; after her death Naṣīfa, daughter of Muhammad b. al-Ḵāsimīyya. There were also two grandsons, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm Ḫubayda and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm Ḫubayda is not mentioned by Yaḵūt, though found in one copy of the Manṣūd al-ṣittāt. This fact renders it impossible to trace the history of Umm Ḫubayda for by far the greater number of his disciples (mursīdun) and even deputies (shuṭūn), the princely style and the colossal buildings (khulqfād^), and even the occasional575/1181-2. He held an important position in the order of Nur al-Dīn al-Shattanawfī, which was later to become notorious for its extravagant practices. Thus Ahmad ibn al-Ǧāfari (d. 645/1268), so that this branch became the Haydariyya order, which he witnessed in India (Rihla, ii, 4-5, tr. Gibb, ii, 273-4); an eastern counterpart of these practices were those of the Kalandaris [see KALANDARIYYA], dervishes of the Ḥarifīyya order, which he witnessed in India (Rihla, ii, 6-7, iii, 79-9, tr. ii, 274-5, iii, 583).
Rifa'iyya — RIH

Rifaciyya, near the Cairo Citadel, was not begun till the later 19th century, and the tomb which it contains was thought by 'Ali Paşa Mubârak more likely to be that of one of Ahmad al-Rifa'iyya's descendants or Khalûqâ.

The Rifa'iyya order further became popular amongst the Turks in the course of the 7th-11th/13th-14th centuries, continuing so in Turkey up to the 20th century. Ibn Baştûa, again, visited what he calls "Ahmadî'î ẓâ'îyâs in Anatolia, including at Amasya, Izmir and Bergama (Rîshâ, ii, 292-3, 310, 315-16, tr. ii, 436, 445, 449); whilst at this same period, the Nakchivânî, Abu al-ʿAbbâs, described, with disapproval, the "extravagances of fire-walking, snake-biting, etc., which could be seen at the ẓâ'îyâ of "Sayyid Tâdî al-Dîn Ahmad al-Rifa'i" in Konya (Manâdîb al-ārîsîn, ed. and tr. Cl. Huart, Paris 1918-22, tr. ii, 203-4).

From Anatolia, the order spread into the Balkans as far as Bosnia and across the Black Sea to the lands of the Golden Horde; Fuad Köprüülî thought that the Rifa'iyya of the Turkish lands might have been additionally influenced by the semi-magical practices surviving from old Turkish shamanism (see Köprüülîzâde M. Fuad, Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmanes, Istanbul 1929, 12-13; Gibb and Bowen, Islamic society and the West, i/2, 196-7).

The Maḥârîb, the ecstatic practices of the Rifa'iyya or one of its offshoots were adopted by the ʿĪsâîyya or Iṣâwâ [q.v.] founded by Muḥammad b. ʿĪsâ (d. 930/1524) after his travels in the central Islamic lands. Perhaps most distantly of all, Ibn Baştûa even mentions Rifa'iyya in the Maldives Islands [q.v.] (Rîshâ, text, iv, 141).

The Rifa'iyya was thus the most widespread of all the turâk until the 19th/15th century, when it was over-taken in popularity by the Kâdirîyya [q.v.]. After this time, its greatest appeal was to be in the Arab lands, and especially in Egypt. In 18th century Cairo, the maṣâbîl (q.v.) or birthday celebration of Ahmad al-Rifa'iyya was celebrated on 12 Ẓûnâdâ II at Rumayla. This order, and the associated one of the Badawiyya [see Aḥmâd al-Badawî] were at this time widely recruited from the lower strata of society, compared with e.g. the Kâdirîyya and Kâhîlîwîyâ (q.v.); al-Djâbarî-stigmatises the Amadîyya and Sa'dîyya as popular amongst the awâbîk or lowest classes (see A. Raymond, Le Sultan et la musique à Caire au XVIIIe siècle, Damascus 1973-4, ii, 435-6).

In the early 19th century, E.W. Lane gave a classic account of the grotesque practices of the Rifa'iyya "howling dervishes" and their offshoots the Sa'dîyya and ʿĪwâniyya, which included snake charming and the thrusting of iron spikes, glass, etc. into their bodies (The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, chs. x, xx, xxv). By the middle of the century, however, such popular excesses began to be deprecated by the Ottoman and Egyptian authorities, when the more progressive-minded of the ruling classes began to regard the turâk as brakes on progress and as associations which were bringing the image of Islam into disrepute, in Western eyes. Hence in Egypt, the awhsa ceremony was prohibited by the Khedive Tawfîkh on the basis of a fatwâa from the Chief Mufti of Egypt, that it was a bi'dâ 'akhibâ or reprehensible innovation. It continued, however, for some decades amongst the Ottoman-Syrian, for the sake of the "Abd al-Hamîd II [q.v.] strongly favoured the dervish orders as part of his Pan-Islamic and pro-Islamic policies. The influence of the Rifa'iyya ʿolâyya Abu l-Hudâ Muḥammad al-Ṣâyyâd (1850-1909), of the Ṣâyyâdiyya branch of the Rifa'iyya in Aleppo, was particularly great at the Ottoman court, and this influence was much disapproved of by Islamic moder-

ists and reformers of the stamp of Muḥammad ʿAbduh.

During the 20th century the Rifa'iyya have continued to be influential in Cairene life. A good picture of it as it was in the 1940s to 1960s, including the form of its dhîkîr (q.v.), is given by E. Banneth in his La Rifa'iyya en Égypte, in MîDÔ, x (1970), 1-35. Banneth noted that, at that time, the supreme head of the order in Egypt was a descendant of the founder and that the members of one section at least, the ʿAmriyya, included a good number of persons with secondary educations and belonging to the middle classes. The charismatic activity of the Rifa'iyya order were played down, but in 1969 the author personally witnessed in the al-Rifa'i Mosque the piercing of cheeks with sharpened iron skewers without any resultant bleeding or visible wounds.


(C.E. Bosworth)
tion about Greek winds is acquired by the translation of calendars such as Aratus of Soloi's Phaenomena or Ptolemy's Phaeniss (translated by Sinân b. Thâbit b. Kūrra and summarised by al-Birûnî in his Kitâb al-Αlîh al-be). Windst are particularly important in navigation treatises [see Milâhâ and Ibn Mâqîn], in which we can find fairly detailed explanations about their causes, directions, effects in navigation, the monsoons and their seasons [see Mawsim], coastal breezes and their causes, and the vocabulary of the sailors. The works of Ibn Madjid (d. 927/1520) and Sulaymân al-Mahri (fl. 917-60/1511-53) show that the sailors of the Indian Ocean also took into account the four cardinal winds. The most important were the Kâbâlî, called Aqshâb by the sailors, and the Dabûr or Kaas, because they were the prevailing winds of the three periods in which navigation was possible during the monsoons. The direction of the Kaas was determined by the setting of Sirius (mâghib al-Tir), while the direction of eastern winds was marked by the rising of a Boôtis (Simâk Râmîb).


Râhâ: the name of two towns in the Levant.

1. The Arabs called the Jericho of the Bible Râhâ or Äthâ (Clermont-Ganneau, in JA 1877, i, 498). The town, which was 12 miles east of Jerusalem, was reckoned sometimes to the Dûnd of Filâsit (e.g. Yâkût, Muṣâqâm, iii, 913 and sometimes to the district of al-Balkâ (al-Yaʾqûbî, Buldân, 113); sometimes, however, it was called the capital of the province of Jordan (al-Urdûn) or of Qâawî, the broad low-lying valley of the Jordan (Nahr al-Urdûn) from which it was 10 miles distant (Yâkût, i, 227). As a result of its warm moist climate and the rich irrigation of its fields the country round the town produced a subtropical vegetation; among its products are mentioned, some already known in ancient times, dates and bananas, fragrant flowers, indigo (prepared from the wasma plant), sugar-cane, which yielded the best Ghawr sugar. Not far from the town were the sulphur mines in Palestine (Abu ʿL-Fida, ed. Reinaud, 226). There were however many snakes and scorpions there and large numbers of fleas. From the flesh of the snakes called tiryâkâ found there were made the antidote called "Jerusalem tiryâk" (θηρακια φυρακα). In the Kurân, Äthâ is the town of the giants captured by Joshua; there was shown the tomb of Moses and the place where, according to the Christians, their Saviour was baptised. The eponymous founder of the town (Arîhâ) was said to have been a grandson of Ar-fâkshâhdî, grandson of Noah. The town was particularly prosperous during the Crusades but then began to decline and was in ruins in the 12th century.

The modern Jericho in the Wâdî el-Kelt (lat. 31° 52' N, long. 35° 27' E) occupies the site of the town of the Crusaders; it is 250 m/820 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Travellers of the 19th century expatied on the squallor of Jericho, but they little more than a large village. It revived under the British Mandate of Palestine and after the West Bank's incorporation into Jordan in 1948, with a population of 6,830 in 1967; in that year, it passed under Israeli control.

2. A little town in the district of Aleppo. According to Yâkût, it stood in a wooded, well watered area "on the slopes of the Djabal Lubnân". By this term the Arabs meant not only the Lebanon but also its northern continuation as far as the Orontes (Lamens, Notes sur le Liban, ii, 6; MFOB, i [1906], 271). But in the present case, the heights to the east of the Orontes are certainly wrongly included in the term. Râh or the contrary is on the northern edge of the Djabal Bâlût (al-Yaṣîr), a part of the Djabal Rûmah; its northern continuation as far as the Orontes (Lambert, Topogr. de la Syrie, 102, 130) is untenable, as Dussaud (Topogr. de la Syrie, 1946), Ibn Battuta (1326) and even in its northern extension to the Djabal Bâlût (al-Yaṣîr). The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, London 1930, 127-9; Admiraity handbooks, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, London 1943, 322-3 and index.

Riha is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaybah ("little Riha") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Riha. Râh is very frequently mentioned in modern travel literature, as it was on the main road from Halab to Hamî (Ritter, Erdkunde, xvii, 1502; Dussaud, Topogr. de la Syrie, 183), over which Nâṣir-i Khusrâw (before 1047) and Ibn Baṭûṭâ (1326) travelled in their day. The town is therefore mentioned by Belon du Mans, Paris 1557; E. Bâdir, K. al-Anûdî, And., xii (1976), 14-48; D.A. King, Astronomy in the service of Islam, London 1993 (ed. Juynboll, i, 52, 496, ii, 322, 362; Idrîsî, ed. Gildemeister, in ZDPV, viii, 3; Abu 'l-Fida, ed. Reinaud, 48, 236; G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems, London 1890, 15, 18, 28-32, 53, 288, 381, 396-7; S. Marmardji, Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine, Paris 1951, 8-9; London 1903, 163; Baedeker's Palestine and Syria, Leipzig 1912, 128-9; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, London 1930, 127-9; Admiraity handbooks, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, London 1943, 322-3 and index.

The place is noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaybah ("little Riha") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Riha. Rihâ is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaybah ("little Riha") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Riha. Rihâ is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaybah ("little Riha") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Riha. Rihâ is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwaybah ("little Riha") about 13 km/8 miles south-east of Riha.

31; Alex. Drummond, Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia, London 1754, 226, 290 (Rihâa; on the Map of part of Syria, at p. 205, which is the anonymous map, referred to by Dussaud, Topogr., p. vii, n. 1: Rcpa); Niebuhr, Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern, Copenhagen 1778, ii, pl. iii. (Rihâa); J.B.L.J. Rousseau, Description du Paachaik de海尔, in Fundgruben des Oriens, iv, Vienna 1814, 11-12; idem, Liste alphabétique..., in Recueil de voyages et de mémôres, Paris 1825, 207-17; de Corancez, Itinéraire d'une partie genevoise de l'Italie, Paris 1816, 36: Rihâa cast (t) of Sarmin; Burchhardt, Reisen in Syrien, Palastina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai, ed. by W. Gesenius, i, Wiemar 1828, 225, n. 1 (Rihâa); W.M. Thomson, Bibliotheca sacra, v, New York 1848, 672; Seiff, Ein Rît durch das Innere Syriens, in ZG Erdk., viii (1873), 23; G. Le Strange, Palestine unter der Moslems, London 1890, 520-1; M. Hartmann, in ZDPV, xxii (1899), 145; Dussaud, Topographie de la Syrie, Paris 1927, p. vi, n. 2, p. viii, n. 1, 174, 176, 183, 205 ff., 212-13, 243.

(E. Honigmann*)

RIHÎA (a.), a journey, voyage, travel; also a travelogue.

It is clear from the lexicoms that the root rabhâla, from which this word derives, was originally associated with camel husbandry. A rabî is a camel saddle and thus we find such phrases as rabhâla al-bârî (he saddled the camel) (Lane, s.v. rabhâla). The word rabhâla associated with camel husbandry. A rabhâla is a camel from which this word derives, was originally neatly translates as “globetrotter” (see rabhâla in person endowed with skill in the saddling of a camel, thus connoted the act of saddling one or more camels and, by extension, a journey or voyage. The person endowed with skill in the saddling of a camel, or one who travelled much, was called a rabhâla in Arabic or, even more emphatically, a rabhâla which neatly translates as “globetrotter” (see ibid., s.v. rabhâla, rabhâla). A distinction can be made between rabhâla and the further form rubhâla: the former indicates a (single) journey; the latter implies the actual destination and also has the rarer meaning of a noble or learned man to whom one may travel (see ibid., s.v. rubhâla). Derivatives of the root rabhâla appear four times in the Kur‘ân: three times indicating “a saddle-bag” or “saddle-bags” (XII, 62, 70, 75), and once indicating actual journeys, employing the form rabhâla (CVI, 2). In the hadîth (q.v.) literature, a familiar ex ample is a passage in the Hadîth Musa: Ibn ’Abd al-Majîd travelled to India. Indeed, wanderlust, often implicit in the word rabhâla and presents the Prophet Muhammad as urging believers to seek knowledge even as far as China (see also Wensink, Concordance, ii, 232-5 s.vv. rabhâla, rubhâla). This injunction, coupled with an increasing desire for knowledge, especially of ‘ilm in the sense of tradition, gave rise to the concept of al-rabhâla fi tatâb al-‘ilm (“travel in search of knowledge”) in mediaeval Islam. A genre of rabhâla literature later developed whose primary impulse, or excuse, was the Pilgrimage [see hadâl]. The archetypcal exponents of this flowering of the genre were Ibn Djubayr (540-614/1145-1217 [q.v.]) and Ibn Ba’ttuta (703-70/1304-68 or to 779/1377 [q.v.]). The first undertook his documented Rihâla, often regarded as a prototype, from 578/1183 to 581/1185 with the Hadîth as a principal focus, to make amends for an act of wine drinking into which he had been forced by the Almohad governor of Marrakesh; the second made the Hadîth the initial excuse for what proved to be a virtual lifetime of globetrotting. With the Rihâla of Ibn Ba’ttuta we reach the peak in the articulation of a genre which should be perceived much more in terms of a literary art form than a formal geography. It is an art form which encapsulates the believable and the incredible, embraces the niceties of everyday life as well as the ‘Agâhâ [q.v.] or marvals, and whose value as a geographical and historical source must, in consequence, be treated with caution. Thus, while the historian and History of Art scholar may relish the description of Mecca and Medina in the Rihâla of Ibn Ba’ttuta (partially plagiarised from the earlier Rihâla of Ibn Djubayr), they must treat with extreme caution the former’s description of his visit to China in view of the controversy over whether he actually visited that area in person. To conclude, the Rihâla in mediaeval Islam must be conceived of, and appreciated aside beside such other genres as the Auqâ’î [q.v.], the ‘Agâhâ and the Nauâ’dar [see Na’dar]. It is a species of Adab [q.v.] rather than Tarîkh [q.v.] or Dowghrâyya [q.v.]. As such it was appreciated by the Nobel Prize-winning Egyptian novelist Najîb Mahfûz (born 1329/1911), who consciously based his Rihlat Ibn Fatâ‘îmâ (“Voyage of Ibn Fatâ‘îmâ”) (Cairo 1983; tr. D. Johnson-Davies under the title The Journey of Ibn Fatâ‘îmâ, New York and London 1992) on the famous Rihâla of Ibn Ba’ttuta, producing not a parody but a Bunyanesque, allegorical and picturesque narrative of Everyman’s Rihâla through life itself.

Finally, one should note that not all travelogues were necessarily called rabhâla; cf. the Sehbat-nama of the Ottoman Turkish traveller Evliya’ Celebi [q.v.].


(I.R. Netton)
The figurative expression rikāb-i humāyūn (Turk., pronunciation: rikābī-ḥumāyūn), or (more rarely) rikāb-i gāhān or simply rikāb is already found in Persia of the Saldjukid period applied to the sultan himself or his entourage in the field or travelling. For example one said that and-so-and so was "in the service of the imperial stirrup" (Ibn Bibi, in Houtsma, Recueil ... selçoucides, iv, 57; iii, 18) or "in the service of the parasol (dār) of the imperial stirrup" (ibid., iv, 7). In modern Persian one says "to be at the stirrup of a person" or "to be attached to his court" (Kazimirski, Dialogues, 493 and 482-3).

In Turkish usage, the same expressions were applied to:

1. The imperial cavalcade and the procession formed on this occasion. However, in order to avoid confusion with other uses of the word rikāb, there was also used, especially in the reigns of Mahmūd II and 'Abd al-Meṣjid, the Turkish word binik which was applied to all public appearances of the sultan, whether on horseback or in a boat (Mouradüye d’Ossoss, vii, 141, 144; Jouannin and van Gaver, Turque, 377 n.; Andressy, Constantinople et le Bosphore, 33, 494). The prince’s procession was also called mevakib (mewkib-i humāyūn) (Ibn Bibi, in Houtsma, iii, 18; on these words in Ottoman and Egyptian usage, cf. J. Deny, Sommaire des Archives du Cabinet, 104, 564). Cf. also the name of rikābūdr given to the eight soldiery lieutenants who were by the sultan’s side in the great procession (Mouradüye d’Ossoss, vii, 25, 317).

2. The audience given by the sultan (resm-i rikāb or simply rikāb), whether or not he was in procession. The Grand Vizier himself could only be introduced to the sultan’s presence by the latter’s formal order and his admission was called rikāb. There were ordinary rikābs and ceremonial rikābs (Mouradüye d’Ossoss, viii, 153 f.). Cf. details of the bayram rikābī teshrifatl name of the Grand Vizier in so far as he was endowed with the full powers of the sultan (MTM, 528). Similarly, the words rikāb-i humāyūne (in the dative) were used for petitions (zāhrūdb, Ar.-Pers. 'aḏi-i hāl) addressed to the sultan (Meninski, Thesaurus; Kānūn-nāme of Sūleymān or Naṣīrāt-nāme, 151), whence the expression ma’rūdābī-i rikābīye applied to these petitions.

It is from this connection that we have the use of the words rikāb-i humāyūn or rikāb in the sense of interim or substitute. When the Grand Vizier moved from place to place, the government was thought to go with him and there was appointed "to the sovereign a substitute for the Grand Vizier who was called rikāb kā’im-makā’im" (Bianchi, Dict., 1 ed.; Perry, A view of the Levant, London 1743, 37). The other chief dignitaries of the Sublime Porte had also their substitutes "of the imperial stirrup".

Rikāb aghalarī or agbağy̲-i rikāb-i humāyūn or üzengî aghalari.—These names were applied to a certain number of important officers or dignitaries of the palace (from 4 to 11, according to the different sources). They were the mir-amēm or "standard-bearer", the mir-ādār (ādārhor) or "squires", the kapudārār kāhāsī or "chief usher" and other officers with different offices (cf. Lutfū Paşa, Asaf-nāme, in Türk. Bibliothek, xii, 18, 21 of the Turkish text ed. Tschudi; Beauvoisins, Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneurs, 1809, 54; Mouradüye d’Ossoss, vii, 14; von Hammer, Staatsverf., ii, 61, with references to Castellan and Alī, op. MTM, 526, for the kānūn or "usages" regarding the agha̲s of the stirrup; Feridūn, Muqtabās, 10, for the rikāb or protocol relating to them). The following is a translation of the passage in the Asaf-nāme which is a comparatively old text (Lutfū Paşa [q.v.], died probably in 970/1562-3): "The deftārārs of the finances have precedence (tāsadur) over the sanduk bēsî and the üzengî aghalari. The principal (baş-ādār) of these is the agha of the Janissaries, next comes the mir-ādār, then the kaṭīr-bīš, the çeşmegir-bīš and the būluk aghalari" (starting with the agha of the Janissaries, we have here then an enumeration of the üzengî aghalari).

Considering the authority of these sources, we must conclude that the variations are the results of changes which actually took place, which leads us to conclude that the tradition of the palace left the sultan a certain freedom in this respect. We know, moreover, that admission to the rikāb was in general subject to the istiṣāb or "approval, pleasure" of the sultan.

The most important function, at least in principle, of the agha of the stirrup was exercised when the sultan mounted his horse: the grand mir-ādār held the inner stirrup (zāhrūdb), the baş-ādār or baş-kāpū-başi the outer stirrup (koltūgha); the agha of the Janissaries, assisted by the grand agha, held him under the arm or "under the armpit" (kolūğha girmek). The kaṭīr-bīš or "chamberlains" stood all around and the aḵhur khalifesi (kaftār) held the horse’s head (MTM, 526).

On the functions of the chamberlains, who, to the number of 150, headed by the baş-ādār or baş-kāpū-başi, already mentioned, were in the service of the stirrup, and for other details, see Mouradüye d’Ossoss, vii, 18, and especially MTM, loc. cit. Their duties were to take to the province important ārma and to carry out various confidential missions.

Sometimes epithets rhyming in -āb were added to the word rikāb in the language of the court: e.g. rikāb-i kamerdab "stirrup shining like the moon" (Tārīk-i Wāyṣif, i, 105), cf. also the epithets kāmūyā, gerdān ānjūb, dawrān ānjūb, ēzānāt ānjūb, etc.

The tribute which the Voyvodes of Wallachia and Moldavia sent to the sultan in their own name, supplementary to that (gīzye) paid by their subjects, was known as rikābīye and tūdīye (Ahmed Rāsim, i, 380; cf. Saineanu, Influența orientala, București 1900, i, 249).

Bibliography: Given in the text. (J. Deny)
rikāb already to the first Umayyad caliph of Spain (138-72/756-88; cf. Analectes, i, 605, reference given by Douty). In Egypt at the court of the Fatimids, there were over 2,000 rikābī or sīfūn al-rikāb al-khāṣ, so called “on account of their costume (ziyyā),” whose duties were the same as those of the sīlāḥdār and tabardār of the time of al-Kalkashandi (Subh, iii, 482).

As to the Persian form rikābdār, it must have been in use in Persia for the Sabiks for we have to admit by analogy that it was from them that the Ayyubids and later the Mamluks borrowed the term, like many other words of the same kind.

In Persia itself, the term rikābdār was replaced by its (Turkish) synonym uzeni (or zengū) kurtcē (cf. Chardin, 1711 ed., vi, 112; Père Raph. du Mans, Estat de la Perse, 24). According to the Burhān-i kātēr, the rikābdār were replaced by the gilausduar (from gilaou, bridile), but it should be noted that the office of the latter was contemporary with and independent of that of uzeni kurtcē.

In Egypt, the rikābdārs of the Mamluks, also known as rikābī, were members of the rikāb-khāna, like the other “men of the sword” (arbāb al-siyūjī), such as the san-djādār, mahmīzār, kara-ğulām, and ġulām-mamlūk. The rikāb-khāna (the khāzānat al-sūrūg of the Fātimids) was the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. The heads of this service and, as it were, their sanctioned mahār (cf. the Ottoman mehter, whose duties were different and humbler). The rikābdārs were under the command of the amīr djandār, “Marshal of the Court” (cf. the kapudjular kahyasl of the Ottoman Court). See al-Kalkashandi, iv, 12, 20; Khalīl al-Zāhirī, 124; Gaudefroy-Demobynes, Syrie, pp. lii, lix.

The word rikābdār is found in the 1001 Nights, where it is translated "palfrener" by E. Gauttier, vi, 168, and "groom" by Burton, x, 565, n. 2. From the context we might also suggest "riding attendant." Boc-thor gives (for Syria?) r-k-b-dr under the French "écuier (qui enseigne à monter à cheval)" and r-k-b-b al-khāyī under "groom (celui qui monte à cheval)." The synonymous expression sābī al-rikāb, in the sense of ‘‘good squire, one who mounts a horse well,’’ is found in the romance of 

In 19th and early 20th centuries, Egypt, according to Leunclavius (Turk. Bibl., no. 12, 1910, 17, n. 1) have therefore confused rikābdār agha and rikābi, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage (see the corrected translation in rīkāb).

On the other hand, Western writers of the 16th century mention as the third officer of the household (iṣqāghān) after the sīlāḥdār and tabardār a "cup-bearer"! Theodore Spandone (Spandony Cantacazin) calls him sharābādār (cf. Garzoni, 1573) and Leunclavius kūpādār “bearer of the (water)-jar,” a name also found in Lonicer (69). This water-carrier was given other names later. D’Ohsson (pl. 158) and the āṣā tārīkhī (i, 282) speak of kūpādār or kīchābādār, which is another pronunciation for the Arabic-Persian kāzī (or water-jar). Wearing a brasta, he carried a ewer (mashtāba) of warm water at the end of a stick. Von Hammer calls this official muraqābī or bearer of the gourd (matarah for māthara). The use of warm water is easily explained by the fact that, as an author writing in 1631 tells us, the third gentleman of the sultan’s chamber ‘‘carried him ‘sherbet’ to drink, and water to wash with’’ (de Stochove, Voyage du Levant, Brussels 1662, 84; Ischiopitar, for rikābdār; cf. Baudier, who writes rixchipōtar).

On the other hand, there was an officer whose duty it was to carry a stool (iskemledjil) platted with silver which the sultan used in mounting his horse, when he did not prefer the assistance of a mute who went on his hands and knees on the ground (Castellan, Musas... iii, 139; Āṣā tārīkhī, p. 282). The stool was carried by a silihār, or “keeper of the water” (mashrapa); he carried a ewer (musek), and a koz-bekci or koz, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage (see the corrected translation in rīkāb).

Among the special duties of the rikābdār, one need only mention the dignity at the sultan’s court reserved for a single officer. It is in the reign of Orkhan (ca. 1324-62) that we first find the Ottoman rikābdār: he was called Ködja İlyas Ağa (Āṣā tārīkhī, i, 94). It was, however, only under Selim I (1512-20) that the duties of the rikābdār were defined. According to the organisation at this time, the rikābdār agha was a khāṣ as detta, i.e. he was one of the khāṣ oda (and not odağī) or "company of the corps" (Mouradjea d’Ohsson: chambrière suprême (Castillan); innerst Kammer (von Hammer)) which was the first of the six groups of officers of the household (iṣ or enderān) of the Palace and consisted of the fixed number of 40 officers or pages, including in theory the sultan himself. It had been formed by Sultan Selim to guard the relic of the Prophet’s mantle (khatība-yī se’āde) brought back after the conquest of Egypt (Āṣā, i, 208; for details of the organisation, see ibid., and Mouradjea d’Ohsson, vii, 34 ff.). The rikābdār was the third of these officers of order of precedence (following the sīlāḥdār and the čehādār and preceding the dālibdār agha) and an officer passed in this order from one office to another. The four officers just mentioned were the only khāṣ oda who had the right to wear the turban.

According to the usual definition repeated everywhere, the chief duty of the rikābdār agha was to hold the sultan’s stirrup. It may have been so at first, but none of the documents available show the rikābdār performing this duty in practice. Indeed, we have seen [s.v. rikābi] who actually were the āğha of the stirrup” entrusted with this duty. Now in spite of his name, the rikābdār was not one of these. The Arabic version of the Āṣaf-name (ed. Beirut, 9, n. 7) and the German translation (in Türk. Bibl., no. 12, 1910, 17, n. 1) have therefore confused rikābdār agha and rikāb agha, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage (see the corrected translation in rīkāb).
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over 60 and had spent 40 years in the service of the court. According to the same source, these duties were reduced to very little. During the ceremonies (telâmut) of the Prophet’s birthday (mawlid) or mawlid, the two bayrams and at the binnihat or ceremonial appearances of the sultan, the rikâbdâr sat opposite the sultan in the imperial barge with the sitilbâr, kâfsî oda bâshî and the two iûhâdârs.

From all this we may conclude that, if there really was a rikâbdâr in the time of Orkhan, he performed not only the duties of a squire but also those of a “cup-bearer,” and we know that in Persian the rikâbdâr means “cup-bearer” and rikâb means also “cup.” In time, with the rikâbdâr becoming a more and more important personage, these duties were divided between two special officers: on the one hand, the koz-bekî and similar officers, and on the other, the iskime aghasî.

The rikâb aghasî, like the lohadârs, received a daily salary or “wage of 35 aspers (akch), while the sitilbâr drew 45 (Hezarfenn, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds turc, fol. 18b). Like the lohadârs, they had in their service two lales of the kâfsî oda, a karakollukçu, a baltasî with tasseled caps (ziîfîlu), two sofâlis, a keyhejdzî and two yedekhlis. The rikâbdârs who did not attain the rank of sitilbâr were put on the retired list (became ûrak) with a pension of 60-100,000 piastres. In the absence of the lohadâr, the rikâbdâr performed the duties of the sultan. On the quarters in the palace occupied by the rikâbdâr, see ‘A‘î, i, 312, 20.

The four chief officers of the kâfsî oda, including the rikâbdâr, were often called by the name—not official, however—of koltuk uxezleri or “vizers of the armpit” because they had the privilege of touching the sultan, particularly of giving him their hand or taking him by the arm during a walk and they frequently attained the rank of uezîr (Cantemir, Hist. Emp. Ott., iv, 119-21). The rikâb aghasî [see RIK] were also koltuk uxezleri.

The same four officers were also called ahrd aghasî because they had the right to present (‘ard) to the sultan any petition which reached them, like the master of petitions (Rycaut, Bk. i, p. 97 of the French tr.; Castellan, iii, 185). According to Ahmed Râsim (ii, 639), in processions, the iskime aghasî had the task of returning to those concerned petitions which were not granted. The rikâbdrs were abolished by Mahmûd II probably about the same time as the koz bekit (in 1248/1832-3; cf. Lutfî, iv, 68) and the sitilbâr (in 1246; cf. Lutfî, iv, 61); see von Hammer, Hist., xvi, 191.

Bibliography: See the works already quoted above, of which the most important is the ‘A‘î ‘ârvî. See also Ahmed Râsim, Târîh, i, 186, 479, ii, 526; von Hammer, Hist., vii, 15, for references not used here; I.H. Uzunçarşı, Osmani devleti tezkîlâtına medali, Istanbul 1941, index. (J. Deny)

RIKK [see RAK].

RIND (p.), a word applied in Persian with a contemptuous connotation to “a knave, a rogue, a drunkard” or “a debauchee”; in the terminology of mediaeval mystics, it is also used for “one whose exterior is liable to censure, but who at heart is sound” (Steingass, s.v., after the commentaries on Mahmûd Shabistari’s work). As someone who is completely in error, it is related to the attitude of the maldmatiyya (q.v.), commenting on Mahmûd Shabistari’s work, Guzman-i râz, defined the rind as someone who is completely detached from all qualities and conditions of the multitude of created being “having removed everything with the rasp (randa) of obliteration and effacement.” Such a person would no longer be bound to anything, not even to the discipline of a spiritual teacher (Maf'ûl al-tâ'lab, 636).

The force of this imagery is not yet quite exhausted, though it has been used over and again by countless poets and mystics. In the present century, it could still serve Sir Muhammad Ikhîl (q.v.) as an item of his poetry which aimed at the revitalisation of Islam.


freebooters associated with the ‘ayyâran (q.v.) and the aawâbi. Locally they could be a political factor of some importance, as it appears from phrases like “the rinds of Baghdad” or “the rinds of Kh-f’azm.” The term is also made of rural groups (rindîn-i rûst). They were further characters in popular literature. Baydî tales about the rinds were considered to be unsuitable for a royal banquet (Ibn ‘Isâfînî, Târîh-i Tabaristan; see for these and other examples from historical sources, Dihkhudâ, Lughat-nâmâ s.v. rindy).

In the 16th/17th century, the Persian poet Nâsîr-i Khusrâw also mentioned their behaviour outright when he rebuked the world for “approving in its many children only that which results in bad behaviour and debauchery (baft-f‘ît-rundy)” (Dîwân, 493, 3). Even two centuries later, Sa‘îdî (q.v.) looked unfavourably upon their violent attacks on the Şûfs and upon their sensuality (Gûsînân, 107, 149).

Already at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, however, Sanâ‘î (q.v.) gave ample evidence of a reversed appreciation. In his poetry, the word belongs to a cluster of terms and motifs peculiar to the kalan-darsîyâ (see KALANDARIYYA). In this mystical genre, it came to denote the type of the antimonic mystic, like the cognate terms kalandar and kalâtî. The abandonment of all self-interest by the rinds is contrasted to the insincerity of ascetics (zâhid) and devout believers (‘âbâ), whose piety is merely a mask for their selfishness.

After Sanâ‘î, Farîd al-Dîn ‘A‘ûrân (q.v.) further developed the genre in his ghazals and quatrains. The rinds are also frequently mentioned by Hâfîz (q.v.). The “vices” he ascribes to them are being frantic lovers, ogling beautiful boys (nazarbâz), excessive drinking and gambling. They are beggars who have squandered all their earthly possessions (mufrîs, pâkhrâz) and have “set the world to fire” (taxmâsî). Willingly they destroy their good reputation, drinking the dregs of wine and suffering for the sake of love.

The reversal of terms like rind in the usage of the poets is related to the attitude of the malât mâtiyya (q.v.), who from the 4th/10th century onwards dominated the spiritual atmosphere of Khûrâsân. In a telling anecdote about Abu Sa‘îd Mayhâni (q.v.) it is related that he learned the true meaning of the term rindân who honoured him as the “emir of the gamblers” (Ritter, Das Meer der Seele, 202). Eventually, the term was adopted into standard mystical terminology. Shams al-Dîn Lâhî (d. 912/1506 q.v.), commenting on Mahmûd Shabistari’s work, Guzman-i râz, defined the rind as someone who is completely detached from all qualities and conditions of the multitude of created being “having removed everything with the rasp (randa) of obliteration and effacement.” Such a person would no longer be bound to anything, not even to the discipline of a spiritual teacher (Maf'ûl al-tâ'lab, 636).

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In orien, xii (1959), 14-64; idem, Philologika XVI: ... Mustânâme, in orien xii-xiv (1961), 219-22; J.T.P. de Bruijn, The Qalandaardiyat in mystical poetry, from Sanâwi onwards, in: Philologika in Orient, xii (1959), 14-64; idem, Philologika XVI: Muxtdrndme, in Oriens xiii-xiv (1961), ... of the crucial role of Greek letters. The scribes of Damascus were familiar with the epistles of the Greeks, by way of

Hellenistic and Persian culture. As a result of the works of Mario Grignaschi, this influence has been established beyond doubt; in fact, one of the most illustrious representatives of this circle, Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ (see above), the maʿādul of ʿAbd al-Malik, in his translation of the letters of Aristotle to Alexander, included two chapters of great interest, al-Siyasa al-ṣāmna and al-Siyasa fi tadhbir al-rūʾa: they contain, in effect, quotations and indications proving that he followed the "outline of the Greek letter more closely than has sometimes been admitted." Les "Rasāʾil Aристотέλους iā l-ʾIskandār" of Salīm Abū l-ʾAlāʾ and the activité culturelle à l’époque umayyade, in BEO, xix (1965-6), 9. Furthermore, ch. x, of classical origin, which has been published in an abridged version by Lippert under the title Peri Basīlia, is identical in all respects to the Arabic ms. of Sālim (Köprülü 1608) except in one detail. The Arabic translation has added here two extracts from the Testamenti d’Ardashir; Sālim has thus proceeded to an integration of the Greek foundation to the Sāsānid foundation (ibid., 14).


The risāla as monograph

The transmission of knowledge under the first caliphs of the Marwānid branch was accomplished in the form of risālas. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, wishing to know more of the events which had accompanied the beginnings of Islam, addressed himself to ʿUrwa b. al-ʿUzayr, who replied to him with a written missive containing the information requested. These missives were preserved by al-Ṭabarī to constitute the basis of his documentation for the event in question (Annales, i, 1180-1, 1634-6, 1770, 1284-6). This framework offered numerous facilities and allowed the writer to lend to his work the tone of a direct conversation. As time passed, the authorities who solicited and even invented by the writer himself with a view to exposing his ideas on a question which interested him particularly (A. F. L. Beeston, The epistle on singing girls by ʿAlī, London 1980, § 3, 2-3; G. Lanson, Choix de lettres du XVIIe siècle, Paris 1913, p. xxv). This sub-genre was to enjoy lasting popularity. Numerous authors, from the time of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿĀṭīb to the present day, have made frequent use of it.

Moreover, there was the opportunity of filling the letter-missive with personal ideas and nonconformist concepts which adab could not or would not accommodate, it being regulated by very strict rules. Knowledge (ʿilm), like literature, was considered the ultimate canonical genre; for the same reason, it was doomed to cantonisation in compilation; otherwise, there was the risk of impairment. Every qāḥār mentioned, was or fictitious, was written on the model of an isnād which accentuated its status as a received text, rather than the product of independent thought. The risāla, the only remaining framework in prose, lent itself perfectly to the role of receptacle for personal thoughts, nonconformist ideas and texts based on analysis and not on quotation. This is why the most original texts were conceived as risālas. In politics, one of the most thorough analyses of religious, political and military institutions under the early ʿAbbasīd is supplied by the Risāla fi ʿl-ḥāʾibah of Ibn al-Mukaffā (Ch. Pellat, Ibn al-Mukaffā: conseiller du calif, Paris 1976, 1, 4, 12). In literature, the Risāla al-tahhāwī of ʿAlī, "taḥḥāwī by al-Ḥāǧīz and the Risāla al-hāzialyana of Ibn Zaydūn presented the most successful examples of humorous texts (O. Rescher, Excerpts and Übersetzungen aus der Schriften des...Jāḥīz, Stuttgart 1931, 212-25; Al-Ījkār, xi/3, 54-60; T. Husayn, Min hadāl al-ṣīr wa ʿl-naṭr, 88-99; H. Dājjāl Ḥasan, Ibn Zaydūn, Cairo 1375/1955, 266-9, 274-5). More generally, Risālat al-al-ṭawdhiʿ wa ʿl-taḥḥāwī uṣūl al-ʾizāwāḥi by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ṣaḥmān b. al-Ḥāḏīz could be considered triumphs of classical Arabic literature. In poetry, the most penetrating analysis of the aesthetic rules governing poetry and the epistolary art, and also the most systematic, borrowed the same formal framework (A. Arazī, Une épître dʿĪbrāhīm b. Ḥiḍāt al-Ṣāḥib sur les genres littéraires, in Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986, 473-503).

Indisputably, the risāla comprises, here, all the aspects which constitute the monograph or the essay. Henceforward, this framework was to play a role in all sectors of Arab culture: philosophy, grammar, lexicography and fikūr—they all adopted it as a means of producing their finest achievements. The Rasāʾil of Ḥāḏīz dealt with a broad spectrum of theological, social, political and literary problems and counted among them many profound and original ideas on the thinker, perhaps of the whole of ʿAbbasīd literature. The format itself is a major contributor to this success: each title studies a single problem, which encourages reflection (Ch. Pellat, The life and works of Jāḥīz, London 1967, 14-26). It has even been written of some of them that they are psychological and moral studies in which the author is aware of producing original work; this is now a regular occurrence in the works of the 3rd/9th century (Ch. Vial, Al-Ḥāḏīz, quatre essais, IFAO, Cairo 1976, 3). The same phenomenon is attested in the work of a polyglot of the Mamlūk period, Dājl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [q.v.]), whose principal claim to fame was his faculty for compilation. In his epistles, he attacked the abuses with which the society of his time was confronted, refraining from touching the pleasures of compiling. However, it is in theology, in particular al-ṭawdhiʿ, that the domain of the sciences that this phenomenon seems to have taken on the broadest role. The translation, or perhaps the paraphrase, in Arabic, of the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle, seems to St. Paul and St. Peter. Systematically, they include in their titles the name of the region destined to receive them. It is interesting to note a similarity with the letters of certain maukallāmīn (see below).

Among the ʿalāʾāt, a significant number of theological treatises are risālas attributed to historical figures (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) and addressed to no less historical figures (the Umayyad caliphs). All these epistles have recently been the object of philological analysis by Michael Cook, Early Muslim dogma, Cambridge 1981 (with very comprehensive bibliography). The dating of these documents continues to be problematical, and expert opinion is divided as to their paternity; this last is accepted by van Ess, whilst
others have not hesitated to draw attention to certain anachronisms featuring in these documents. Whatever the case, it seems very reasonable to place them at the end of the Umayyad dynasty or under the first ʿAbbāsids. The authors, most of them Tābiʿūn or Successors, chose this framework on account of its similarity to the letter, in other words, as a concrete message which would make their theological statements more easily understood. Later, numerous theologians made use of the epistle to propound their doctrines. Al-ʿAskari had recourse to it in two instances: the first in the well-known Fi ḥadījat al-khuṭba in support of his engagement in speculative theology (R. MacCarthy, The theology of al-ʿAskari, Beirut 1953) and the second in Risāla ʿilā ʿal-ṯaqqīr. The second in fact constitutes a brief exposition of the theology of the author (publ. in Iḥāyāt Fakūlītī Miṣmaṣ [Istanbul], viii [1928]; on the two epistles, see D. Gimaret, La doctrine d’al-ʿAskari, Paris 1990, 13-16). The response (fāṣūq, ḡawwāb, ʿaṣwāq, masāʾil) constitute an ancient institution (see below, under “episcopal Arabics”). Numbers of these epistles belonging to this category have been attributed to Abū Ḥāṣim al-Djiḥabbāʾi (d. 32/950), one of the most eminent Bayān Muʿtasīl thinkers; these also followed the previously-mentioned pattern, with a title bearing the name of the addressee and his country of residence. Worth mentioning, by way of example, are the Baghdādisiyyāt and the Ṭanīṣiyyāt (Gimaret, Matériaux pour une bibliographie des ḍubbāʾi, in JA, cxxv [1976], 308, 321, and 286, a reply from his father Abū ʿAlī to the inhabitants of Khūraṣān). Numerous collections, identical in every respect, were mentioned by the Muʿtāsiyyāt kālid ʿAbd al-Djiḥabbār (d. 416/1025), such as al-Rāzīyyāt, al-Khārizmiyyāt, etc. (al-ʿUṣbāl al-khamsa, ed. ʿA. Uṭḥmān, Cairo 1967, 21-3).

A similar process is in evidence in the epistles of Ibn Ṭauṣiyya (Maṯmat-al-rasāʾīl al-kubrā, Beirut 1980, i-ii, repr. of the original edition). In addition to the usual framework, the introduction includes here the name of the questioner, the heading of the question and the mention of other circumstances which contribute to fix his risāla more firmly in reality. Thus the differences between fāṣūq and epistles tend to become blurred. Another characteristic of theological risālas, which could prove to be of great importance, since it is not directly determined by the parameters of the discussion, is the opportunity given to the author of providing a detailed account of his position on a point of doctrine. Such an opportunity was readily seized upon by the author, who expounded at length the subject which was being debated. These theological responses, thus enlarged, were transformed into veritable monographs; the question which is the point of departure then appears to arise from the point of its solution. Numerous treatises, in the form of a monograph, in response to questions posed to an author, is known in Syriac sources (for example, in the work of Jacob of Edessa, late 7th-early 8th century), taking its inspiration, perhaps, from the Greek tradition through the intermediary of the Byzantines (Cook, op. cit., 145-6). The most ancient manifestations of this framework in Christian theological literature written in Arabic are to be found in the language of the ❝Melkite❞ bishop Theodore Abū Kurra (d. 820, see G. Graf, GCAL, ii, 7-26; I. Dick, Theodore Abū Kurra, in Proche-Orient Chrétien, xii [1962], 209-23, xiii [1963], 114-29). It is appropriate to observe that the Arabamic mānīr (< māmrū – māmrā) might well have constituted the antecedent of the Arabic term makāla (J. Wansbrough, The sectarian milāḥ, Oxford 1978, 104-5, where he expresses the hypothesis of the existence of Christian theological treatises in Arabic in an earlier period).

Although numerous questions and uncertainties have been presented, with good reason, in the epistolar framework, many people have sought, and have succeeded, through its intermediary, in preserving prolonged theological discussions owed to those who were unanimously recognised as authorities on the subject.

It should be noted that, at a very early stage, in various domains of the religious sciences, the term risāla was applied to numerous works which could prove to be of great importance, since it was the subject of debate. These risālas did extend over a brief exposition of the theology of the author (publ. in Iḥāyāt Fakūlītī Miṣmaṣ [Istanbul], viii [1928]; on the two epistles, see D. Gimaret, La doctrine d’al-ʿAskari, Paris 1990, 13-16). The response (fāṣūq, ḡawwāb, ʿaṣwāq, masāʾil) constitute an ancient institution (see below, under “episcopal Arabics”). Numbers of these epistles belonging to this category have been attributed to Abū Ḥāṣim al-Djiḥabbāʾi (d. 32/950), one of the most eminent Bayān Muʿtasīl thinkers; these also followed the previously-mentioned pattern, with a title bearing the name of the addressee and his country of residence. Worth mentioning, by way of example, are the Baghdādisiyyāt and the Ṭanīṣiyyāt (Gimaret, Matériaux pour une bibliographie des ḍubbāʾi, in JA, cxxv [1976], 308, 321, and 286, a reply from his father Abū ʿAlī to the inhabitants of Khūraṣān). Numerous collections, identical in every respect, were mentioned by the Muʿtāsiyyāt kālid ʿAbd al-Djiḥabbār (d. 416/1025), such as al-Rāzīyyāt, al-Khārizmiyyāt, etc. (al-ʿUṣbāl al-khamsa, ed. ʿA. Uṭḥmān, Cairo 1967, 21-3).

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several volumes (cf. the Risala of Ibn Abi Zayd on Mālikī fiqh; the Risala al-sadāqa wa l-sadāq covers more than 400 pages; etc.).

Writers of risāla, not being obliged to observe con-
straining conventions for fear of being considered at
fault, as was the case with adab, were permitted to give
free rein to their creative spirit and express themselves
with total liberty. Furthermore, a cultural pheno-
momenon comes into being: with the creation of new
genres, in the absence of appropriate terminology, the
work receives the title of risāla. Thus the original title
of the work of Ibn Fāḍil (ed. Sāmi Dahān, Damascus 1379/1959),
no doubt on account of its unedited nature and the
impossibility of integrating it into one of the conven-
tional literary categories.

Risāla and autobiography

A vital aspect of the literary risāla and of the per-
sonal letter, namely, its confessional nature, con-
fers on this type of writing an autobiographical character
which is unusual in classical Arabic texts. Ch. Vial
has rightly stressed this aspect in the four epistles of al-
Dāhīz which he has studied (Quatre essais, 7). Abū
Hayyan al-Tawḥīdī seems to have had a marked
predilection for this genre of personal revelation. His
Risāla al-sadāqa contains numerous very intimate
passages, of disconcerting candour. To an even
greater extent, in his Risāla fi l-ḥaydt, which sets out
a classification of sciences, the author unburdens
himself, recounts intimate events, reveals his most
secret thoughts, informs the reader of his beliefs and
takes the reader into his confidence in describing his
states of mind and justifying his behaviour (M. Bergé,
Risāla fi l-ḥayām, in BEO, xviii, 244-6; he does the
same thing at the beginning of the Risāla al-hāṣāt,
Damascus 1951, 52-4). Any study of ancient
autobiography must take into account the contribu-
tion of this thinker. In personal letters, this aspect has
sometimes taken on a surprising intensity. The library
of the University of Leiden possesses the third volume
of the Correspondence of Abū Hīālāl al-Sābī (ms. Or.,
766, fols. 115a-118b). In a letter addressed to his son,
al-Sābī, written at the age of 42, he feels that he is old
and believes that he can detect in his dreams and in
the incidents of daily life premonitions of death. Ac-
cordingly, he reviews the balance-sheet of his life, in-
forms his son of the love that he holds for his wives,
his fondness for animals and the bribes that he has
handled; he declares his weariness and gives advice to
his son.

Style

This type of correspondence and exchange of ideas
greatly interested literary circles, stylists and amateur
scholars among the aristocracy, and this led to the
emergence of texts of a high literary standard. In fact,
the very choice style verges on the precocious. The
distilled language, laden with tropes, fine allusions,
plays on words, verbal tricks and metalepses (sauriya),
and is constantly rebarbative and not easily under-
stood. Rhymed prose, almost of necessity, obliges the
stylists to practise what are virtually verbal acrobatics.

In a letter opposing the principle of fasting, al-ʿArid
Abd Abī Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūʿāwiya employs
rhymed periods of such precise equality that the editor
of the Yatīma mistakes them for poetry and sets out the
lines accordingly (al-Thaʿālibī, Yatīma al-dahr, ed.
Cairo, iii, 8). A similar process is evident in Byzantine
culture (Hunger, 206). Such style, described by
Karlsson as “ceremonial”, can appear irritating.

This cult of the form can only be understood in the
light of the triumph of ṣāḥīḥ; in the cultural environ-
ment, this means accepting the notion that educated
literature submits of its own accord to a form of ex-
pression considered noble.

Undoubtedly, alongside such literary letters, there
always existed letters of no literary pretension. These
functional missives paid little regard to form; they
were written in every-day language and discarded by
the addressee once they have been read and their con-
tents noted. In the opinion of scholars, such letters
were not worth preserving. Having no literary merit,
they were not considered “true” letters. Only a few
score of them, written on papyrus, have survived, and
these have been published by Y. Raghb (Marchands
d’êtoffes du Fayoum d’après leurs archives (Actes et lettres),
i-iii, Cairo 1982-92). A vast gulf separates these brief
texts, adopting the language of the vernacular, from
the letters of scholars written in the purest literary
Arabic.

III. The stylists

The extravagant elegance of style demands an un-
surpassed mastery of the language. Gaining the status
of an accredited epistolographer was the outcome of a
long apprenticeship. The aspirant was obliged as a
first step to familiarise himself with the most suc-
cessful compositions of his predecessors (rasāʾil al-
muṣākkaṭim), with archaic poems, chronicles,
biographies of eminent persons and amusing anec-
dotes, all of this leading to an enrichment and diver-
sification of language. It was also necessary to study
the makāmāt, the discourses and debates of the An-
cients, the maʿānim of the sāʾidām, the maxims of the Per-
sians (Diyyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭjīr, al-Majalla al-sāʾir, fi
Furthermore, the fact that their writings were read in
public and their letters passed from hand to hand to
be copied and annotated (Yākūt, Irshād, v, 329, 351,
vi, 67-8), gave them a prominent position in society.
It may be supposed that whole generations of prepara-
tion and training were required to produce the most
illustrious of the stylists. The epistolary art underwent
a process identical to that of poetry in the training of
artists. The diwāns of poets are matched by the diwāns
of mutarrasis (Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, Cairo n.d., 244,
gives a list of 70 collections of letters attributed to
epistolographers of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.
Through the good offices of Ibn al-Nadīm and his
systematic approach, it is possible to trace the various
stages, often spread over many decades, necessary to
train a major stylist.

A good example is the family of the Banū Wahb, a
veritable dynasty of mutarrasis; its members were the
descendants of Kanān b. Mattā, the eponymous
ancestor. Immediately after the conquest of Syria, he
held the post of kāṭib in the service of Yazīd b. Abī Suf-
yān; when he was appointed governor of Syria, Mu-
ʿāwiya retained him in the same post. He was “in-
herited” by Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and died during the
latter’s caliphate. His son Kays replaced him in his
post, which he retained under Abīd al-Malik and
al-Hārūn al-Rāshīd. His grandson, al-Ḥusayn b. Kays
b. Kanān b. Mattā, kept the same functions. He seems to
have led an eventful life; after the assassination of Marwān
II, he found a patron in Ibn Hubayra, then entered
the service of al-Manṣūr and of his son al-Mahdī. The
great-grandson, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥusayn b. Kays, followed
the same course, subsequently serving al-Ḥālid b. Bar-
maq. The fifth and sixth representatives, Saʿīd b.
ʿAmr b. al-Ḥusayn and Wahb b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-
Ḥusayn served the Barrakids until their disgrace,
subsequently supervising the correspondence of
Hasan b. Sahil. The seventh link in the chain,
Sulaymān b. Wahb b. Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥusayn,
enjoyed the status of a great stylist; in turn, starting
at the age of 14 years, he supervised the correspondence of al-Ma'dmun, of Aytab and of Ashnas before becoming the vizier of al-Mu'tamid. His letters were compiled in a diwan. His brother, al-Hasan b. Wahh b. Sa'id b. 'Amr b. al-Hasan b. Kays b. Kanân b. Mattâ, voluntarily chose a literary career; in addition to his merit as mutarassîl, he was considered an excellent poet. In addition, his letters were judged to be of superior quality and worthy of compilation in a diwan (Fihrist, 177). This text provides a fascinating slice of history; veritable dynasties of stylist, called upon to soothe discord, to exhort to the fortification of frontier zones, to divide the land tax, and to face a contradiction inherent in the letter construction. Moreover, this was an idle and frequently bored society which looked to the letter as a means of distraction. Once a letter was received, and after numerous readings, the addressee invited his friends to a meeting held to hear it resembled a veritable madjlis, an occasion of a marriage (Yatima, iv, 120-1), an invitation (istizdrâ, Yatima, iii, 80-3) and condolences (Yatima, iv, 191; Safwat, iii, 122-4, numerous cases).

The most important question involves the precise meaning of ikhwâni, the kdtib, 'Abû Hamânân al-Tawhidi, who desires the credit for providing a contemplation in depth of the issue, the Islamic friend being an alternative self. The stylists proposed this in their letters, as did al-Tawhidi in his Risâlas, there is need to distinguish between ikhwânîyya and diwânîyya in accordance with the ancient treatises; it is also necessary to study the monograph-risâla, which has not been studied by the above-mentioned critics, not being correspondence in the strict sense of the word.

The Risâla ikhwânîyya

The term derives from ikhwân 'friends' and is correspondence between two friends. The exclusive subject of these letters is affection. It is a substitute for the absent friend; a friend who is in fact far away is evoked with nostalgia and the writer pines for him (Sa'fawi, iii, 114-5, a letter by Ghasân b. Hamîl, the kdtib of Dja'far b. Sulaymân, period of al-Manṣûr, Rasûlî al-Âdâb era of 'Abû Bakr al-Khârazmî, Rasûlî, 26, 39, 42, 70, 81-2). The number of such notes written in this period is quite considerable. These presentations of friendship constitute the basis of the ceremonial of the letter, the conventional obstacle which needs to be overcome for the interpretation of the majority of these texts. These risâlas evoke the minor events of daily life: congratulations upon the birth of a son (Sa'fawi, iii, 57; Ibn al-Mukaffâ', Yatima, iv, 190, Bâdî' al-Zâmân al-Hamâdînî, on the occasion of a marriage (Sa'fawi, iii, 120-1), accompanying a gift (al-Khârazmî, Rasûlî, 51-2), declarations of welcome (Yatima, iv, 192), an invitation (istizdrâ, Yatima, iii, 80-3) and condolences (Yatima, iv, 191; Sa'fawi, iii, 122-4, numerous cases).

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However, all these prolific letter-writers were obliged to face a contradiction inherent in the letter considered as an illustration of friendship. According to Aristotle, the vital first condition of friendship is the fact of living in close proximity: "if distance does not destroy friendship utterly, it puts an end to its free
exercise. If an absence is prolonged, it makes a man forget his friendships” (tr. G. Karlsson, Ceremonial... i, Heidelberg 1906, 92-4, letter 10).

VI. RISALA AND MAKAMA

From the second half of the 5th/11th century, after dressed by these letters are currently extant, that of (Yatima, much appreciated by scholars... 183) which includes 30 titles Ibn al-Nadlm... al-Katib, of Ibrahim b. Hilal al-Sabl, of Ibn al-... Rasd^il, of Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Katib, of Ibrahim b. Khalaf (d. 126). [Another section included practical advise concerning ink, pens, dimensions of the page, etc.] The manual concluded with the mention of the most characteristic fusil (or sections) of the official letter, such as sudur (openings), tahmid (doxology), etc.; model letters are cited in the collections.

In fact, this situation persisted until the 5th/11th century: anthologies, such as al-man^aznm u'a l-... a very carefully considered text, documents in which the ignorance of these “pillars of the state” (G. Lecomte, L' introduction au Kitâb adab al-kâthâb, in Mélanges Louis Massignon, Damascus 1957, i, 43-63). In order to remedy this state of affairs and to put suitable tools at the disposal of stylists, ars dictaminis were compiled for their use, treaties in which advice was accompanied by model letters. These were essentially manuals, which never aspired to poetry. The authors confined themselves to mentioning formulas for opening and closing, some general advice regarding the necessity of brevity, of adapting the style to the nature of the addressee, the use of poetry and the need to abstain from poetry in letters addressed to princes. Another section included practical advise concerning ink, pens, dimensions of the page, etc. The manual concluded with the mention of the most characteristic fusil (or sections) of the official letter, such as sudur (openings), tahmid (doxology), etc.; model letters are cited in the collections.

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the publication of the Makdmâ of al-Hariri, numerous sources of the time confuse risâla and makdama. Ibn Handûn (d. 493/1052), in vol. vi of the Taqdîmin, that devoted to the epistolary genre (al-mukdâmât wa l-rasâ'il), enlists a section of the book Min rasâ'il Abî 'l-Fadîl Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Hamadhâni 'l-ma'nîj b. Badi' al-Zamân al-Hamadhâni 'l-musamât bi 'l-makdâmât 'I.(Choice) of the letters of Abû Fadîl Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Hamadhâni, known by the name of Badi' al-Zamân al-Hamadhâni, which are called al-makdâmât (ms. Reisûltûtbat Murstå Elendi, no. 770, fol. 110b, ed. H. Fann, Fann al-makdâmât fi 'l-karn al-sâdis, Cairo 1937, 251). This tendency persisted in the manuscript of seven risâlât of al-Suyûtî copied in the 18th century; al-Risâla al-sundusiyât bears the following title, Risâlat al-makdâmât al-sundusiyât fi l-risâla al-musamât fiwâ (cf. Hâdjî Khallîa, 1875, makdâmât al-Suyûtî wa-hiya tis'an wa-igîrîn risâlâtâ). It is evident that what is encountered here is a cultural process which deserves study. As a result of the work of De la Granja (Makdâmât y risâlât andaluzas, Madrid 1976, pp. xi-xiii), the various stages of this entitled manuscript can be traced. At the outset, the risâla, written in an artistic prose which had no well-established canons in the early stages, supplied the precious first primal material from which the first writers of the makdâmât derived their ideas. Here, as in the risâla, rhetoric and lexicography were pressed into the service of this original and entertaining creation. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, al-Hariri contributed to the launching of the makdâmât in new directions, with the appearance of the didactic makdâmât. The ingenious and eloquent beggar leaves the stage, to be replaced by medical, geographical, mystical and linguistic opuscules, in other words, risâlas. The distinction between the two genres no longer had any reason to exist, and this is why they were assimilated to each other.

However, a converse process seems to have come into play. Certain risâlas, on account of their lofty literary qualities, were considered to be makdâmât. Thus Ibn Sinâ, who seems to have shown an inclination towards artistic and rhythmic prose, composed numerous rasâ'il and poems (see Ti's rasâ'il fi 'l-hikma wa l-fabîyâtîyîh, Cairo 1908). The most interesting is that which borrows the methods of allegory, sc. Hayy b. Yakhûn. Rather than a risâla, as is specified by the title, this is in fact a makdâmât. A century later, the Judaeo-Arabic 'philosopher' Abû Bakr b. al-Tufayl [q.v.] composed a philosophical novel bearing the same title, even though the objects of the two works are different. Abraham b. 'Ezra (mid-12th century) composed an imitation of the allegory of Ibn Sinâ. In the introduction, written in Judeo-Arabic, the mediaeval editor of the Diwan (ms. Berlin, 186, section intitled al-ma'ârî al-maqsûdât) describes the letter as risâla, whereas the fragment of the same work preserved in the Geniza is intitled makdâmât (ms. Tiflis, 1670; see also the critical edition of Israel Levin, Tel Aviv 1983).

VII. THE RISÂLA IN JUDAEO-ARABIC

Quite naturally, letters in Judeo-Arabic are similar in all respects to those composed in the mother culture. The Geniza of Cairo has preserved a large number of letters, differing considerably in style and in content. Qualitatively and quantitatively, these documents constitute a unique phenomenon in the annals of mediaeval Arab culture. However, on account of their Jewish provenance, they contained a considerable number of Hebrew terms, formulas and phrases. This applies principally to the polite formulae of opening the letter, to the glorification of God, to eulogies (ta'ahmidât) reserved for the addressee. Sometimes they adopt a precious style, an artistic Hebraic prose, often rhymed. Evidently, here also a close relationship existed between the style of the letter and the status of the writer and of the addressee, in the family and in society. To a great extent, the correspondence between local dignitaries and the communal functionaries belonging to institutions enjoying an "eccumenical" status has been preserved (M. Cohen, Correspondence and social control in the Jewish communities of the Islamic world: a letter of the Nagid Joshua Maimonides, in Jewish History Quarterly, v/2 [1986], 39-48; S.D. Goitein, A Mediterranean society, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988, v, 424-4, see also i, 1967, 11-12).

The development of artistic style in letters written in Judeo-Arabic directly influenced the development of Hebraic prose among the Jewish writers of Christian Europe. Some highly significant examples are to be found in the letters written in Hebrew by Judah Ha-Levi (early decades of the 12th century, letters written from Lucena and from Narbonne published in his Diwan, ed. H. Brody, Berlin 1893, i, letter 4; see also Goitein, op. cit., v, 465-6, on the Arabic letters of Ha-Levi). The letters, emanating from the offices of certain senior rabbinical authorities, identical to the diwanîyas, reflect a little the personal style of the scribes, but to a greater extent the style of the diwân of correspondence, the fruit of numerous decades of maturation; a good example is provided by the letters featuring in the edition of S. Assaf, A collection of letters by Samuel b. Elij, Jerusalem 1930 (in Hebrew). These pieces, emanating from the offices of the Gaon (the Talmudic Academy) of Baghdad, are written in a very precious and ornate Judeo-Arabic and are in no respect inferior to the letters of the 'Abbasîd chancellery. Some, those addressed to East Kurdistan and to Persia, are written exclusively in Hebrew.

The poetry of the Judeo-Arabic risâla does not differ in any respect from that of its Arabic parent; furthermore, the evolution of the two followed an identical course. It is thus that monograph-letters are at times indistinguishable from the Hebrew letters addressed to the community of Fez, which had abandoned the custom of reciting the Talmudic Academy) of Baghdad, are written in a very precious and ornate Judeo-Arabic and are in no respect inferior to the letters of the 'Abbasîd chancellery. Some, those addressed to East Kurdistan and to Persia, are written exclusively in Hebrew.

One of the most ancient examples of the Judeo-Arabic risâla is a treatise comparing Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic attributed to Judah b. Kuraysh of Tâhârt (Morocco, d. ca. 900; ed. D. Becker, Tel Aviv 1984). This work was addressed to the community of Fez, which had abandoned the custom of reciting the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch (Targum). Still in the linguistic context, another monograph was intitled risâla by its author; this is the Risâlat al-Tânbîh bîn Ibn Hanîfî b. 'Iyâd (Spain, first half of the 11th century, ed. J. and H. Demoures, Paris 1880).

Maimonides (1158-1205) composed numerous risâlât and makdâmât in response to the questions and requests of the faithful. A large proportion of his work reflects the pre-occupations of an extremely gifted stylist, who was also an original thinker. This eminent authority on matters of religious law revealed his opinions on the problems and precepts of faith in
meticulously-crafted risālas. Thus his philosophical work, Dalālat al-ḥārin, the well-known Guide to the perplexed, is described, in numerous passages of the book and letter. Furthermore, the more, the prologue contains a personal letter ad-dressed to his favourite disciple Joseph b. Judah (ed. Joel, 1931, 1; see also The guide of the perplexed, tr. S. Pines, 1963, 3-4). Some of these letters were written in Arabic, others in Judeo-Arabic, in accordance with the language of the addressee. The majority represent the type of enlarged letters, in which the author deals with problems in depth and beyond immediate circumstances. The best illustration of the profundity of his essays is supplied by The Yemenite epistle (ed. A.S. Halkin, the text of the medieval Hebrew tr.; English tr. B. Cohen, New York 1952), which was addressed to the Jews of the Yemen; it seems to have been motivated by serious incidents which had afflicted the community, in particular the appearance of a false Messiah; he deals with it with a number of problems, including that of prophecy and that of the status of the prophet Muhammad in particular. The risāla contains a long prologue written in very ornate Hebrew rhymed prose. There is no doubt that, deriving from the genre, it conforms to the pattern of the Arabic epistle; on the other hand, it maintains in a direct line the traditional attitude of Jewish letters, stipulating that Hebrew alone is the language of profuse expression.

**Bibliography**


A disciple of Nadīm al-Dīn Kubrā was Sayf al-Dīn Bāhāzrā (d. 659/1261), who continued to teach his master’s way in Transoxiana after the latter’s violent death at the hands of the Mongols. Primarily a poet known for his rūdbts, he was also the author of a prose *T. on love and intellect*, which deals with an idealised view of human emotion and its psychological significance.

There are many risālas ascribed to Mir Sayyid ʿAbd Ḥamadī (713-86/1314-85), through whom the Kubrāwi order gained a foothold in Kashmir. Included in his works are the two books: *R. on dream*, *R. on existence*, *R. on difficult questions* and *R. on poverty*. Among the leaders of the Nakshbandi order, ʿAbd al-Khālīk Ghuḍjīdāwī (d. 361/1220) was the author of the two books: *R. on the master*, *R. on the master’s view of Süfi thought*. An important member of ʿAbd al-Khālīk Ghuḍjīdāwī’s chain of succession (ṣīlitā) was Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakṣband (d. 371/1379), whose disciples included the first two books: *R. on the master’s view of Süfi thought*. The first, based upon Bahāʾ al-Dīn Nakṣband’s lectures, discusses twelve topics concerning Süfi theory and practice; the second tries to explore the mystical states of inspiration, intuition and illumination.
Ni'mat Allah Wali (730-834/1330-1431 [see Ni'mat-Allâhiyya]), was a prolific writer who contributed greatly to the exposition of Sufism through his commentaries and interpretations. He is said to have produced over 500 works, of which an important number have survived. Some of his treatises are: the *R.-yi suluk* "T. on the Sufi pilgrimage", *R.-yi taubbît* "T. on the unity of God", *Naṣṣāt-nâma* "The book of counsels", *R.-yi nûrîyya* "T. on light", *R.-yi ma'ârif* "T. on knowledge", *R.-yi tawwakkul* "T. on the trust in God", *R.-yi râhîyya* "T. on the soul", *R.-yi hâlalat* "T. on the world", *R.-yi ilmâyât* "T. on divine revelations" and *R.-yi rumûz* "T. on mysteries".

An extreme offshoot of Sufism was the Hurüfî or "LITERALIST" school which emerged in Persia in the 8th/14th century [see Hurûfiyya]. Its founder was Fadl Allâh Astârâbâdî (martyred in 796/1394), to whom Sa'dî Nâfîsi ascribed the work named *R. dar usûl-i Hurûfîyya* "T. on the Hurufî doctrine" (Târîh-i nâmâ u nâfîr dar Irân, ii., 791-2).

Sufi literature was enriched by the *risâlas* of some well-known literary figures such as the 7th/13th-century poet and mystic, Fâkhr al-Dîn ʿIrâqî (d. 688/1289 [q.v.]), famed for his major work on Sufism, the *Lama'ât* "Flashes". Apart from this work, he wrote a small *risâla* concerning Sufi terminology and its symbolic meaning. The terms are arranged in three sections according to their association: the first section comprises the terms connected either with the beloved or the lover; the second contains names common to both the lover and the beloved; and the third consists of words identified more specifically with the lover and his mental states.

To ʿIrâkî's illustrious contemporary Sa'dî (d. 695/1295-6 [q. v.]) belong six *risâlas*, two of which bear the impress of Sufi thought. The first, entitled *ʿAkl u ʿishk* "Intellect and love", was written in response to a question asked by a certain Sa'd al-Dîn, and deals with the concept of attaining mystical knowledge of the Divine through emotion rather than by reason. It resembles the *Gulistân* in its style, and is written in a simple language. The second is named *Muṣâllât-i pandjâbnâ* "Five sessions"; it contains five sermons modelled after the discourses delivered by religious preachers and Sufi divines in their services.

Mabûn Shâbâstî (d. 720/1320 [q.v.]), the author of the famous ma'ârif on Sufi doctrine *Gulshan-i râz* "Rose-garden of secrets", is credited with three prose writings, one of which is the *R.-yi ḥâkîk al-yaḵîn* "T. on certain truth", dealing with Sufi theosophy. It contains eight chapters whose headings are mentioned by E.G. Browne in his account of the author (LHP, iii, 149-50). The work has been likened to ʿIrâkî's *Lama'ât*, but is inferior in merit (see Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, 303).

The poet Kâsim Anwâr (d. 837/1433-4), who was a major influence on the Sufi movement of his time, was the author of two *risâlas* reflecting his mystical leanings, the *R.-yi su'b u ʿishkân* "T. with questions and answers", an exchange on the topic of good and evil, and *R. dar bayân-i ʿilm* "T. explaining knowledge". Serious questions have been raised regarding the views of the author. He was suspected, during his lifetime, of complicity in the attempted assassination of Emperor Shah Rukh's son, Shâh Rukh (d. 836/1432), in whom the roles of the mystic and philosopher tend to coalesce. Like Kâsim Anwâr, who was his contemporary, he was subjected to the allegation of being indirectly involved in the murder attempt on Shâh Rukh. His numerous writings on Arabic and Persian embrace a variety of mystical, theological and philosophical subjects, and include *R.-yi asrâr-i ʿallāt* "T. on the secrets of prayer", a work interpreting the fundamentals of Muslim worship from a Sufi perspective; *R.-yi ḥâkîk al-kamar waʿa sâʿat* "T. on the splitting of the moon and the hour"; on the Kur'ânic verse "The hour drew nigh and the moon was rent in two" (LIV, 1); *R.-yi dar ʿawâl al-Lama'ât* "T. on the lustre of the Flashes", a commentary on ʿIrâkî's work *Lama'ât*, *R. dar bayân-i ma'ârif* "T. on friendship and exoneration", and *R.-yi ʿārâf* (BL. Add. 23.983) "T. on the letters", sc. on the letters of the Arabic alphabet and their esoteric meanings.

Among the Persian treatises on Sufism composed in India, mention may be made of the *R.-yi bâkî-nâma* "T. on the guide to truth", by Dârâ Shîkhûk (1024/ 68/1615-58 [q.v.]), the eldest son of Emperor Shâh Dzhâhân (r. 1037-70/1627-59 [q.v.]). Dârâ Shîkhûk was the author of several works devoted to a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim thought, a movement initiated by his great-grandfather Akbar (r. 963-1014/1556-1605 [q.v.]). The *R.-yi bâkî-nâma*, completed in 1055/1645-6, comprises six parts dealing with the following topics: (1) world of humanity; (2) world of intelligible substances; (3) world of power; (4) world of divinity; (5) identification of the Lord of lords; and (6) unicity of being.

In addition to Sufism, orthodox theology forms the subject-matter of various *risâlas*. The poet Dzhâmi (817/1414-42 [q.v.]), whose large output extended over many topics, wrote on various theological and mystical matters which included the exegesis of the *Kur'ân*, traditions of the Prophet and biographies of Muslim saints. His theological work *R.-yi arkan-i bâdêjî* "T. on the pillars of the pilgrimage" describes the rules and ceremonies prescribed for the *badêjî* and *tâma*. One of the well-known theological treatises of the 9th/15th century is *al-R.-al-ʿÂlîyya fi l-aḥâdîth al-nabawyya* "The Sîdîr treatise on the traditions of the Prophet", by Husayn b. ʿAlî Wâzîq Kâshîfî (d. 910/1504-5 [q. v.]), who is famous for his work on ethics the *Aḥâdîth-i Muḥsinî as well as for his collection of fables the *Ansârî-i Suhayfî* "The Lights of Canopous". His theological *risâla*, mentioned above, contains forty traditions arranged in eight groups according to their themes.

Conspicuous among the theological writings dealing with the Ismâ'îlî sect are two treatises by Naṣîr al-Dîn Tûsî (d. 672/1274 [q.v.]) namely *R. dar tawâllul wa tabârâ* "T. on friendship and exonation", and *R.-yi sayr u sulûk* "T. on travel and pilgrimage". The author was in the service of the Ismâ'îlî for a long time, and it is probably during this period that he wrote his two theological treatises in support of their doctrine.

From the 10th/16th century, theological works on Shî'îm found increasing currency in Persia. An interesting example of this type is the *R.-yi Hasâniyya* (BL. Egerton 1020) or *R.-yi Husâniyya* by Ibrâhîm b. Wâlî Allâh Astârâbâdî, a writer of the 10th/16th century. It deals with Shî'î doctrines, especially those relating to the prerogatives of Allî and his descendants. The treatise derives its title from the name of a slave-girl who is represented as debating the infallibility of the Shî'î faith with learned scholars in the
presence of the caliph Harun al-Rashid. The author
claims that his work was a translation from an Arabic
original, supposedly composed by the 6th/12th-
century commentator on the Koran, Djamal al-Din
Abu 'l-Futuh Khuzâ‘i RâzÎ. He further states that the
manuscript of the Arabic original came in his posses-
sion in Damascus, while he was on a Pilgrimage
to Mecca, and that he translated it for the Safawid
monarch Shâh Tahmâsp I (r. 930-84/1524-76 [q. v.]).

Shî‘ism found a vocal spokesman in the person of
Nur Allâh Shâhârâ’i (d. 1067/1657 [q. v.]), who went
to India during Akbar’s reign, and was appointed
dâdi of Lâhâvar. During Dâjangîr’s régime (1023-
37/1615-27 [q. v.]), however, he became the target of
Sunnî hostility and was executed by the orders of the
Emperor. He is known primarily for his work Madâjîl
al-mu‘minîn “Assemblies of believers”, which con-
tains the biographies of Shî‘î divines. He also composed
the R. dar tabâ‘î-i âyâ-yi Nîr “T. containing an en-
quiry into the Light Verse” (Kur’ân, XXIV, 35), and
R. dar hurmat-i namâz-i âyâm-yi asayînî-i ghabbat
“T. on the sanctity of Friday prayer during the oc-
cultation of the Imâm”.

With the rise of the Safawids in the 10th/16th cen-
tury, there was an upsurge of hostile feeling towards
the Sûfîs, encouraging the production of theological
works concerned exclusively with the denunciation of
Sûfî ideas and practices. One of the best known of these was Abu
’l-Futuḫ Khuzâ‘î’s R. yi tabâ‘î “T. on charity”,
composed by Akâ Muḥammad ‘Ali Bibbâhânî (d.
1216/1801-2 [q. v. in Suppl.]) in 1211/1796-7; its ap-
pearance resulted in provoking violence against the
Sûfîs that led to the murder of some of their leaders.

Philosophy. Early Persian treatises in philosophy are
represented by some risâlas attributed to Ibn Sinâ (d.
428/1037 [q. v.]). Among others, they include the R.-yi
‘îdâh “T. on love”, and the manual on psychology R.-yi
nafs “T. on the soul”. However, frequent doubts
have been expressed regarding the authenticity of
their authorship, and it is only from a much later date
that risâlas of definite provenance become available.

The list of writers on philosophy after Ibn Sinâ is
headed by Fâkhr al-Dîn RâzÎ (d. Harâr, 606/1209
[q. v.]) and Naṣîr al-Dîn Tûsî. Among the former’s
risâlas is the R.-yi mu‘a‘jî “T. on necessity and
freewill” and R. dar kismat-i mawajûd-t u akdim-i an
“T. on the division of created things and their
varieties”, he displays a keen intellectual insight in
considering some of the debatable religio-philosophical
issues of his time.

One of his contemporaries, and reportedly his
nephew, was Afdal al-Dîn Kashâm (d. 667/1268-9),
author of several philosophical studies and a scholar
influenced by Ibn Sinâ. He wrote in originally
Greek works, obviously from Arabic. His
R.-yi nafs “T. on the soul”, is a Persian rendering
of Aristotle’s work on psychology. Another of his
translations is the R.-yi tuṭfîsâ “The apple treatise”,
a pseudo-Aristotelian work called De pomâ et morte in-
cyclê principîs philosophorum Aristotelis, which has
been printed several times in Europe.

In logic, the writings of Aṭâq al-Dîn Muḥammad
Abhârî (d. 663/1264-5) and Kûb al-Dîn RâzÎ (d.
766/1364) have an important place; the former was a
disciple of Fâkhr al-Dîn RâzÎ, and his R. dar manâjî
describes in brief some of the basic points of logic.

Among the learned men of the late Mongol period
was Kûb al-Dîn RâzÎ (d. 766/1364-5), a protégé of
Chûrî al-Dîn Muḥammad (d. 736/1336), who was
chief minister to the Ilkhânid ruler Abû Sa‘îd (r. 716-
36/1317-35 [q. v.]). Kûb al-Dîn RâzÎ belonged to the
group of writers who engaged themselves in preparing
commentaries and textbooks for educational use,
involving the Sûfîs in discussions to the convic-
tion of the students. His risâlas, which were proba-
bly written with this purpose in mind, include R. fi
tabâ‘î-rî-kulliyât “T. on the verification of univer-
sals”, R.-yi tabâ‘î-kâsawah u tadrik “T. on the in-
quiry into concept and assent” and R.-yi tabâ‘î-mahsûrî “T. on the investigation into finitudes”. It
is most likely that Kûb al-Dîn RâzÎ’s approximate con-
temporary, Mir Sayyid Shâhîr Bûrja‘dî (d.
816/1413-14), also had an educational motive before
him for writing some of his works; his writings on
logic comprise the R.-yi kâbâra “The major treatise”,
and the R.-yi yaghîrâ “The minor treatise”.

The Safawid period witnessed some distinguished
personalities in philosophy, the major exponents in
this field being Shadr al-Dîn Muḥammad Shârâzî (d.
1050/1640-1), popularly known as Mullâ Shâdî (q. v.),
and Shadr al-Dîn Muḥammad Bûrja‘dî (d. 1041/1629)
commonly called Mir Dâmîd (see Dâmî), but their
contribution falls more appropriately within the realm
of Arabic literature, since almost all their output is in
Arabic. It is, therefore, difficult to find significant
philosophical studies in Persian produced during the
Safawid period.

Science. Early scientific literature by Persian writers
was produced mainly in Arabic, the language of learn-
ing and scholarship in Islam. However, from the
7th/13th century, works written in Persian became
more frequent, and Naṣîr al-Dîn Tûsî wrote several
risâlas on astronomy, a field in which he was highly
regarded for he was chosen by Hûlegû to supervise the
observatory established by the Mongol ruler at Marâgha. Probably his finest treatise on astronomy is the
R.-yi Mu‘îniyya, named after Mu‘în al-Dîn Abu ‘l-
Shâams, son of the author’s former patron, Naṣîr al-
dîn Abû Maṇṣîr (d. 653/1257-8), governor of
Kuhîstân.

In 824/1421 Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449 [q. v.]),
the talented son of Timûr, built an observatory at
Samarkand, and there brought together some of the
leading scientific figures of his time, among whom
was ‘Alî al-Dîn ‘Ali b. Muḥammad Kûshî (d. 879/1474-5),
commonly called ‘Alî Kûshî (q. v.). Some time after the death of Ulugh Beg, the latter
joined the service of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed
II the Conqueror [q. v.], under whom he composed the
R. dar hay‘at “T. on astronomy”, otherwise known as
Fârsî hay‘at “Persian astronomy”, which enjoyed much
popularity, and was used as a textbook for teaching
astronomy in schools.

Among later works on astronomy is the R. dar rubî-
mu‘a‘jî “T. on the astronomical quadrant”, by
Mûrîd al-Dîn Muḥammad (q. v.); but its author
Shams b. Muḥammad Mahmûd b. Muḥammad. A writer of the same
period, Nîzâm al-Dîn b. Muḥammad Husayn Bir-
gджани (d. 934/1527), composed in 930/1523-4 the
R. yi abâ’îd u a françî “T. on distances and bodies”, which
discusses, among other things, the measurements of
the earth’s surface and of the heavens and stars.

Interest in astronomical instruments gave rise to a
number of treatises relating, more particularly, to the
astrolabe. One of the best known is Naṣîr al-Dîn
RISALA

Tusi's R. -yi hist bab dar macrifat-i asturlab ' 'T. in twenty sections concerning the knowledge of the astrolabe', which found a host of commentators; this may have been an abridged version made by the author from one of his larger works on the subject.

Ghiyäth al-Din Qamish Kâshi (d. 832/1428-9 or 840/1436-7) worked on the staff of Ulugh Beg's observatory, and is the author of the R. dar sâkht-i asturlâb 'T. on the construction of the astrolabe', and the R. dar sharh-i aîlît-i raiy 'T. explaining astronomical instruments', the latter completed in 818/1416. Some other works which have been included in the R. dar sîftat-i kurya-ÿi dâdîd, 'T. on the characteristic of a new sphere'; the R. -yi asturlâb 'T. on the astrolabe'; and the R. dar aîlît-i raiyadîyya 'T. on astronomical instruments'. The first, which was written by 'Alâ'i al-Din Kirmânî, was dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 792-805/1389-1402) (or to Bayezid II (r. 886-918/1481-1512), and deals with the construction and uses of a new armillary sphere; the second was completed in the 10th/16th century by Abu 'l-Khayr Fârâ'î, and the third was composed by 'Abd al-Mun'im Âmulî in approximately 970/1562-3 on the orders of Shâh Tahmâsp I.

Hand in hand with the cultivation of astronomy went the study of meteorology. One of the earliest works dealing with this branch of knowledge is the R. -yi dâhir-i 'ulû 'T. on the celestial phenomena', by Abu Hurââm al-Muizzafar Isfizarî. Very little is known about the author except that he belonged to the town of Isfizar [q.v.], in present-day Afghanistan. He dedicated his treatise to Fâkhîr al-Mulk, son of Malik Shâh's minister Nižâm al-Mulk. Since Fâkhîr al-Mulk met his death at the hands of the Assassins in 511/1118-19, it is probable that the work was completed after the Assalâbîs encountered after the 9th/15th century is comparatively large. Included among these are the R. -yi 'ilm-i tibb 'T. on medicine', by Uways al-La'îfi al-Ardabîlî (? flour. in the second half of the 9th/15th century). Another is the R. mu'dâqât-i badân 'T. on the treatments of the body', also known as Kâvâvân al-îlâm 'Canons of treatment' and Shâhî al-amârd 'Treatment of diseases', completed in 871/1466 by Muhammad 'Alî al-Din Sabzawârî, popularly known as Ghiyâth Mutârabîbî; it comprises fourteen sections dealing with cures (BL. Add. 23, 557).

The Sañafî period produced some noted physicians, one of whom was 'Imâm al-Din Ma'nâmî b. Mas'ûd al-Tabîb, who lived towards the end of Shâh Tahmâsp I's reign. Besides his main contribution, Yanba'î fi 'ilm al-tibb (BL. Add. 23, 560)'The sources of medical science', he left several other treatises, such as R. -yi afyün (BL. Add. 19, 619), 'T. on opium', R. dar ba'yân-i kwâsâyîs u manfîsît-i tabû-i 'înî 'T. on the properties and benefits of the Chinese root', and R. -yi asrân 'Treatise on syphilis'.

Among the distinguished writers on medicine who flourished in India under the Mughals was Masîf al-Din Abu 'l-Fath Gîlânî (d. 997/1589), Akbar's court physician and author of a R. -yi 'ilmârî al-mughrârah 'T. on tested remedies', a collection of cures tried by the author during the course of his profession.

Other specialised writings in this field include the R. dar taghîrî-î badân-i insân wa kâsyyatay-i aswâqî-î ân 'T. on the human anatomy and the nature of its bases', by Mansûr b. Muhammad, also called Taghîrî-î Mânsûrî 'Mansûr's anatomy' and published under this title at Lucknow in 1264/1848-9. It gives a description of the limbs, organs, and other elements of the human body, and has been illustrated with anatomical diagrams. It was dedicated to Mirzâ Diyâ' al-Dîn Pir Muhammad Bahâîdûr (d. 809/1406-7), a grandson of Timûr.

Studies on preventive medicine are represented by several works on hygiene such as the R. dar hîfz al-tibh 'T. on hygiene' and R. dar tadbîr-i hîfzî-î sîhkh 'T. on the planning of hygiene' written respectively by two of Shâh Tahmâsp I's physicians, Shârâr al-Dîn Bâfâ'î (d. 978/1570-1) and Kamâl al-Dîn Husaynî Shîrâzî. In addition, manuals which dealt with poisons and provided means to dispel their effects are also common, e.g. 'Imâm al-Dîn Ma'nâmî's handbooks R. -yi sâmîm 'T. on poisons', and R. -yi pâzîh 'T. on antidotes'. Works on veterinary science include A. dar kaânâdsî al-kaânâsîn 'T. on the character of 'Alî Hazîn'. Most writings in this category deal with horses and were written in India. An example of this type of literature is the râsîla entitled Fâras-nâmâ 'Book of horses' by this same author, who had been resident in India.

Poetics. Many authors wrote at length on prosody, rhetoric and rhyme. An early work in this field, whose authorship is attributed, is a manuscript, to the poet Adîb Şâbîr (d. between 558/1161-2/1163-8) [...]
and, to others, to Rashld al-Dm Watwat (d. 578/1182-3 [q.v.]) is a small treatise on metres. It has been...

R. -yi Sandjariyya fi 'l-kd^indt al-^unsuriyya,
in Du risdla dar bdra-yi dthdr-i ^ulwi, ed. Danish-

Prompted by its appeal, many works were written on composing the mu'mam', including three risdla by Dm. Similar treatises were produced by the historian SharaF al-Dm Yazdi and by Fu^dji (d. 963/1556 or after 988/1580 [q.v.]), the Turkish poet who also wrote in Persian, but his most distinguished work here was perhaps the R. fi 'l-mu'am' by Mir Husayn al-Husayni (d. 904/1499), called Mu'am-ma', which gained an authoritative status, attracting commentaries in Persian and Turkish.

Mention may be made here of a few important risdla on miscellaneous topics, such as that of Faridun b. Ahmad Sipah-salâr, a biographical account of the leaders of the Mevllevi order and an important aid to the study of the history of Súfism; his author was a high military commander who spent forty years as a disciple of Djalal al-Dm Rumi (d. 672/1273 [q.v.]), and undertook the writing of his work soon after the death of his spiritual mentor.

In the field of music, Dm's name is cited, as also, of the astronomer Ghiyath al-Dln Mansur, who is said that of Sadr al-Dm Muhammad (d. 903/1498), son of...

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In Ottoman Persian, as well as in the usual meanings in Arabic and Persian, *risāla* also denoted “a piece of cloth fixed to the front of a dervish’s ḏāʾr or cap” and, by the 19th century, “a booklet or a weekly or monthly journal” (this last often called a *risāla-yi maqūkitā* (see Redhouse, Dictionary, and Pakūn, s.v.). Given such a strong Persian cultural influence on the early Ottomans, there was a secretarial class at the court in Konya, from which the other functions developed. This may be related to the space above the first level, also called *samdwa* (which may have been derived from the word for sky, *samd^*, though it was argued that it was not; cf. Ibn ʿAbd Allah (d. 1070/1660) and even goes back to the opening decades of the 9th/15th century, the court poet Mehmed ʿal-Kāhitī, Menbūʿīt ʿl-invād, ed. Şinasi Tekin, in *Sources of Oriental languages and literatures* 2, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 9-11.

The constituent departments of the Ottoman chancery and their staff are examined in the articles *diwdn kalemi* and *riwdk*, which has been called *samdwa* or *risālad* (see Inalcığ, Menbūʿīt ʿl-invād, ed. Şinasi Tekin, in *Sources of Oriental languages and literatures* 2, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 9-11).

The secretaries working in the Ottoman chancery (dīvdn kalemi) had to have a thorough education in all branches of literary composition for correspondence, including the correct forms of address for different ranks of persons, and such skills as calligraphy, all of which being part of what were termed the fīwn-i kištāb us terassul. Hence for such secretaries, various manuals of secretarialship were composed (for details, see Inalcığ, *art. cit.*), including what might be called “quick reference works”. These comprised works on epistolographic theory, with model or abstract examples of letters (collections of actual letters and administrative documents) and works which combined both a theoretical section with actual examples. The first type exists only in the Persian used amongst the Rūm Saldjūks (see Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 10), but the remaining two comprise various works written in Turkish.

We know of two chancery manuals in Turkish from the opening decades of the 9th/15th century, the court poet Ahmed-i Daʾūd’s *Tarrūṣ* (see I. H. Ertaylan, Ahmed-i Daʾūd’s hayat ve eserleri, Istanbul 1952, 157-60, with facsimile text 325-8; edition, tr. and annotation by W. Björkman, *Die Anfänge der türkischen Briefsammlungen*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, v [1956, publ. 1957]) and Yāḥyā b. Meḥmūd ʿal-Kāhitī’s *Menbūʿīt ʿl-invād*, the oldest surviving copy of which (B.N. suppl. turc 660) dates from 883/1478 (ed. from this ms. by Tekin, *op. cit.*). Others follow in the early 10th/16th century, such as the *Güllüg-i ʿinād* of Meḥmūd b. Adham Amsaway, composed during the reign of Selīm I (see Bursāl Meḥmūd Tāhir, ’Ōmānī mülêkitleri, i, 170-32; Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 12), and the *Güllüg-i sad berg* by the poet Məšēsh (d. 918/1512 [q.v.]), of which several ms. exist. According to Inalcığ, Məšēsh’s collection forms the basis of the *Mansūh* of Ferdisp Bēg (see below) (see Inalcığ, *art. cit.*, at 678).

Collections of diplomatic and official documents, form the *inād* or *mansūh* collections, and these also include official and diplomatic resp. proper, i.e. letters to governors, rulers, etc., which may be in Arabic, Persian or Turkish. The oldest of this mixed type is a *Meṣlēmāʾ-yi mansūh* of Persian and Turkish letters belonging to the periods of Meḥmūd the Conqueror and Bāyəzid II (publ. by N. Lugul and A.Š. Erzi, Istanbul 1956; see also Şinasi Tekin, *op. cit.*, 11-12). The celebrated *Mansūh* of Ferdisp Bēg (d. 991/1583 [q.v.]) was early published (Istanbul 1274-5/1857-9), and an unknown contemporary of his further compiled a similar collection of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish documents ranging from the time of the Conqueror to that of Meḥmūd III, the latest document stemming from 986/1578 (see H. Ilaydīn and A.Š. Erzi, *timurîn*, Amasyawi, composed during the reign of Selīm I (see Timurînzeit, Wiesbaden 1952, 2-7, and Yahya b. Meḥmūd ʿal-Kāhitī’s *Menbūʿīt ʿl-invād*, the oldest surviving copy of which (B.N. suppl. turc 660) dates from 883/1478 (ed. from this ms. by Tekin, *op. cit.*)).
Siduh, al-Mukhassa?, Beirut, n.d, vi, 4), or, sometimes, an entire tent of a certain type similar to a fujjā, where the only support is a central post (LA, xi, 424-5). A. Dessus-Lamare, Étude sur Rawq, Riwāq, et Riwāq et leurs équivalents terms of construction, JA, cxxxviii (1950), 338-9. Despite the dicta of the Arabic lexicographers, the term is almost certainly Persian in origin.

Architecturally, the term was mainly applied to that part of a structure that forms its front. Depending on the type of structure, a riwdā could be a gallery, an ambulatory, or a portico. The term is not confined to the domain of religious architecture and is used in many different informants, such as Khalaf al-Ahmar (d. ca. 180/796 [q.v.]), as a pupil and assistant of the poet, had his meaning of transmission of books (see below). Riwdā may sometimes appear synonymous with hikāya [q.v.], and is used in classical Persian in the sense of a hadith; in modern Arabic usage it has become an equivalent of “story, novel, play.”

The active participle riwāk, having the general meaning of relater, is of particular significance for the poetry of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, when the rāyū [q.v.], as a pupil and assistant of the poet, had to retain, recite and even arrange the verses of his master. This may have served as a model for the later activity and role of transmitters in other fields as well. The intensive form rāwiya, closely associated with the name of Ḥammād (d. 155/772) [q.v.], and others, such as Khālaf al-ʿĀmār (d. ca. 180/796 [q.v.]), was reserved for the experts in collecting poetry and narrative traditions, who gathered their material from many different informants.

Riwdā generally means transmission through the spoken word, including purely oral retelling as well as recitation from notes and books. With the use of writing for the preservation of knowledge, riwdā came to mean, in practice, the transmission of a written text through oral expression. It is this function of
Based on the great value attached to oral testimony, which is hard to understand for outsiders and which is most characteristic of Islamic scholarship, *riwaya* in Islamic scholarship. The development of *'ilm al-hadīth* fostered the methodology of the study of Tradition, describing a number of recognized methods by which traditions could be received (see ḥadīth. IV.). The very heart of these methods is the concept of an authorised transmission, as expressed by *'iqlāsa* [*q.v.*], which was meant to guarantee the correctness of the textual source. The inām identifies the succession of real or supposed transmitters in the *riwaya* and thus supports the authority of a tradition or any text treated according to these rules. Manuscripts sometimes preserve, under the heading of *riwaya*, and with the confirmation of the inām at the beginning of the text, the names of those who were responsible for the transmission of the whole text from generation to generation.

The *riwaya* in a text to a *shāykh* (kirdaʿ al-ʾāda) was one of the most important ways to recommend the accuracy of a copy (ʿard), and to obtain, by attending the session and listening to the reading, the authorisation for further transmission. This highly-formalised practice was widespread in medieval Islam and is documented on many manuscripts in the form of certificates of reading or hearing (kirdaʿ, samāʿ; for a bibliography, see G. Vajda, *Transmission orale*). Few testimonies of this kind are preserved from the 4th/10th century (e.g. M. Muranyi, *Musnad hadīt Malik ibn Anas*, 134–5; Y. M. al-Sawwās, *Fihris al-ʿUmaryiyah, 691*), but internal evidence, ināmds and traditions on ʿilm (as collected by al-Bukhārī and others) indicate that this method was an established practice even centuries before. In any case, simple recitation, from memory or from notes, with the purpose of transmission, goes back to the beginning of the study of Tradition.

Formal transmission by kirdaʿ was, although closely related to the study of Tradition, applied to other genres of literature as well and can be found in all those texts that were treated in academic sessions (ḥalakāt, magālīs) designed for that purpose. Among these we find, to give but a few examples, editions of and commentaries on the dīwāns of poets, such as *Thālābī*‘s (d. 291/904) *Gharr Dīwān Zuhayr b. Abī Sulaym* (Cairo 1344/1925) or Ibn al-Qali, *Kitāb fi ḫatt ʿAllaʿ al-ʿAllâm* (ed. Diwān Šīrī Hātim al-Tāʾi wa-ʾnkḥāb-rā, ed. ʿĀdī Sulaymān Ǧāmāl, Cairo 1411/1990), works on grammar, such as Sibawayh’s (d. ca. 180/796) *Kitāb* (ed. ʿĀbd al-Salām M. Ḥārīn), and philology, such as al-Mubarrad’s (d. 286/900) *al-Kāmil fi ṭ-ʿadāb*, as well as works of adāb literature, such as al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyya’s (d. 390/1000) *al-Qālīs al-ṣāḥib* (vol. ib ed. Muhammad Mursi al-Khālī, Beirut 1981, 147–51). This implies the light of modern research. Principally, two sorts of inquiry, both indispensable for the study of early Arabic literature, deal with *riwaya*. A common procedure is to reconstruct hypothetically the sources of a work from the study of its ināmds, which include, among the ruwāṭ mentioned, earlier authors’ names. This approach is to be complemented with the critical study of *riwayāt* in the sense of transmissions of a work, given in manuscripts and by quotation. This implies the evaluation of variant readings that can be traced to particular transmitters, in contrast to variants produced by copyists. The analysis of *riwayāt* is thus a principal tool for the study of the textual history of a text-unit or a book, and is equally important for the identification of the origin of a text from the peculiar forms of editing prevalent in early Arabic literature.

At a time when transmission was not yet generally based on complete written versions, that is to say, before 250/864, the “transmitter” could indeed be the writer of a book, editing the material that he had received from his teacher. This is demonstrated, for example, for *al-Kāmil of al-Mubarrad* [*q.v.*] the *Muḥājil-adīliyya* [*q.v.*], and several classical books on *ṣūrā* [see *Maṭyāl*, iii–iii. 5]. In this sense, *riwayāt* implies redaction or recension. Closest to original authorship is the teacher’s dictation (inām; J. Pedersen, *Book*, 23 ff.), next come the student’s notes of the teachings (e.g. M. Muranyi, *Sīra, 71*); a more independent operation is the quest for material apart from personal notes or memory, and even more of redactional work is implied, when the notes of the author are edited (S. Leder, *al-Hašām ibn ʿAdi*, 9, 12).

These procedures, and the fact that the methods of transmission were not yet firmly established or consistently practised, furthermore the occurrence of *divergency* among the *riwayāt* of a text. In so far as they concerned traditions, Islamic scholarship was eager to collect variants, as was done, for example, by Muslim b. al-Hadīddī in his *Ṣahīb*. In contrast, the study of variants in various transmissions of a work is an integral part of modern scholarship.

Divergence in *riwayāt* is quite frequent for old, and even for not so very old texts (from the 3rd/9th century) of different genres (cf. R. Selheim, *al-Qālīs, 366 f., 371 f.*), and appears when a text rendered in quotations is compared to the *riwayāt* of the original work (e.g. W. Werkmeister, *Quellenuntersuchungen, 57–101, 130–1*). Variant readings are, in part, due to retelling from memory, but they cannot be understood as indicators of oral transmission. As G. Schoeler has explained in detail, notes and notebooks played an important role in early Arabic literature. Books published by their authors in this way, or edited by transmitters on the basis of notes, have to be distinguished from works which were edited by the authors themselves in a completed form.

Variant *riwayāt* may sometimes owe their existence to different versions given by the author himself during repeated lessons (e.g. Schoeler, *Frase, 210–12*), but in many cases the redactional interference of the editor-transmitters have to be taken into account (for details, see Leder, *op. cit.* 10 f., ch. 3, 4, 6). Particularly in the case of collections of ināmd-supported text-units, variants were also produced during the ongoing transmission, even after a work had been edited in a firmly-established form (idem, *Authorship*).

The study of *riwayāt* may confirm their coherence or uncover divergency. In the latter case, and in particular when divergency is significant, we may become aware that we do not have an “original”, but only several *riwayāt* of a work, as in the case of the *Sīra* by Ibn Ishaḥ (M. Muranyi, *Ibn Ishaḥ’s k. al-Maghāṣ*). In this sense, *riwayāt*, and not the authored works produced to be their origin, are the topics for textual criticism.

Asad, better known under his by-name of al-
Al-Ri^dya li-hukuk Allah,
Riyd* is contrasted with
ikhlds, "associating other things with God", at times
voided when thoughts of ostentation become mixed
with the initial purity of intention? (cf. al-Muhasib,
K. al-Ri^ya, 193-4). He also cites him at iii, 332-3, on
the various responses concerning the appropriate at-
titude towards the Devil in order to fend him off (cf.
K. al-Ri^ya, 160-3).

Ubberlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam, in hi., Ixii
Uberlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam, in hi., Ixii
(1985), 201-30; idem, Weiteres zur Frage...

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Uberlieferung der Wissenschaften im Islam, in hi., Ixii
(1985), 201-30; idem, Weiteres zur Frage...
rocky hillocks hinder the growth of urbanisation. Like all Najd, al-Riyadh suffers from a desert climate: irregular rainfall, but less than 100 m per annum, average temperatures of 35 °C in summer and 11 °C in winter, very low atmospheric humidity and a liability to violent winds raising sand storms which pose serious problems for traffic and the upkeep of public spaces.

2. History. The existence of underground water channels in the alluvial subsoil of the Wadis Hanifa and Baha allowed, well before the coming of Islam, the development of small human settlements associated with date palm groves. The most notable seems to have been Hadjar, an oasis and market mentioned by Ibn Batuta ca. 732/1332 as a place of gardens and vegetation. But it was only in the 12th/18th century that the name of al-Riyadh appears in history with the decline of Hafragh, ruined by local conflicts. The town of al-Riyadh was seized by the Al Su'ud in 1823 and 1825; the Al Su'ud then constituted comprised three-quarters of the peninsula. From then onwards, the evolution of al-Riyadh has been indissolubly linked with the political decision-making of the reigning dynasty and the decisions made to maximise the prodigious subterranean resources of the kingdom.

3. Contemporary developments. With a population of less than 30,000 in 1929, even in 1949 al-Riyadh was only a modest-sized town within fortified walls. In this year, the walls were demolished and the town grew to 83,000 people spread over 5 km². A continuous pattern of growth, strengthened by strong immigration currents, made the population pass the million point during the 1970s, to reach 1.5 million by 1993. At the same time, the desertification of the agglomeration has reached around 600 km² today, whilst the development of small human settlements is based on the Doxiadis Plan of 1968. Actually put into practice in 1978 by SCET Inter, and contains all the main options for development to be realised in the following decades. These include: an extensive network of expressways which will complete a beltway around the city in order to assist traffic circulation, vital for a highly motorised population (600,000 private cars) which lives mainly in individual habitations. Furthermore, a general application of zoning has brought about the building of university complexes around the periphery, including an Islamic University and the King Saud University, as also a diplomatic quarter which includes all the diplomatic representatives and the royal and governmental quarter or KCOMMAS. On the southeastern periphery is likewise situated the extensive housing development of Ultra al-Riyadh.

In distinction from other Arab capital cities, al-Riyadh has no historic centre and only a few preserved buildings bear witness to the former architectural traditions of Najd.

5. The urban structure. The administration of al-Riyadh is under the shared responsibility of the state and of a municipal administration, set up in 1936, whose powers were much increased in 1977. In 1951, al-Riyadh was linked to Dammam by a railway, but air travel remains the most used method of communications, the airport opened in 1952 to the north of the city, now judged inadequate, has been replaced since the 1980s by the King Khalid Airport which covers an area of 225 km². But the main preoccupation of the administration is the permanent challenge of a desert environment, against which it is setting up a double response: the systematic provision of green spaces for the whole agglomeration and an abundant provision of water. In order to satisfy a daily consumption of around 400 litres per head, the underground water levels of the region have been tapped and these resources are supplemented by the bringing in of desalinated water, whilst a growing proportion of the water used is being recycled for watering the numerous parks and gardens.


RIYADH, an Ottoman biographer of poets. Mollâ Mehmed, known as Riyadî, was the son of a certain Musaâfà Efendi of Birge (to the south-east of Izmir) and was born in 980/1572. He was first of all employed as a müddertî, later became kâshf of Hâdeb (Aleppo) in the service of the young sultan of the Cairo, al-Aziz, who made a decision in the political or economic and financial, as well as in financial and university institutions, destined to exert an influence over the Arabic and Islamic world.

4. Urban planning. After a period of uncontrolled ur-
Tezkire as a source of information on Ottoman poets, in JAOS, xcvii [1979], 643-44). But Namık Açıklıgoz gives the number as 424, including royal poets and non-royal poets in 26 extant manuscripts (see his Rıyası’l-Su’ura, AUDTCF graduate/master’s thesis Ankara 1982 unpubl.; idem, Rıyası divanı’ndan seçmeler, Ankara 1990, 28-9; on the differences of the number in the poets in the Tezkire, see Gönül Alpay [Tekin], art. Rıyası, in IA, 2nd ed., 1970, 752.

As a tezkire writer, Rıyası belongs to a group of writers who tried to cover the entire field of Ottoman poetry. Like many other historians, he selected such poets whose poetic abilities he valued as good, and he tried to justify his judgements, selecting appropriate examples from their work. From the information at the end of the Tezkire, we understand that Rıyası completed his work and presented it to Sultan Ahmed I in 1018/1609. Following the Introduction, which ends with a ka’ifa (prayer) addressing Ahmed I, it is divided into two sections (naวาด). The first section contains information about the Ottoman sultans-poets Mehemmed Fatih, Bayezid II, Selim I, Süleyman I, Selim II, Murad III, Mehemmed III and Ahmed I. In this section, he gives basic information about the lives of the sultans, such as their father’s name, their date of accession, their pen-names and their piousworthy deeds, and he quotes some verses both from their own poems and from those of other poets written about them.

In the second section, the biographical entries are given in alphabetical order by pen-name, and each poet is dealt with in a much more detailed way than in the first section. Here, he mentions the poet’s birthplace, if known, and his date of birth and death; his full name; and information about his family, his education, his teachers, his profession; and whether he was a judge or a teacher, or whether he held a high official rank in the government. Occasionally, he refers to poets coming from the ranks of the army. Often he dwells on the unusual characteristics or witty nature of the poets, providing witty and sarcastic hints and anecdotes about their life. Then he makes an evaluation of the poet’s poetical ability, giving some quotations from his poetry in order to prove the correctness of his judgement. Finally, he concludes by giving the poet’s photos and his burial place. Sometimes he adds to this information a chronogram commemorating the death. He usually follows this pattern of information (tarıkh) as far as possible, and if he makes omissions, this stems from a lack of information.

Besides his Tezkire, he compiled a maratab Divan consisting of 25 kasıdas, the sâki-nâma, 652 gazelât, 17 incomplete gazelât, 9 ka’ivas (of which one is in Persian), 171 rubâ’î, 89 ma’âla’s and 11 mîmâna couplets. Kasıdas are dedicated to inter alia 4’thân Mûrâd II, Murâd IV, the Grand Viziers ’Ali Pasha and Hâfiz Ahmed Pasha, and the Şehîk al-Islâm Yâhyâ Efendi.

Rıyası’s Divan is known in 30 extant mss., in scattered libraries all over the world. The Sâki-nâma, his other well-known work, was probably composed between 1011/1603 and 1012/1609, and was written in maghâribi form, consisting of 1054 couplets. Having examined this Divan in the library of the Vienna National Library, he made a careful transcription of scattered rubâ’îs in appropriate places, Rıyası tries here to describe a drinking party which took place one night, and gives very lively descriptions of the tavern-keeper, the musicians and musical instruments, the wine-cups, the cupbearer, and the psychology of the drunkards. In addition to these, he describes very lively scenes taken from the real life of his time, sc. the beginning of the 11th/17th century.

His third work, the Dâütür’l-ânâm, is a Persian-Turkish encyclopaedic dictionary which was probably written ca. 1016/1607 and consists of 1050 phrases, expressions and some special usages of Persian phrases, with explanations of the grammatical issues. He also quotes Persian couplets in order to explain how these special usages and grammatical forms were used. Later, the author of the Farhang-i Shû’ûrî, Hasan Shû’ûrî, wrote an addendum to this work called the Farhang-i mûkaffa’ gâbîş-ta’halî (Topkapı Sarayı türkçe yazmalar katalogu, ii, 48).

Rıyası’s Divan has not yet been published, but is accessible in a number of mss., a list of which is given by Babinger, GOW, no. 178; another one is in Süleymaniye, Lala Ismail no. 314. On a German translation of an extract from it by V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau, see ZDMG, xx (1866), 439, no. 3.

Besides the above-mentioned works, there are other religious, historical and literary works of his recorded in the bibliographical works and in some historical sources, including 1. Siyer; 2. an abbreviated Turkish translation of Ibn Khâlikân’s Wafâyât al-â’yân; 3. Şahî’î’s al-latâ’tîf fi anwa’r al-‘ulâm wa l-ma’ârîfî; 4. Ka’îf al-bâjdîgân ‘an wa’dî al-ta’awwûb; and 5. Risâlat fi ‘ilm al-hayân.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Rıdâ, Tezkire, 38-9; Belîz, Gâdide-i rıyası-i tibrîzî ve safiyevî dâmsîch-u-râsîn-i nâdîrân, 401; Şehîkî Mehemmed, Wâdînî’l-fudalân, 133; 1’Ushkhâ’î-zâdê Seyyid ’Ibrâhîm, Deyrî-ı ’Ushkhâ’î-zâdê, fol. 48a; Siidi’llî-ı oğlumî, ii, 425; J. von Hammer, GOD, iii, 367; Bursalî Mehemmed Tâhir, 3. ‘Olmânî mâ’éîflerî, ii, 183-4 (with references); Babinger, GOW, 177-8; Namîk Açıklıgoz, Divan edebiyatindan metin ve XVII. yüzü yârînînden Rıyasî’nîn iki maktaba, in Fırat Universitési Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, i/2 (Elâzîg 1987), 7-14; idem, Rıyası, hayâtî, eserleri ve edebî kişiliği, Ph.D. diss., 3 voll., Fırat Üniversitesi, Elâzîg 1986, unpubl.

(GÖNUL ALPAY TEKIN)
mathematical discipline [see AL-DJABR WA 'L-MUKABALA]. The event was crucial, and was seen as such by contemporaries, as much for the style of this mathematics as for the ontology of its object and, even more, the richness of the possibilities which it offered for the future. The style was at the same time algorithmic and demonstrative, and at that time and henceforth, with this algebra, the great potentiality which would suffuse mathematics from the 3rd/9th century onwards, may be glimpsed: the application of mathematical disciplines to each other. In other words, if algebra, through its style and the generality of its object, made these applications possible, the latter, by their number and the diversity of their nature, did not cease to modify the shape of mathematics after the 3rd/9th century.

Al-Khārazmī's successors progressively undertook the application of arithmetic to algebra, of algebra to arithmetic, from each of these to trigonometry, from algebra to the Euclidian theory of numbers, from algebra to geometry and from geometry to algebra. These applications were always those laying the basic foundations for new disciplines or new chapters. Thus there saw light the algebra of polynomials, combinatorial analysis, numerical analysis, solving of numerical equations, the new elementary theory of numbers and the geometrical construction of equations. Other effects were to result from these multiple applications, such as the separation of the integer Diophantine analysis from rational Diophantine analysis, which became a complete, separate chapter of algebra under the title of "indeterminate analysis".

From the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the mathematical landscape was no longer the same; it became transformed and its horizons widened. From the outset, we witness an extension of Hellenistic arithmetic and geometry: the theory of conics and that of parallels, projective studies, Archimedean methods did not cease to modify the shape of mathematics after the 3rd/9th century. The event was crucial, and was seen as such by contemporaries, as much for the style of this mathematics as for the ontology of its object and, even more, the richness of the possibilities which it offered for the future. The style was at the same time algorithmic and demonstrative, and at that time and henceforth, with this algebra, the great potentiality which would suffuse mathematics from the 3rd/9th century onwards, may be glimpsed: the application of mathematical disciplines to each other. In other words, if algebra, through its style and the generality of its object, made these applications possible, the latter, by their number and the diversity of their nature, did not cease to modify the shape of mathematics after the 3rd/9th century.

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He introduces the idea of normal form, and requires the reduction of each of the preceding equations to the normal corresponding form. From this there results, in particular, for the trinomial equations:

\[ x^2 + px = q, \quad x^2 + px + q, \quad x^2 + q = px. \]

He then passes to the determination of the algorithmic formulae for solutions. He demonstrates equally the different formulae for solutions not algebraically but by means of the idea of the equality of areas. He was apparently inspired by a quite recent knowledge of Euclid's Elements, translated by his colleague in the "House of Wisdom", al-Hajjājī b. Ṭabātābā. The transmission of his proto-geometrical proofs; this is the way pursued by Ibn Turk, who without adding anything new, resumed a discussion of the proof which was imitated by "√2" and "√3", its square, positive rational numbers, the laws of arithmetic of \( ±, x/+, √\), and of equality. The main concepts then introduced by al-Khūrizmī are the equation of the first degree, that of the second degree, associated binomials and trinomials, algorithmic solutions and the demonstration of the formula for solutions. The concept of the equation appears in his book to denote an infinite class of problems and not, as with e.g. the Babylonians, in the course of the solution of one or other problem. On the other hand, equations are not presented in the course of the solution of problems to be solved, as amongst the Babylonians and Diophantus, but, from the outset, from the starting-point of primitive terms whose combinations are to yield all the possible forms. Thus, immediately after having given the basic terms, he gives the following six types:

\[ ax^2 = bx, ax^2 = c, bx = c, ax^2 + bx = c, ax^2 + c = bx, ax^2 = bx + c. \]

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more closely-argued (see Aydin Sayili, *Logical necessities in mixed equations by ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Turk and the algebra of his time*, Ankara 1962, 145 ff.). More important was the way taken a little later by Thābit b. Kurra. This last went back in effect to the Elements of Euclid, in order at the same time to establish al-Khwārizmī’s proofs on more solid geometrical foundations and also to render geometrically the equations of the second degree. Thābit was moreover the first to distinguish clearly between the two methods, algebraic and geometrical, regarding which he tried to show that they both led in the end to the same result, i.e. to the geometrical interpretation of algebraical procedures.

But this geometrical rendering by Thābit of al-Khwārizmī’s equations shows itself as particularly important, as will be seen, for the development of the theory of algebraic equations. Another rendering, very different, took place a little later by Thabit b. Kurra. This last went back in effect to the Elements into algebraic equations but also a solid problem, that given in Archimedes’ *The sphere and the cylinder*, as a cubic equation (see below).

One witnesses, moreover, following al-Khwārizmī, the extension of algebraic calculation. This was perhaps, the main theme of research and the one most shared together by the algebraists following him. Thus one began by extending the very terms of algebra as far as the sixth power of the unknown, as may be seen with Abū Kāmil and Sinān b. al-Ṭāḥ. The latter defined, furthermore, the powers multiplicatively (see on the powers, in Sinān, Rashed, *Entre arithmétique et algèbre. Recherches sur l’histoire des mathématiques arabes*, Paris 1984, 21 n. 11), thus differing from Abū Kāmil, who gave an additive definition. It was the latter’s work in the field of algebra which marks both the epoch and the history of algebra (in his *K. al-Djab ur t-muḍābala*). As well as the extension of algebraic calculation, he brought within his book a new chapter in algebra, indeterminate analysis or Diophantine rational analysis.

2. One would not be able to understand anything about the future history of algebra if one did not underline the contributions of the two currents of research which developed in the period considered above. The first was concerned with the study of irrational quantities, whether on the occasion of a reading of Book X of the Elements, or, in some manner, independently. One may mention, amongst many other mathematicians who participated in this work of research, the names of al-Māhānī, Sulaymān b. Ḫūṣnī, al-Khāzin [q.v.], al-Ahwāsī, Yūḥannā b. Yūṣuf and al-Rashīmī.

The second current was stimulated by the translation into Arabic of the *Arithmetics* of Diophantus, and, notably, by the algebraical reading of this latter book. Now this *Arithmetics*, even if it was not a work of algebra in al-Khwārizmī’s sense, nevertheless contained techniques of algebraic calculation, effective for the time: substitutions, eliminations, changes of variables, etc. It was the object of commentaries by mathematicians like Kūṣṭā b. Lūkā [q.v.], its translator in the 3rd/9th century, and al-Būzāḏānī a century later, but these texts are unfortunately lost.

Whatever may have been the case, this progress in algebraic calculation, whether by its extension to other domains or by the mass of technical results obtained, resulted finally in a renewal of the discipline itself. A century and a half after al-Khwārizmī, the Baghdad mathematician al-Karadjī [q.v.] conceived another project of research: the application of arithmetic to algebra, i.e. the systematic study of the application of the laws of arithmetic and of certain of its algorithms to the algebraic expressions and, in particular, to polynomials. This is exactly this calculation on the algebraic expressions of the form

\[ f(x) = \sum_{k=-m}^{n} a_k x^k, \quad m, n \in \mathbb{Z}_+ \]

which became the main object of algebra. The theory of algebraic equations is certainly always present, but occupies only a modest place amidst the preoccupations of the algebraists. One realises that, from this time onwards, the books about algebra undergo modifications not only in their content but also in their organisation.

Without going over here the history of six centuries of algebra let us illustrate this impact of al-Karadjī’s work by turning to another of his successors of the 6th/12th century, al-Samawāl (d. 569/1174), who integrated within his book on algebra, al-Bāhīr, the main writings of al-Karadjī. Al-Samawāl began by defining, quite generally, the idea of algebraic powers (he writes, after having noted in a table on both sides of \( x^n \), the powers of \( x \) on one and the other side of the unity from one of them we count in the direction of the unity the number of elements of the table which separate the other power from the unity, and the number is on the same side as the unity.

If the two powers are of the same side of the unity, we count in the direction opposite to the unity”; see Al-Bāhīr en algèbre d’al-Samawāl, ed., introd. and notes by S. Ahmad and R. Rashed, Damascus 1972), and, thanks to the definition \( x^0 = 1 \), gives the rule equivalent to \( x^m x^n = x^{m+n}, m, n \in \mathbb{Z} \). Then there follows the study of the arithmetical operations on monomials and polynomials, notably those of the divisibility of polynomials, as also the approximation of the fractions by the elements of the ring of the polynomials. Thus one has, e.g.

\[ f(x) = \frac{20x^2 + 30x}{6x^2 + 12} \approx \frac{10}{3} \quad \frac{5}{x} \quad 20 \quad -10 \]

\[ g(x) = \frac{40 + 40 + 80}{x^3 + 3x^2 + x^2} = \frac{40}{-3x^2} \quad \frac{20}{-3x^2} \quad \frac{80}{-3x^2} \quad \frac{40}{-3x^2} \quad \frac{10}{-3x^2} \]

in which al-Samawāl obtains a kind of limited development

\[ f(x) = \frac{\varphi(x)}{\phi(x)}, \quad \text{which is only valid for } x \text{ when it is sufficiently great.} \]

One then finds the extraction of the square root of a polynomial with rational coefficients. But, for all these calculations regarding polynomials, al-Karadji had devoted a work, at present lost but fortunately cited by al-Samawāl, in which he exerts himself to establish the formula of the binomial development and the table of coefficients

\[ \sum_{k=0}^{n} \begin{pmatrix} n \\ k \end{pmatrix} a_k b^{n-k} = \left( a + b \right)^n. \]

It is on the occasion of the demonstration of this formula that one witnesses the appearance, in an archaic form, of the complete, finite induction as a procedure of the proof in mathematics. Amongst the means of auxiliary calculation, al-Samawāl gives, following al-Karadji, the sum of the different arithmetical progressions, with their proof:
\[ \sum_{k=1}^{n} k, \sum_{k=1}^{n} k^2, \left( \sum_{k=1}^{n} k \right)^2, \sum_{k=1}^{n} k (k+1), \ldots \]

There then follows the reply to the following question: "How can the multiplication, division, addition, subtraction and extraction of roots be used in regard to irrational quantities?" (see Ahmad and Rashed, *Al-Bïhâr en algèbre ...*, 37). The reply to this question led al-Karâjî and his successors to read in an algebraic fashion and in a deliberate manner, Book X of the *Elements*, to extend to infinity the monomials and binomials given in that book and to propose rules for calculation, amongst which one finds explicitly formulated the one of al-Mâhâni

\[ \left( \frac{1}{n} \right)^m = \frac{1}{n^m} \]  

with others like the following

\[ \left( \frac{1}{m} \pm \frac{1}{n} \right)^m = \frac{1}{m+n} \pm \frac{1}{m-n} \]

There is also to be found an important chapter on rational diophantine analysis and another one on the resolution of systems of linear equations with several unknowns. Al-Samaw'âl's gives a system of 210 linear equations with ten unknowns.

Starting from the works of al-Karâjî, one sees a trend of research in algebra taking shape, a recognisable tradition regarding the content and organisation of each of the works.

At the heart of this trend, the chapter on the theory of algebraic equations, properly speaking, without being central had nevertheless made some progress. Al-Karâjî himself considered, like all his predecessors, quadratic equations. Certain of his successors tried, however, to study the solution of cubic equations and equations of the fourth degree. Thus al-Sulamî in the 6th/12th century concentrated on cubic equations in order to find a solution through radicals (al-Mukaddima al-fî hiṣâb al-dâbr wa l-mâkhâbala, Collection Paul Sbat, no. 5, ff. 92b-93a). This text of his bears witness to the interest of the mathematicians of his time, brought to bear on the solution by radicals of cubic equations.

3. The algebraists who were also arithmeticians concentrated on the solution by radicals of equations, and sought to justify the algorithm of the solution. One even encounters sometimes, in the same mathematician (e.g. Abû Kâmil), two justifications, one geometrical and the other algebraical. For the cubic equation, they lacked not only solutions by radicals but also the justification of the algorithm of solution, since the solution could not be constructed by means of a ruler and a compass. Recourse to conic sections, explicitly meant to resolve cubic equations, rapidly followed the first algebraic renderings of solid problems. We have mentioned, from the 3rd/9th century, al-Mâhâni and Archimedes' lemma (see how al-Khâyâmî traced in this manner this story in his famous treatise of algebra, *L'œuvre algébrique d'al-Khâyâmî*, Aleppo 1981, 11-12); other problems, such as, notably, the trisection of an angle, the two means and the regular heptagon, were very soon rendered in algebraic terms. But, on the other hand, confronted by the difficulty mentioned before, and thus by that in resolving cubic equations by means of radicals, the mathematicians of the 4th/10th century like al-Khâzîn, Ibn 'Irâk, Abu 'l-Djûd b. al-Layhî and al-Shannî, were led to render this equation in the language of geometry (op. cit., 82-4). They thus found themselves applying to the study of this equation a technique already at that time currently used for the examination of solid problems, i.e. the intersection of conic curves. It is precisely in this that there is found the main reason for the geometrisation of the theory of algebraic equations. This time, contrary to Thâbit b. Kurra, people did not try to render geometrically algebraic equations in order to find the geometrical equivalent of the algebraic solution already obtained, but tried to determine, with the help of geometry, the positive roots of the equation which people had not been able to achieve otherwise. The attempts of al-Khâzîn, al-Kûhî, Ibn al-Layhî, al-Shannî, al-Bûrûnî, etc., are in this way partial contributions, up to the conception of the project by 'Umar al-Khâyâmî (*439-526/1048-1131*) (*q.v.*): the elaboration of a geometrical theory of equations of the third degree or less. For each of these types of equations, al-Khâyâmî found a construction of a positive root through the intersection of two conics. Thus e.g. in order to solve the equation "a cube is equal to a certain number of sides plus a number", i.e.

\[ x^3 = bx + c \]

al-Khâyâmî only considered the positive root. In order to determine it, he proceeded by means of the intersection of a half-parabola and a branch of an equilateral hyperbola.

In order to elaborate upon this new theory, al-Khâyâmî saw himself as endeavouring the better to conceive and to formulate the new relationships between geometry and algebra. One needs to remember that, in this regard, the fundamental concept introduced by him was that of the unit of measurement which, suitably defined in relation to that of dimension, allowed the application of geometry to algebra. Now this application led al-Khâyâmî in two directions, which may seem at first view paradoxical: at a time when algebra was then identifying itself with the theory of algebraic equations, this last seemed henceforth, though still timidly, to be transcending the gap between algebra and geometry. The theory of equations was above all a place where algebra and geometry met, and, more and more, ways of reasoning and algebraic methods. In his treatise, al-Khâyâmî arrived at two remarkable results which historians normally attribute to Descartes: a general solution for all equations of the third degree through the intersection of two conics, and, on the other hand, a geometrical calculation made possible by the choice of the unit of length, whilst nevertheless remaining, contrary to Descartes, faithful to the rule of homogeneity.

One should note that al-Khâyâmî did not stop there, but tried to give an approximate numerical solution for the cubic equation. Thus in his work called *On the division of a quadrant of a circle* (op. cit., 80), in which he announced a new project on the theory of equations, he got as far as an approximate numerical solution by means of trigonometrical tables.

4. Up to recently, it was thought that the contribution of the mathematicians of this time to the theory of algebraic equations was limited to al-Khâyâmî and his work. But in fact, it was nothing like this at all. Not only did al-Khâyâmî's work inaugurate a complete tradition, but, moreover, it became deeply transformed hardly half-a-century after his death.

Two generations after him, we come across one of the most important works of this current of ideas, *Sharîf al-Dîn al-Tûsî's treatise On equations* (see *Sharîf
al-Dïn al-Tïsï. Oeuvres mathématiques. Algèbre et géométrie au XIIe siècle, ed., tr. and comm. R. Rashed, Paris 1986, 2 vols.). This treatise (ar. 565/1170) brings forward some very important innovations in regard to the work of al-Khayyâm. Contrasted with that of his predecessor, al-Tïsï's approach was not global and algebraic but local and analytical. This radical change, particularly important in the history of classical mathematics, was able to construct a bridge between classical algebra and the prehistory of infinitesimal methods (see op. cit.).

But al-Tusi's example is sufficient to show that the theory of equations not only became transformed after the time of al-Khayyâm, but never stopped getting further and further away from the search for solutions by means of radicals; it thus finished by covering a vast domain, and included sectors which later were to belong to analytical geometry or simply to analysis.

II. Combinatorial analysis.

Combinatorial activity began by revealing itself as such, but in a diaphoretic manner, amongst the linguists on one side and the algebraists on the other. It was only later that the meeting between the two currents was to take place and that combinatorial analysis was to present itself as a mathematical tool applicable to the most various situation: linguistic, philosophical, mathematical, etc. It is then that one can speak of combinatorial activity in Arabic. Already in the 3th/9th century, this activity can be found amongst the linguists and philosophers who set forth problems connected with language, within three spheres in particular: phonology, lexicography and, finally, cryptography [see MUÎAMMA]. The name of al-Khalîl b. Ahmad (99-169/718-866 [q.v.]) marks the history of these three disciplines. He had explicit recourse, for his founding of Arabic lexicography, to a calculation of arrangements and combinations. For his lexicon, he began by calculating the number of combinations, without repeating, of the letters of the alphabet, taken r to r, with r = 2, ..., 5, and then the number of permutations in each group of r letters. In other terms, he calculated

$$A_r^n = r! \binom{n}{r},$$

n being the number of letters of the alphabet, $1 < r \leq n$.

Now this theory and method calculation used by al-Khalîl recurs later in the writings of most of the lexicographers. They further were utilised in cryptography, developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards by al-Kindî and then, at the end of that same century and the beginning of the next one, by linguists like Ibn Wahshiyya [q.v.], Ibn Tabîtabâ, amongst several others. In the practice of their discipline, the cryptographers had recourse to the phonological analysis of al-Khalîl, calculation of letter frequency in Arabic and that of permutations, substitutions and combinations.

At the same time as this important activity in the field of combination, the algebraists, as we have seen, had put forward and demonstrated, at the end of the 4th/10th century, the rule for the formation of the arithmetical triangle for the calculation of binomials coefficients. Al-Karâdi (Ahmad and Rashed, al-Bîhîr en algèbre d'al-Samawâl, 104 ff.) had in effect laid down the rule

$$\binom{n}{r} = \binom{n-1}{r-1} + \binom{n-1}{r},$$

(*)

The algebraists applied the new rules in their calculations. E.g. al-Samawâl (ibid., Ar. text 232, introd. 77 ff.) set forth ten unknowns and searched for a system of linear equations with six unknowns. He then combined these ten figures, considered as symbols of these unknowns—today they would be called indices—six to six, and thus obtained his system of 212 equations. He likewise proceeded by means of these combinations to find the 504 conditions of compatibility within this system. All these combinatorial activities, these rules discovered in the course of linguistic research and algebraical studies, made up the concrete conditions for the emergence of this new chapter in mathematics. It remains, however, to note that the act of this chapter's birth consisted in the explicitly combinatorial interpretation of the arithmetical triangle, and of its law of formation, i.e. the rules given by al-Karâdî as tools of calculation. It would be excessive to think that the algebraists had not seized upon this interpretation fairly quickly. We are, on the contrary, more and more convinced that this interpretation had been noticed by the algebraists but that they had no stimulus for them to give an explicit formulation of it. The combinatorial interpretation is certainly there, very probably before the 7th/13th century, as we are now able to show thanks to a text of the mathematician and philosopher Naṣîr al-Dîn al-Tüsi (597-671/1201-73 [q.v.]), until the present time unknown. A reading of this text [see Rashed, Métaphysique et combinatoire, forthcoming] shows that he knew of this interpretation, that he put it forward in a totally natural fashion as something readily admitted and expressed it in a terminology which is to be found, either wholly or in part, in his successors. In the course of this study, he was led to calculate the number of combinations of n distinct objects taken k to k, with $1 \leq k \leq n$. Thus he calculated for $n = 12$

$$\sum_{k=1}^{n} \binom{n}{k},$$

and used in the course of his calculation the equality

$$\binom{n}{k} = \binom{n}{n-k}.$$

One should now note that al-Tüsi had given in his book on arithmetic (Qâwûmûnî al-hisab, ed. A.S. Saidan, in al-Abîb, xx/2-3 [1967], 141-6) the arithmetical triangle and its law of formation. He calculated an expression equivalent to

$$\sum_{k=0}^{m} \binom{m}{k} \binom{n}{p-k}$$

with $1 \leq p \leq 16, n = 12$.

After al-Tüsi at least, and very probably before him, one will continually come across the combinatorial interpretation of the arithmetical triangle and its law of formation, as well as the ensemble of elementary rules of combinatorial analysis. As we have shown, towards the end of this same century and at the beginning of the next, 8th/14th, Kamâl al-Dîn al-Fârîsî (d. 719/1319 [q.v.]), in a treatise on the theory of numbers, returned to this interpretation and established the use of the arithmetical triangle for the numerical orders, i.e. the result which one normally attributed to Pascal. In effect, in order to form the represented numbers (see Rashed, Matériaux pour l'histoire des nombres amiables et de l'analyse combinatoire, in Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science, vi [1982], 209-78; idem, Nombres amiables, parties aliquotes et nombres figurés aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, in Archive for Hist. of Exact Science, xxviii [1983], 107-49, repr. in Entre arithmétique...
et algèbre . . . 259.99), al-Fārāsi set up a relationship equivalent to
\[
F_p^{qr} = \sum_{k=1}^{p} F_q^{k-1} = \left( \frac{p + q - 1}{q} \right)
\]
with \(F_p^q\) the \(p^n\) represented number of the order \(q, F_q^1 = 1\).

But at the same time as al-Fārāsi was busy with his studies in Persia, Ibn al-Banna\(^2\) (cf. reference above) (d. 721/1321) was at work in Morocco on combinatorial analysis. In effect he went back to the combinatorial interpretation and took up the rules which were known before his time, notably those of the arrangement of \(n\) distinct objects, without repetition, \(r\) to \(r\), of permutations and combinations without repetition:
\[
\binom{n}{r} = \frac{n(n-1) \ldots (n-r+1)}{r!}
\]
relations which were readily deducible from the expression (*) given by al-Karadji three centuries before.

Al-Fārāsi and Ibn al-Banna\(^2\) not only followed after al-Ṭūsī but used the greater part of the technical lexicon already adopted by the latter. With these authors, combinatorial analysis no longer had as its domain algebraic or linguistic applications only, but the most varied domains, e.g. metaphysics, i.e. every domain in which scholars were concerned with the partition of a set of objects.

This concept and this chapter were to survive up the present time. Scholars were to continue to treat combinatorial analysis differently in different works of mathematics, and independent works were also to be devoted to it. Thus later mathematicians like al-Kūshī (d. 840/1436-7 [q.v.] (see his Miftah al-hisāb, ed. A.S. al-Dimirdash and M.H. al-Hifm, Cairo 1967, 73-4, where he gives the law for the composition of the domain in which scholars were concerned with the combinatorial rules—but also a vast domain of the most varied domains, e.g. metaphysics, i.e. every domain in which scholars were concerned with the partition of a set of objects.

Thus amongst the formulae which circulated at the opening of the 4th/10th century, two should be particularly noted, each called "the conventional approximation":
\[
\sqrt{N} = a + \frac{r}{2a + 1} \quad \text{and} \quad \sqrt{N} = a + \frac{r}{3a^2 + 3a + 1}
\]
At the end of this century, the mathematicians possessed, according to all the evidence, the so-called Ruffini-Horner method. Kūshīyār b. al-Lābān [q.v.] applied this algorithm, in all appearance of Indian origin, in his Arithmetic (Kūshīyār ibn Labān, principes of Hindu reckoning, tr. M. Levey and M. Petrick, Madison 1965; see the Arabic text established by A. Saidan, in Rev. de l'Inst. de manuscrits arabes, Cairo [May 1967], 55-83). We know at present that Ibn al-Haytham (d. after 431/1040) not only knew of this algorithm but endeavoured himself to give a mathematical justification for it. It is his general approach which we will set forth here, but in a different language.

Let the polynomial with integer coefficients \(f(x)\) and the equation be
\[
(*) \quad f(x) = N
\]
Let \(s\) be a positive root of this equation, and let us suppose \((s_i) \geq 0\) (index) to be a series of positive integers such that the partial sums are
\[
\sum_{i=0}^{N} s_i \leq s
\]
one says that the \(s_i\) are parts of \(s\).

It is evident that the equation
\[
i_0 = f(x + s_0) - f(s_0) - N = N_0
\]
has as its roots those of equation (*) diminished by \(s_0\).

For \(i > 0\), let us form by recurrence the equation
\[
f(x) = f(x + s_0 + \ldots + s_i) - l(f(s_0 + \ldots + s_i) - l(f(s_0 + \ldots + s_i))) = N_i;
\]
thus, e.g. for \(i = 1\), we have
\[
f(x) = f(x + s_0 + s_1) - f(s_0 + s_1) = [N - f(s_0)] - (f(s_0 + s_1)) = N_0 - (f(s_0 + s_1)) = N_1.
\]

The method used by Ibn al-Haytham and justified by him, which is found in Kūshīyār and is called Ruffini-Horner, furnishes an algorithm which allows us to obtain the coefficients of the \(i^{th}\) equation from the starting point of the coefficients of the \((i-1)^{th}\) equation. The principal idea behind this method lies here (see Rashed, Les mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IVe et le XIe siècle, ii, London 1994).

The ensemble of methods and of preceding results, gained at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, then comes up again not only in the contemporaries of these mathematicians but in the majority of the treatises on arithmetic, henceforth very numerous.

The mathematicians were in possession of the arithmetical triangle and the binomial formula from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards, and were not to meet any major difficulties for the generalisation of the preceding methods and for the formulation of the algorithm in the case of the root n. Similar attempts, unfortunately lost, already existed in the 5th/11th century with al-Biruni and al-Hasib. It was in his contribution of 568/1172-3 that al-Kashi, in al-Kashi himself and also in his successors, notably Abu Kamil, in his book written ca. 266/1172-3, and it shows that the algebra of polynomials is essential to the invention of these fractions. These last survive in the work of al-Kashi (Miftah al-hisab, 79, 121; P. Luckey, Die Rechenkunst bei Ganndal b. Mas’ud al-Kashi, Wiesbaden 1951, 103. Cf. Rashed, Entre arithmetique et algébre, 132 ff.), and appear again in the works of the mathematician and astronomer of the 10th/16th century, Taki al-Din Ma’ruf (Baghayt al-tullub, fol. 131a ff.) and al-Yadzi (in his Uyun al-hisab one cannot fail to discern a certain familiarity with decimal fractions, although he preferred to make calculations with sexagesimal fractions and ordinary ones, see e.g. fols. 9b, 49a-b) in the 11th/17th century. Several indications suggest that they were transmitted to the West before the middle of that century, and they are named in a Byzantine manuscript brought to Venice in 1562 as “Turkish” fractions (al-Kashi introduced a vertical stroke which separated the fractional part; this representation is found amongst Western scholars like Rudolf, Apian and Cardan). The mathematician Mizrahi (b. Constantinoiple 1455) used the same sign before Rudolf. As for the Byzantine ms., it reads, notably, “The Turks make multiplications and divisions of fractions by means of a special procedure for calculation. They introduced their fractions when they came to rule our land here”. The example given by this writer leaves no possible doubt about the fact that he is speaking here of decimal fractions. Cf. H. Hunger and K. Vogel, Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhundert, Vienna 1963, 32 (problem no. 36).

Let us finally note that the methods of interpolation were already, long before this, applied by astronomers. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, they sought out methods for formulating and using astronomical and trigonometrical tables and, on this occasion, came back to methods of interpolation in order to improve them.

The numerousness of methods at the end of the 4th/10th century has set a new problem for research: how is one to compare these different methods amongst themselves, in order to be able to choose the most efficacious for the tabulation of the cotangent function being studied? Al-Biruni himself began to take this problem for his own consideration and to place side-by-side different methods for the case of the cotangent function, with its difficulties which are connected with the existence of the poles. In the next century, al-Samawal was even more explicitly concerned with this task.

The mathematicians not only pursued their researches on the fractions, but equally applied themselves to other disciplines like astronomy. Thus Kamal al-Din al-Farsi had recourse to one of them—called faws al-khild, the arc of the difference—in order to establish the table of refractions. But this method called “the arc of the difference”, applied by al-Farsi at the opening of the 8th/14th century, goes back to al-Khazin in the 4th/10th century, and was to be taken up again in the 9th/15th century by al-Kamal in his Zaid al-abd. This last example shows well that, for this chapter, it is a case of stages in an identical tradition.

IV. Indeterminate analysis.

The emergence of indeterminate analysis or, as it is called today, Diophantine analysis, as a distinct chapter of algebra, goes back to al-Kharaqmi’s successors, notably Abu Kamil, in his book written ca. 266/880.

Abu Kamil aimed in his Algebra not at lingering any
longer over a diffuse exposition, but at giving a more systematic exposition in which would be highlighted, as well as the problems and algorithms for solution, the methods. He did, it is true, treat in the last part of his book of the 38 Diophantine problems of the second degree and of the systems of these equations, four systems of linear, indeterminate equations, other systems of linear, determinate equations, an ensemble of problems which led to arithmetical progressions and a study of these last (this part occupies fols. 79a-110b). This whole corresponds to the double aim fixed by Abū Kāmil: to resolve indeterminate problems, and on the other hand to resolve by means of algebra the problems treated at that time by arithmetics. One should note that it is in his Algebra that one meets for the first time in history—to the present writer’s knowledge—an explicit distinction between determinate problems and indeterminate one. Now the examination of these 38 Diophantine problems does not only reflect this distinction; it further shows that these problems do not follow each other haphazardly but according to an order meticulously indicated by Abū Kāmil. The first 25 thus belong to one and the same group, for which the author gives a necessary and sufficient condition in order to determine rational, positive solutions. Let us take just two examples. The first problem in this group (fols. 79a-b) may be set forth as

\[ x^2 + 5 = y^2. \]

Abū Kāmil proposes to give two solutions amongst, as he himself proclaims, an infinity of rational solutions.

Another example of the same group is problem no. 19 (fols. 87a-b), which may be set forth as

\[ 8x - x^2 + 109 = y^2. \]

Abū Kāmil then considers the general formula

(1) \[ ax^2 + bx + c = y^2. \]

He then gives the sufficient condition for determining the rational, positive solutions of the preceding equation. This last may be expressed as

\[ y^2 + \left( \frac{a}{2} \right)^2 - x^2 = -b \left( 1 - \frac{a}{2} \right); \]

let us now suppose that \( x = \frac{a-1}{2} \), and one has

(2) \[ y^2 + \left( \frac{a}{2} \right)^2 = -b + \left( \frac{a}{2} \right)^2, \]

and the problem is thereby brought to dividing up a number, the sum of two squares, into two other squares: problem no. 12 of the same group, already resolved by Abū Kāmil. Let us suppose in effect that

\[ b + \left( \frac{a}{2} \right)^2 = u^2 + v^2, \]

with \( u \) and \( v \) rational numbers. Abū Kāmil poses

\[ y = u + v, \]
\[ t = 2 (kt - v), \]
he substitutes in (2) and finds the values of \( y, t \) and finally \( x \). Thus he knows that, if one of the variables can be expressed as a rational function of the other, or, in other terms, if one can have a rational parametrange, one has all the solutions; whereas, on the other hand, if the sum brings us to an expression whose root cannot be got round, one does not have any solution. In other terms, unknown to Abū Kāmil, a curve of the second degree of the genus 0 does not have any rational point, or is bi-rationally equivalent to a straight line.

The second group is made up of 13 problems—nos. 26-38—which do not allow a rational parametrange; or, this time again in a language unknown to Abū Kāmil, they define all curves of genus 1. Thus e.g. problem no. 31 (fol. 92b) may be set out as

\[ x^2 + a = y^2, \]
\[ x^2 + 1 = z^2, \]
which defines a skew quartic, a curve of \( A^3 \) of genus 1.

The third group of indeterminate problems is made up of systems of linear equations, as e.g. in no. 39 (fol. 95b) which may be set out as

\[ \begin{align*}
  a \cdot x + b \cdot x + c &= y, \\
  x^2 + y + z &= u.
\end{align*} \]

This principle of organisation was to be moreover borrowed by his successors. It is thus clear that al-Karadjī had as his aim the giving of a systematic exposition. On the other hand, he carried further the task begun by Abū Kāmil, which consisted in elucidating as far as possible the methods for each class of problems. In his al-Fakhār, al-Karadjī brought forward only the principles of this analysis, indicating that it bore notably upon the equation

\[ ax^2 + bx + c = y^2, \]
\[ a, b, c \in \mathbb{Z}, \]
in which the trinomial in \( x \) is not a square, in order to pass finally to the different classes of problems, of which the greater part are indeterminate. Al-Karadjī studied many other problems, notably double equality. Let us set simply forth the problem

\[ x^2 + a = y^2, \]

(\*)

\[ x^2 - b = z^2, \]
which defines a curve of the genus 1 in \( A^3 \).

His successors did not merely comment upon his work, but endeavoured to advance further along the road traced out by him; thus in his al-Bāhir, al-Samaw’al commented on al-Badi’ and studies equations of form:

\[ y^3 = ax + b, \]
considered then the equation

\[ y^3 = ax^2 + bx, \]
and we cannot here follow the works of al-Karadjī’s successors on rational Diophantine analysis, but can only note that, in the future, this last was to form part of every algebraic treatise of any importance. Hence, in the first half of the 6th/12th century, al-Zandjāni borrowed the greater part of al-Karadjī’s problems and of the first four books of the Arabic translation of Diophantus. Ibn al-Khwārizmī set before himself certain Diophantine equations, including Fermat’s equation for \( n = 3 \) \( (x^3 + y^3 = z^3) \), as also Kāmil al-Dīn al-Fārisī in his great commentary on the latter’s work on algebra. This interest and these works on indeterminate analysis were followed unabatedly up to the 11th/17th century with al-Yazdi and, contra what the historians of this chapter say, it was not to end with al-Karadjī.

The translation of Diophantus’ Arithmetic was not just essential to the development of rational Diophantine analysis as a chapter of algebra, but contributed
equally to the development of the integer Diophantine analysis as a chapter, not only of algebra but also of the theory of numbers. In the 4th/10th century, in effect, there took place for the first time the constituting of this chapter, probably thanks to algebra but also in opposition to it. In practice, the study of Diophantine problems was tackled by requiring on one side the obtaining of integer solutions, and on the other side the proceeding by proofs of the type of Euclid in the arithmetical books of the *Elements*. It is this combination, explicit for the first time in history—for the numerical domain, restricted to positive integer numbers interpreted as segments of straight lines, for algebraic techniques and for the requirement of giving a proof in the pure Euclidean style—which allowed the inauguration of this new Diophantine analysis. The translation of Diophantus' *Arithmetica* furnished these mathematicians, it will readily be understood, less with methods than with certain problems in the theory of numbers which were formulated there, which they did not hesitate to systematise and to examine for themselves, contrary to what can be seen in Diophantus. Such are e.g. the problems of the representation of a number as a sum of squares, congruent numbers, etc. In brief, one meets here the beginning of the new Diophantine analysis in the sense in which it was to be discovered and developed later by Bachet de Méziac and Fermat (see Rashed, *L'analyse diophantienne au Xe siècle*, in Rev. d'histoire des Sciences, xxxiii/3 [1979], 193-222, repr. in *L'arithmétique et l'algèbre*, 195-225).

Hence in an anonymous text of the 4th/10th century, after having introduced the basic concepts for studying Pythagorean triangles, the author posed questions about the integers which can be the hypotenuses of these triangles, i.e. the integers which can represent as the sum of two squares. In particular, he announced that every element of the sequence of primitive Pythagorean triplets was such that the hypotenuse is of one or other form: 5 (mod 12) or 1 (mod 12). However, he noted—like al-Khâzîn after him—that certain numbers of this sequence—e.g. 49 and 77—are not hypotenuses of such triangles. This same author also knew that certain numbers of the form 1 (mod 4) could not be hypotenuses of primitive right-angled triangles. Al-Khâzîn later studied several problems involving numerical right-angled triangles, as well as the problems of congruent numbers, and set forth the following theorem:

**if** a is a given natural integer, the following conditions are equivalent
  1. the system (*) admits of a solution;
  2. there exist a pair of integers (m, n) such that

\[ \begin{align*}
    m^2 + n^2 &= a \\
    2mn &= a
\end{align*} \]

in these conditions, a has the form 2 uv(v^2 - u^2).

It is in this tradition that scholars equally brought to bear the study of the representation of an integer as the sum of squares. Thus al-Khâzîn devoted several propositions of his treatise to the study of this.

It was likewise these mathematicians who, as the first persons to do so, posed the question of impossible problems, such as the first case of Fermat's theorem. It has long been known that al-Khâjudjandî tried to prove that "the sum of two cubic numbers is not a cube". According to al-Khâzîn (Rashed, *op. cit.*, 220), al-Khâjudjandî's proof was defective. A certain Abû Da'far also tried to prove the same proposition. This is equally defective. Even if one has had to wait till Euler for the establishing of this proof, the problem never ceased, despite everything, to preoccupy the Arab mathematicians who, later, enunciated the impossibility of the case \( x^3 + y^3 = z^3 \).

Research on the integer Diophantine analysis, and notably, on numerical right-angled triangles, did not stop with its initiators of the first half of the 4th/10th century. Quite the opposite: their successors took it up again and in the same spirit, in the course of the second half of that century and at the beginning of the next one, as the examples of Abu 'l-Dâjud Ibn al-Layth, al-Sidîrî and Ibn al-Haytham attest. Later on, others followed, in one manner or another, this line of research, such as Kamâl al-Dîn Ibn Yûsûs.

**V. The classical theory of numbers.**

The contribution of the mathematicians of the time to the theory of numbers was not limited to integer Diophantine analysis. Two other currents of research, starting from two distinct points, led to the extension and renewal of the Hellenistic theory of numbers. The first current had as its source, but also as its model, the three arithmetical books of Euclid's *Elements*, whilst the second came within the line of Neo-Pythagorean arithmetic, as it appears in the *Arithmetical introduction* of Nicomachus of Gerasa. It is in Euclid's books that there is to be found a theory of parity and a theory of the multiplicative properties of integers: divisibility, prime numbers, etc. For Euclid, an integer is however represented by a segment of a line, a representation essential for the proof of the propositions. If the Neo-Pythagoreans shared this concept of the integers and were in a wide sense attached to the study of these same properties, or of properties derived from these last, there remains the fact that, by their methods and their aims, they were to be distinguished from Euclid. Whereas the latter proceeded by proofs, these others had as their only means that of induction. Moreover, for Euclid, arithmetic had no other aim beyond itself, whilst for Nicomachus it had philosophical goals and even psychological ones. This difference in method was clearly perceived by Arab mathematicians like Ibn al-Haytham. For those of the time, it was clearly a question thus of a difference between the methods of proof and not between the aims of arithmetic. From this time, it may be understood that, despite a marked preference for the Euclidean method, mathematicians, even those of Ibn al-Haytham, was concerned, reached in the proof of certain cases by induction, in accordance with the problem posed; it is thus that Ibn al-Haytham discusses the "Chinese remainder theorem" and Wilson's theorem. Furthermore, if the mathematicians of the first rank, and in accordance with certain philosophers like Avicenna, neglected the philosophical and psychological goals assigned to arithmetic by Nicomachus, other mathematicians of lower rank, philosophers, physicians, encyclopaedists, etc., interested themselves in this arithmetic. The history of this last is thus based on that of the culture of a scholar within Islamic society over the centuries, and goes well beyond the scope of the present article.

Research into the theory of numbers in the Euclidean and Pythagorean sense began early, before the end of the 3rd/9th century. It was contemporary with the translation of Nicomachus' book by Thâbit b. Qurra (d. 288/901) and his revision of the translation of Euclid's *Elements*. It was in fact Thâbit who set in motion this research into the theory of numbers, whilst elaborating the first theory of amicable numbers. This fact, known to historians since the last century thanks to the work of F. Woepcke (*Notice sur une théorie ajoutée par Thâbit Ben Qurrah à l'arithmétique spéculative des Grecs*, in *JA*, ser. 4, ii [1832], 420-9, in which the author gives a résumé of Thâbit's
opusculum), only had its full significance realised very recently, when the existence has been established of a complete tradition, begun by Thabit in the most pure of Euclidean styles, and to some centuries later in al-Fārisī (d. 719/1319), thanks to the application of algebra to the study of the first elementary arithmetical functions. This tradition is marked out by many names: al-Karābīsī, al-Anṭākī, al-Kubayṣī, Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzajānī, al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Haytham, Ibn Hūd, al-Karādī, etc., to cite only a few of them. Clearly, one cannot in these few pages devoted to the theory, claim to give a detailed description. An attempt will simply be made to sketch this movement just mentioned.

At the end of Book IX of the Elements, Euclid gives a theory of perfect numbers and shows that the number $n = 2^p (2^{p+1} - 1)$ is a perfect one, i.e. equal to the sum of its own divisors, if $(2^{p+1} - 1)$ is a prime number. He does not mention the theory of amicable numbers, however. Thabit b. Kurra then decided to construct this theory. He set forth and proved, in pure Euclidean style, the most important theorem of amicable numbers up to this time, the one which bears his name today.

Let us note $\sigma(n)$ as the sum of the aliquot parts of the integer $n$, and $\sigma(n) = \sigma_1(n) + n$ as the sum of the divisors of $n$; and let us recall that two integers $a$ and $b$ are called amicable if $\sigma(a) = b$ and $\sigma(b) = a$.

Thabit b. Kurra's theorem:

For $n > 1$, let $p = 2^{2n} - 1$, if $p > p_0$, and $q$ are prime numbers, then $a = 2^{p_0} p_0 n$ and $b = 2^{q_0} q_0 n$ are amicable numbers.

It is with the algebraists, in particular, that the calculation of pairs of amicable numbers other than those given by Thabit was undertaken, i.e. (220, 284). Thus one finds in al-Farisi in the East, in the milieu of Ibn al-Bannā' in the West, and in al-Tamūlī and many other 7th/13th century mathematicians, the pair (17296, 18416), known under the name of Fermat's. Al-Yazdī was to calculate later the pair known as that of Descartes (9363584, 9437056).

The famous physicist and mathematician Kamāl al-Dīn al-Farisi wrote a work in which he tried deliberately to prove Thabit's theorem in an algebraic fashion. This action obliged him to conceive the first arithmetical functions and to bring into being a complete preparation which led him to set forth for the first time the fundamental theorem of arithmetic. Al-Farisi furthermore developed the combinatorial means required for this study, and thereby, a complete programme of research into figured numbers. In brief, it is a case this time of the elementary theory of numbers, just as one finds it later in the 11th/17th century.

Al-Farisi examined the procedures of factorisation and the calculation of aliquot parts as functions of the number of prime factors. The most important result on this level was without any doubt the identification between the combinations and the figured numbers. Hence everything was then in place for the study of arithmetical functions. A first group of propositions concerned $\sigma(n)$. Even if al-Farisi only in fact treated of $\sigma(n)$, it must be agreed that he recognised $\sigma$ as a multifunctionive. Amongst the propositions of this group, one finds in particular:

(1) if $n = p_1 p_2$, with $(p_1, p_2) = 1$, then $\sigma(n) = \sigma(p_1) \sigma(p_2) + \sigma(p_1) + \sigma(p_2)$,

which shows that he knew the expression

$$\sigma(n) = \sigma(n) + \sigma(n) + \sigma(n).$$

(2) if $n = p_1 p_2$, with $p_1$ a prime number and $(p_1, p_2) = 1$, then

$$\sigma(n) = \sigma(p_1) \sigma(n) + \sigma(p_1) + \sigma(n),$$

(3) if $n = p^r$, $p$ is a prime number, then

$$\sigma(n) = \sum_{k=0}^{r-1} \sigma(p^k).$$

These three propositions have been until now attributed to Descartes.

(4) Finally, he tried, but without succeeding, as one may readily understand, to establish a formula valid for the case where $n = p_1 p_2$, with $(p_1, p_2) \neq 1$.

A second group includes several propositions bearing on the proposition $\tau(n)$: the number of divisors of $n$.

(5) if $n = p_1 p_2 \ldots p_r$, with $p_1, p_2, \ldots p_r$ as distinct prime factors, then the number of pairs of $n$ denoted $\tau(n)$ is equal to

$$\tau(n) = \prod_{i=1}^{r} (c_i + 1),$$

and $\tau(n) = \tau(n) - 1$, a proposition attributed to John Keresy and to Montmort.

Al-Farisi finally proved Thabit b. Kurra's theorem. He had simply in effect to prove that

$$\sigma(2p_0 - 1) = \sigma(2q_0 - 1) = 2^{p_0 - 1} (p_0 + q_0),$$

and $\tau(n) = \tau(n) - 1$, a proposition attributed to John Keresy and to Montmort.

If, with the works on amicable numbers, the mathematicians sought also to characterise this class of integers, whilst studying perfect numbers, they followed the same goal. We know through al-Khāzīn that in the 4th/10th century people were thinking about the existence of odd perfect numbers—a problem still unsolved (al-Khāzīn wrote "This question is put to those who wonder to themselves [about abundant, deficient and perfect numbers] whether there exist a perfect number amongst the odd numbers or not?"; cf. the Arabic text published by A. Anbouba, Un traité d'Abū Ja'far al-Khāzīn sur les triangles rectangles numériques, in Jnald. for Hist. of Arabic Science, iii/1 [1979], 134-78, see 157). At the end of the same century and at the beginning of the next one, al-Baṣrī obtained some results concerning these same numbers (see Rashed, Nombres amiables ..., 267 of repr.). Thus he gives

$$\sigma(n) = 2^{2n} - 1$$

if $n$ is a prime number, then $1 + 2 + \ldots + (2^{2n} - 1)$ is a perfect number, a rule attributed to the 17th century mathematician J. Broscius. Al-Baṣrī's contemporary Ibn al-Haytham (see Rashed, Ibn al-Haytham et les nombres parfaits, in Historia Mathematica, xvi [1989], 343-52) tried, as the first, to characterise this class of even perfect numbers, by endeavouring to prove the following theorem:

if $n$ is an even number, the following conditions are equivalent:

(1) if $n = 2^{2p - 1 - 1}$, with $(2^{p+1} - 1)$ a prime number then $\sigma(n) = n$;

(2) if $\sigma(n) = n$, then $n = 2^{2p - 1 - 1}$, with $(2^{p+1} - 1)$ a prime number.

It is known that (1) is none other than IX-36 of Euclid's Elements. Ibn al-Haytham then tried further to prove that every even perfect number is of Euclidean form, a theorem which was definitively to be es-
established by Euler. It should be noted that Ibn al-Haytham, no more than Thabit b. Kurra with regard to amicable numbers, did not try, for perfect numbers, to calculate any other numbers beyond those known and handed down by tradition. This task of calculation was to be that of mathematicians of lower rank, closer to the tradition of Nicomachus of Gerasa, such as Ibn Fallus (d. 637/1240) and Ibn al-Malik al-Dinashki (see Rashed, op. cit.), amongst many others. Their writings tell us that mathematicians knew at this time the first seven perfect numbers.

One of the axes of research into the theory of numbers was thus the characterisation of numbers: amicable, equivalent (the numbers equivalent to a are the numbers defined by \(\sigma_2^{-1}(a)\)) and perfect. In these conditions, one should not be astonished that mathematicians came back to the prime numbers in order to move on to a similar task. This is exactly what Ibn al-Haytham did in the course of his solution to the problem called that of “the Chinese remainder” (see Rashed, Théorie des nombres et analyse combinatoire, in Entretie mathématique et algèbre, 238). He wished in fact to solve the system of linear congruences:

\[(a) \mod n, \quad (b) \mod m_i, \quad (c) \mod p\]

with \(p\) a prime number and \(1 < m_i \leq p-1\).

In the course of this study, he gives a criterion for determining prime numbers, the theorem Wilson's:

if \(n > 1\), the two following conditions are equivalent:

1. \(n\) is a prime number
2. \((n-1)! \equiv -1 \mod n\).

The study of this system of congruences is partially found once more in Ibn al-Haytham’s successors in the 6th/12th century, e.g. al-Khili in Arabic and Fibonacci in Latin (see Rashed, op. cit.).

One could add, to these areas of the theory of numbers in Arabic mathematics, a multitude of results which can be classified within the line of Nicomachus’ arithmetic, developed by mathematicians or algebraists, or simply for the needs of other techniques such as the construction of magic squares or arithmetical games. One might note here the sums of given to al-Kindi and the Banu Musa (q.v. and see the ar. s.v. in Dist Scientifique Biogr., 1970, i, 443-6; also the translation of the Banu Musa cited below), whilst that of the second was revised by their collaborator Thabit b. Kurra. As for Archimedes’ other books, i.e. on the spiral, on conoids and spheroids, on the squaring of a parabola, and on method, there is nothing to show that they were known to the Arab mathematicians. This last remark is especially important since Archimedes introduced into his book On conoids and spheroids the idea of lower and higher integral sums, which then completed the method of exhaustion.

The translation of Archimedes’ two treatises, as well as of Eutocius’ commentary (these texts were twice translated in the course of the 3rd/9th century, see Rashed, Al-Kindi’s Commentary on Archimedes’ The Measurement of the Circle, in Arabic Science and Philosophy, a Historical Journal, i, 3 no. 1, [1993], 7-53), and Archimède dans les mathématiques arabes, in I. Mueller (ed.), Essays around the mathematical sciences of the Greeks, Apeiron (1991), clearly correspond to the demands of al-Kindi, the Banu Musa and their school. The Banu Musa comprised three brothers, Muhammad, Ahmad and al-Hasan, who were all concerned with geometry—and notably, with conic sections—as much as with mechanics, music and astronomy. These three wrote at Baghda in the first half of the century the first Arabic work in this sphere. Their treatise, called On the measurement of plane and spherical figures, did not merely launch Arabic research into the determination of areas and volumes but also remained the basic text for Latin science after it was translated in the 12th century by Gerard of Cremona. The treatise in fact falls into three sections. The first concerns the measurement of the circle; the second, the volume of the sphere; whilst the third deals with the classical problems of the two means and the trisection of the angle.

The brothers showed that the area of a circle is equal to \(S = \pi \cdot r^2 / 2\) (\(r\) being the radius and \(c\) the circumference). But in this proof, they did not compare \(S\) to \(< S\) and then to \(S^* < S\), but supposed that \(S = r \cdot c^2 / 2\) and compared \(c\) to a \(c\) and to a \(c^*\) < \(c\), being thus content to compare the lengths.

The brothers then explained Archimedes’ method for the approximate calculation of \(\pi\), and brought out its general significance. They showed in effect that this method goes back to the construction of two adjacent sequences \((a_n, b_n)\) \(\geq 1\) and \(\geq 1 - a_n < b_n\) sequences for all \(n\) and which converge towards the same result. This involves two sequences which can be set out as:

\[a_0 = 2nr \cdot \sin \frac{\pi}{n} \quad b_0 = 2nr \cdot \tan \frac{\pi}{n} \]

They remarked that “it is possible with the help of this method to attain any required degree of precision” (see Rashed, op. cit.). With a method analogous to that applied in the case of the area of a circle, they determined the area of the lateral surface of a sphere.

The contemporaries and successors of the Banu
Musa pursued research in this sphere very actively. Thus al-Mahmudi did not only comment upon Archimedes' book On the sphere and the cylinder, but began on the determination of the segment of a parabola; this text of his has not, however, survived.

The brothers' collaborator, Thabit b. Kurra, contributed to this area of research on a large scale. He composed successively three treatises: one on the area of the segment of a parabola, one on the volume of a revolving paraboloid and one on sections of the cylinder and its lateral area. In the first treatise, on determining the area of a segment of a parabola, Thabit, who did not know of Archimedes' study on this subject, began by proving 21 propositions, 11 of these being arithmetical. Examination of these shows that Thabit knew perfectly and rigorously the concept of the upper limit of a set of square real numbers and the unicity of this upper limit. In effect, he used the following formula for characterising the upper limit:

\[ \text{let } ABC \text{ be a segment of the parabola, } AD \text{ its diameter corresponding to BC (Fig.). For all given } \varepsilon > 0, \text{ one can make correspond to it the division } A, \ G_1, \ G_2, \ldots, \ G_{n-1}, D, \text{ of the diameter } AD, \text{ so that } \text{area } BAC \text{- area of the polygon } BE_01 \ldots E_2E_AF_F \ldots F_{n-1}C \leq \varepsilon, \]

i.e. putting it another way, the area BAC is the upper limit of the area of these polygons.

Thabit showed in quite a rigorous fashion that 2/3 of the area BHMC is the upper limit of the areas of the polygons already mentioned. He finally arrived at his theorem, thus formulated: "A parabola is infinite but the area of any one of its segments is equal to two-thirds of a parallelogram of the same base and the same height as that segment" (Cairo ms., Riyadâ 40, fol. 180b).

One should note that his squaring, given the definition of a parabola, is equivalent to the calculation of the integral \( \int_0^\infty \sqrt{x} \, dx \).

Thabit's contribution to this chapter did not, however, stop here. He undertook to determine the volume of a revolving paraboloid.

He finally undertook, in his treatise on The sections of the cylinder and their surfaces, a study of the different types of plane sections of an upright cylinder and an oblique one; he then determined the area of the ellipse and the area of elliptical segments; he discussed maximal and minimal sections of a cylinder and their axes; and determined the area of a part of the surface delimited by two plane sections.

It is impossible here to set forth the results and proofs of this rich and profound treatise, such as the proof by means of which Thabit showed that "the surface of an ellipse is equal to the surface of a circle whose square of the half-diameter is equal to the product of one of the two axes of this ellipse by the other", i.e. \( \pi ab \), with a and b the two axes of the ellipse.

His contribution was to be actively followed by his successors, such as his grandson Ibrahim b. Sinan. This latter mathematician of genius only lived 38 years, and did not like, according to his own words, "that al-Mahmudi should have a study more advanced than that of [my] grandfather, without one of us going on further than him". Hence he wished to provide a proof not only shorter than his grandfather's, which needed 19 lemmata, as we have seen, but also than that of al-Mahmudi. The proposition on which Ibrahim's proof was based and which he was previously careful to set forth, was: affine transformation leaves the proportionality of the areas invariable.

In the 9th/10th century, the mathematician al-'Alî b. Sahîl (see Rashed, Géométrie et dioptrique au Xe siècle) took up the study of the squaring of a parabola, but his treatise has unfortunately not yet come to light. As for his contemporary al-Kühlî, by re-examining the determination of the volume of a revolving paraboloid, he rediscovered the method of Archimedes.

The famed mathematician and physician Ibn al-Haytham, successor to Ibn Sahîl and al-Kühlî, took up the proof of the volume of a revolving paraboloid as well as that of the volume resulting from the rotation of a parabola around its ordinate (see Rashed, op. cit., and Ibn al-Haytham et la mesure du paraboloidé, in: l'âge d'or de la science arabe, 962-1054, Paris, 1978). Let us rapidly examine this second type, more difficult than the first one. In order to get to the determination of this volume, Ibn al-Haytham began by proving certain arithmetical lemmata: the sums of powers of \( n \) successive integers, in order to establish a double inequality, fundamental for his study. On this occasion he obtained results which mark a point in the history of arithmetic, notably the sum of any integer power of \( n \) successive first integers

\[ \sum_{k=1}^{n} k^i, \quad i = 1, 2, \ldots; \]

he then establishes the following inequality

\[ (*) \quad \sum_{k=1}^{n} [(n+1)^2-k^2] \leq \frac{9}{15} (n + 1) (n + 1)^4 \leq \sum_{k=0}^{n} [(n+1)^2-k^2]. \]

Let there now be a paraboloid generated by the rotation of the part of the parabola ABC of the equation \( x = ky^2 \) around the ordinate BC. Let \( e_i = (y_i)_{0 \leq i \leq m} \), with \( 2m = n \) a subdivision of the interval \([0, b]\) of the step

\[ h = \frac{b}{2m} = \frac{b}{n}. \]

Let \( M_i \) be the points of a parabola of ordinates \( y_i \) and of abscissae \( x_i \) respectively. Let us posit

\[ r_i = c - x_i \quad (0 \leq i \leq 2m = n); \]

there results
but, after the inequality (*), one obtains
\[ I_n = \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \pi k^2 h^3 (n^2 - i^2)^2 \]
and
\[ C_n = \sum_{i=0}^{n-1} \pi k^2 h^3 (n^2 - i^2)^2; \]
but, after the inequality (*), one obtains
\[ I_n \leq \frac{8}{15} V \leq C_n, \]
where \( V = \pi k^2 b^4 \), \( b \) is the volume of the circumscribed cylinder. By using a different language from that of Ibn al-Haytham:

As the function \( g(y) = ky^2 \) is continuous on \([0, b]\), Ibn al-Haytham’s calculation will be equivalent to the volume of the paraboloid
\[ V \text{ being the volume of the circumscribed cylinder.} \]

Ibn al-Haytham did not stop there; he turned afresh towards the small solids of framing in order to study their behaviour when the points of subdivision are increased indefinitely. This time we find ourselves in the presence of a clearly infinitesimalist, and in some ways functional, way of thinking, in so as the crux of the problem is explicitly the asymptotic behaviour of mathematical entities, the determination of whose variation is being sought.

Ibn al-Haytham applied the same method to the determination of the volume of a sphere. There, equally, one notes that he gave an arithmetically inflected version of the method of exhaustion. In effect, in his researches, the role of explicit arithmetical calculation seems much more important than in the works of his predecessors.

In this study, one can see the development of the means and techniques of this chapter in Arabic mathematics. It has been seen that Ibn al-Haytham, in his work on the paraboloid, obtained results which the historians have attributed to e.g. Kepler and Cavalieri. However, this chapter stops there, very probably because of the lack of a suitable symbolic means of expression.

VII. The squaring of lunules.

Amongst the problems of the determination of the areas of curved surfaces, the exact squaring of lunules—surfaces bounded by two arcs of circles—is one of the most ancient. Ibn al-Haytham’s approach went back to the study of lunules bounded by any arcs, whilst seeking for the equivalents of surfaces. He introduced circles in general equivalent to sectors of the given circle in the problem, and expressed by a fraction of the latter. He justified the existence of the circles introduced, which he had to add or to subtract from polygonal surfaces, in order to obtain a surface equivalent to that of a lunule or the sum of two lunules.

Ibn al-Haytham took back to its foundation the problem of the squaring of lunules, set it down on the plane of trigonometry, and tried to deduce the different cases as so many properties of a trigonometric function, one which would be recognised more precisely much later by Euler.

From the beginning of his treatise, Ibn al-Haytham explicitly recognised that the calculation of the areas of lunules involved the sums and differences of the areas of sectors of the circle and of triangles, whose comparison in turn required the comparison of the relations of angles and the relations of segments. It was for this reason that he began by establishing four lemmata relating to the triangle \( \triangle ABC \), right-angled at \( B \) in the first lemma, and with an obtuse angle in the other three, which was in future to show that the essential point of the study was taken back to a study of the function
\[ f(x) = \sin^x \frac{\pi}{2} \quad 0 \leq x \leq \pi. \]

One can thus rewrite these lemmata:

1) If \( 0 < C < \frac{\pi}{4} < A < \frac{\pi}{2} \),
then \( \frac{\sin^2 C}{C} < \frac{\pi}{A} \); it is evident that if \( C = A = \frac{\pi}{4} \),
then \( \frac{\sin^2 C}{C} = \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} = \frac{\pi}{4} \).

2) Let \( \pi - B = B_1 \),
if \( C < \frac{\pi}{4} < B_1 < \frac{\pi}{2} \), then \( \frac{\sin^2 C}{C} = \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1} \).

3) If \( A \leq \frac{\pi}{4} \), then \( \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} < \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1} \).

4) Here Ibn al-Haytham wished to study the case \( A > \frac{\pi}{4} \), but the study is incomplete.

He showed that for a given \( A \), one can find \( B_0 \) such that
\[ B_1 \geq B_0 = \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} > \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}. \]
This incomplete study seems to have hidden from Ibn al-Haytham’s view the equality
\[ \frac{\sin^2 A}{A} = \frac{\sin^2 B_1}{B_1}. \]

It may be remarked that these lemmata, since they link the problem of the squaring of lunules with trigonometry, changed its position, and allowed the unifying of the particular cases. But the incompleteness already mentioned masked the possibility of the existence of lunules capable of being squared.

Ibn al-Haytham pursued his researches whilst solving important propositions which would take too long to set out here. He likewise contributed, following al-Khâzin, to the study of isoperimetric and isepiphanic problems, which led him to pose important questions...
regarding the solid angle (see Rashed, *Les mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IXe et le XIe siècles*, ii). We have just been present at the emergence of new researches into geometry, extensions of the Hellenistic heritage, or new chapters of which the Alexandrians never conceived: algebraic geometry in the sense of that used by al-Khayyâm and Ṣalaf al-Dîn al-Tûsî. Other chapters on geometry, all of them important, saw the light, stimulated by the application of geometry to the other mathematical disciplines or to other fields, such as astronomy and optics. Thus the mathematicians developed the study of punctual geometrical transformations, notably in the course of their researches on infinitesimal determinations and in the course of their works on isoperimetric and isepiphonic problems. The analysis of the optical properties of conics developed thanks to catoptric and dioptric researches. The study of geometrical projections—conic and cylindrical—was brought into being through the needs of astronomy. To that may be added a whole tradition of research on the theory of parallels, on geometrical constructions and on practical geometry. Equally evident, for the first time in history, is the fact that trigonometry took shape as a branch of geometry. It is readily understandable that, within such a burgeoning, philosophers and mathematicians became interested in the philosophy of mathematics.

There exist so many other chapters which, for lack of space, we can only cite here but whose titles, added to those which we have already examined, allow us to realize the ramifications of mathematics and to place them within the history of this discipline.


**RIYÂFÂ** (S.), from *rif*, pl. *arîf*, "cultivated and fertile region", generally designates the lands along a river or the sea and the fertile plains bordering the desert [see further *rif*]. The noun *riyîfâ*, a recent formation on the model of *kiyîfâ* (note that al-Dâhibî, *K. al-Tarbî taw-ladâiv r*, ed. Pellat, 91-2, § 176, gives for *kiyîfâ* [q. a.] the sense of the detection of paternity, the whereabouts of water, atmospheric phenomena and the earth), designates the water-diviner's art which estimates the depth of water under the earth through the smell of the earth, its vegetation and the instinctive reactions of certain creatures, in particular, the hoopoe (cf. Hâddî Khalîf, i, 523, who cites, at 1, 444, a *Mushkaṣar* on this art by Bâdî al-Dîn Muḥammad al-Kârûbî, d. 1006/1597, Brockelmann, II, 493, and who notes that the most important pieces of information on which we are to be found in the K. al-Fîlîdâ al-nabiṣîyya [see ed. IFDEA, Beirut 1991, 54-113], the *Nisânîyat agriculture devotes a lengthy treatise to the discovery of water called Bâb istînîbâ al-miṣîah wâ-handasatâthâ*. This monograph, which can easily be detached from the rest of the work, has several chapters, with the following titles: (1) Searching for water and the necessary technical procedures to detect it; (2) How to dig wells and how to increase the flow of water by various proven devices and techniques; (3) The drilling of wells; (4) Devices for increasing the water from wells; (5) How to get the water up from a very deep well; (6) How to increase the amount of water in the well and its sources; (7) How to change and improve the taste of the water; and (8) Concerning the difference in the nature and the effect of the water according to the nearer or further position of it in relation to the ecliptic.

The contents of this treatise on water have been analysed by the present author, classifying these under six headings: (1) Hydrology; (2) The search for wells; (3) The drilling of wells; (4) Increasing the flow of the water of wells; (5) Hydrology, the modifying and improving of the water's taste; (6) The different natural and effects of the waters according to their positions in relation to the ecliptic (see Fahd, *Un traité des eaux dans al-Šifâh l-nabâtâyîyya*; hydrologie, *hydraulique agricole, hydrologie, in La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia dei Lincei, Rome 1971, 277-296).

In the writings of al-Šifâh [q. s.], the meaning of *riyîfâ* has been stretched to that of uncovering the presence of metals underground: "l'accès à ces trésors enfouis procède de la connaissance des signes que recèlent ces montagnes et qui apparaissent aux yeux du connaissance averti sous forme de veines ou filets dont il lui faut interpréter la nature, la disposition et la couleur" (Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 404). The seeker "doit connaître l'origine astrale du minéral qu'il recherche et savoir sous la domination de quelle planète il se trouve; car chaque métal a la couleur, la nature, les caractéristiques et les propriétés de la planète dont il est censé être issu" (ibid.). Amongst the Harranians, the following correspondences were to be found: Gold-The Sun; Silver-The Moon, (Black) Lead-Saturn; Tin-Jupiter; Copper-Venus; and Iron-Mars (see ibn al-Nâdim, *Fihrist*, 411-12).

In general, it is a question of a natural gift which "réside dans la connaissance de l'état des lieux sans signes apparents, mais avec des pressentiments fondés sur des propriétés qu'il n'est pas donné à tout le monde de déceler; cela est généralement dû à la perfection des sens et à la force de l'imagination" (Fahd, op. cit., 403; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe et le K. al-Fîrdâs de Fakhîr al-Dîn al-Râzî*, diss. Paris 1939, 137-21, citing Zayn al-Šâbî (Amîrî). *Riyîfâ*, like *shrîf*, etc. (cf. ibid., 370-8), is classed among the physiognomic procedures since it involves "des déductions relatives à des choses cachées, partant de phénomènes apparents, par analogie avec les prévisions concernant l'aspect moral, basées sur l'aspect physique" (ibid.). Further details on these procedures in Mourad, op. cit., 15 (the sciences connected with *fîrîbî*).
first to lay his country waste. But thanks to the protection of the chiefs of the Riyāḥ, to whom he had married his daughters, al-Muʿizz himself succeeded in escaping from Kayrawān and reaching al-Mahdiyya [q.v.].

At the first partition of Ifrikiya which followed the invasion, the Riyāḥ were naturally the best served. They obtained the greater part of the plains, which the Berbers had abandoned to seek shelter among the mountains; they had thrust their relatives, the Alḥāqi, towards the east. They held Bahda, which the Hafsids dynamically contested for many years because of the competition. The people of Gabēs [see Sāb] took the oath of loyalty to Muʾnis. "It was", says Ibn Khalduṅ, "the first real conquest of the Arabs". The Dāmī, a family related to the Riyāḥ, made Gabēs a regular little capital, which they adorned with their buildings. Lastly, a chief of the main tribe, Muḥriz b. Ziyād, made himself a fortress in al-Muʿallāka (a Roman circus?), among the ruins of Carthage. The powerful lords of al-Muʿallāka, however, supported the policy of the Zirids of al-Mahdiyya, and joined them in their resistance to the Almohads.

This resistance did not long impede the expeditions sent by the Maghribis against an Ifrikiya in anarchy. Defeated by ʿAbd al-Muʿmin in 546/1152, 555/1160 and 583/1187, the Arabs were ordered to supply contingents for the holy war in Spain. ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, leaving a section of the Riyāḥ in Ifrikiya under command of ʿAsākir b. Sulṭān, took the others to the Maghrib with their chief, ʿAsākir's brother Masʿūd, known as al-bulʿ ("the axe"; cf. Dozy, Supplement, i, 111). He settled them in the Moroccan plains to the north of Bū Regret. This control was little in keeping with the traditions of the Riyāḥ; Masʿūd fled to Ifrikiya and there gave his support to the Banū Ghāniya [q.v.], who were trying to revive for their own advantage the Almoravid power.

It is known how the trouble stirred up by the Banū Ghāniya led to the Almohad caliph's appointing a governor of Ifrikiya invested with very extensive powers, Abū Muhammad al-Maḥṣūd [q.v.] family. This governor naturally attacked the Riyāḥ and, in order to be rid of them, encouraged the settlement in the country of the Sulaym Arabs [see Sulaym, Banū] hitherto quartered in Tripolitania. Under the pressure of the Sulaym, the Riyāḥ were driven northwards, they submitted to the humiliation of paying an annual tribute. Their name no longer appears in the figures on the map of modern Morocco except at a place near the road from al-Kasār to Tangiers.

Another group of the Riyāḥ played a notable part in the history of the Zanāta states. In the western Maghrib, bodies of them transported by the Almohads to the plains of the coast faithfully served the dynasty, by trying to check the advance of the Marinids [q.v.]. Defeated near the Wādī Sbū in 614/1217, the Riyāḥ were mercilessly punished by the victorious Marinids. Defeated and weakened, and driven northwards, they submitted to the humiliation of paying an annual tribute. Their name no longer figures on the map of modern Morocco except at a place near the road from al-Kasār to Tangiers.

Finally, at the other end of Barbary, in their first home, the name survives in the nomenclature of the tribes.


RIYĀḤ — RIYĀL

Riyāl, a name used for coins in a number of Islamic countries, derived from the silver real (de plata), first issued by Pedro the Cruel of Castile (1550-9), followed by Ferdinand of Portugal (1567-83). In Spain it continued until 1870 and in Portugal until 1910.

The relations of the Spanish and Portuguese currencies to those of the Near East belong to the monetary history of the Ottoman Empire and of Persia. From the early 16th century the eastern gold and silver currencies suffered frequent devaluation and debasement. Western merchants needed more stable monetary standards if they were not to incur loss, and so relied on imported currencies; they could make further profit by exporting them as bullion to India. Austria, Germany, Holland, Poland, Spain and Venice were the principal western sources; the Levant Company, of London, forbidden to export English currency, at first purchased Spanish reals, but turned later to Dutch coinage. Spanish and Mexican reals were greatly valued for their purity, but, being roughly struck, encouraged clipping. Austrian and Saxon issues became popular because they were minted with a collar, which defied clipping. Thus among Bedouin they have remained popular into the present century.

The term riyāl is first recorded in the east in Persia under Shāh ʿAbbaṣ I in 1609. With Fath ʿAll Shāh's issue of 1797 it became the official name of the silver coinage, and this was retained in Rīdā? (Reza) Shāh's
reforms of 1932. It was frequently devalued and debased, and bore no numismatic relationship to the Spanish and Portuguese issues. The earlier Persian term lāri [see lari] is recorded as the common currency at Mombasa, Kenya, in conjunction with "pieces of eight" or Spanish reales, by an English visitor in 1617.

In Yemen, while still under Ottoman sovereignty, Imâm Yahyâ b. Muhammad al-Mutawakkil (1904-46) determined to defy the Ottoman right of zikka, that of issuing coins. H.F. Jacob, then Political Agent for the Bombay Government in Aden, has left an account of how machinery ordered from England for a mint in Sănâ'â was passed through the Aden Customs manifested as something else. Ottoman troops sent to intercept it were outwitted by an escort of 500 Yemeni tribesmen. This mint operated from 1906-63. The Yemen still uses the term riydâ for its currency.

There were sporadic issues of riydâls elsewhere, at Ghurfa and two other mints in Hadramawt at the end of the 19th century, and in Zanzibar by Sultan Barghâsh b. Sa'îd, of silver in 1881, and of ½ and ¼ copper riydâls in 1882 and 1883. A curiosity of the pieces is that the ruler's given name is reversed with his patronymic, as Sâîd b. Barghâsh. Slightly earlier, Charles Doughty, travelling down the Pilgrimage Route, found that the Maria Theresa thalers was the usual currency but that tribes further east preferred the riyał.

In Saudi Arabia, the riyał was instituted as local currency in 1935, in 'Umân (Oman) in 1945, in the United Arab Emirates in 1966, and in Dubayy and Kåtar (Qatar) since 1972. They all obtain their supply from the Royal Mint in Wales.

The history of the riyał can only be traced in the works of foreign travellers. Official documentation is not available. F.W. Hasluck has printed extracts from travellers to the Ottoman Empire, and H.L. Rabino de Borgomale citese references to Persia. A detailed report, 1766, Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ot- toman, by Henry Grenville, Ambassador to the Porte in 1762-65, and brother of George Grenville, Prime Minister of Great Britain 1763-65, gives an official account of the Ottoman economy and government. The Venetian sequin was the most favoured foreign curren- cy, an austro-asian holding stock.


RIYÂLA, RIYÂLE OR RIYÂLA BEY, abbreviation of riyal-yi hâmiyân kapudânî "captain of the imperial [galley-] royal", from the Italian riyaî (secondary form from real, abbreviated from galea real, "the royal galley"), a general officer of the Ottoman navy who commanded the galley of the same name, later "rear-admiral". There was also a popular pro-
Except the fourth, these officers were sea-going admirals and took the name, of Venetian origin, of "Bashtarda" — a Persian construction, whence the official barbarisms "bashtarda-yi himayün, kapudana-yi himayün, etc. The full titles were in theory "bashtarda-yi himayün kapudanı, kapudana-yi himayün kapudanı, etc.

1. Bashtarda, baştarda, baştarda-yi himayün — Ital. bastard, Fr. bastarde or bâtarde. This was not the largest unit of the fleet. In Turkish as in Venetian usage, the bastarde was a galley larger than the galleys "sentinel" (Tk. kadirga or ekstır), but smaller than the galeazza or galliass (Tk. kalyun). It was sometime said to be "like a water-melon" (karpuz kılıfı). Among the Turks it contained 26-36 oturaks or benches of 5-7 rows. The one which had the Kapudan Paşa on board was called (kapudan-) paşa baştardasi and had 26-36 oturaks. It was distinguished by the three lanterns (fener) attached to the posts in addition to that on the main mast (Yukh, fol. 69; Djerde Paşa varkı) 1309, 1311. As it flew the flag of the Grand Admiral, it was sometimes (Meninski, Thesaurus, i, 663; Barbier de Meynard) called "Captain", but we shall see that among the Turks this name was given to another vessel. Chance has willed it that the first syllable in the word baştarda means in Turkish "head, chief" but it is difficult to say that the Ottomans gave first place to this ship simply as a result of a popular etymology. The disappearance of the ship propelled by oars resulted in the abolition of the baştarda. Officially disused in 1717/1764, according to d’Ohsson, it was still used from time to time on certain ceremonial occasions. The sailing-ship (kayun, "galleon") which became the flagship of the kapudan paşa, was commanded by the "Flag Captain" who, according to d’Ohsson, was called in Turkish "kapudan-captain of the ship commanders" and, according to von Hammer (Staatsverf., ii, 493), sandıq kapudanı. Germ. "Flaggenkapitän", cf. Eng. "flag captain". Esad Mehmed Efendi calls this officer, probably by an archaism, "baştarda-yı himayin-i paşa “(commander of the imperial baştarda of the (kapudan-) paşa.

2. Kapudana bey. Kapudana comes from the Venetian (galea or nave) capitana "galley or ship carrying the leader of a naval company, a galleymaster" (Jal). In France it was called "la capitaine" or "capitainesse", but these terms disappeared in 1669 with the office of the Grand Admiral, who was in turn the Grand Admiral or kapudan pasha, superior to the captain of an ordinary galley. According to d’Ohsson, the kapudan pasha "president of the Higher Council of the Navy". He had a fixed monthly salary, and was the first ship of the navy, intended to carry the king, princes, the admiral of France or in their absence the general of the galleys (Jal). At the conquest of Cyprus, in 1570, Contarini (Venice 1595) gives for 185 Christian ships 7 kapudana, 7 padrona and 1 bastardella (no Reale); for the 276 Turkish ships 1 real (sic) and 29 capitana (these terms do not correspond exactly to those of Turkish usage of that time).

It is not explained how the title of Reale came to descend among the Turks until it was applied to the ship of the admiral of lowest rank. We may suppose that they were misled by the second meaning of the word Reale (see above), or that they confused him with the English "rear-admiral".

Marsigli (Stato Militare..., 1732, i, 146) mentions the Turkish "commandante nella Reale" as having a higher rank than the gurdayn bashı, who was in turn superior to the captain of an ordinary galley. According to Esad Efendi, the kapudan pasha came before the kalûynlar kabîbı.

All the officers here mentioned, from the kapudan paşa to the riyağa, were sähib deneq, i.e. they had the right to carry, in imitation of their Venetian colleagues, a commander’s baton or cane, deneq, also called şadefkari "szat (Esad Efendi, 109, 7) because it was encrusted with mother of pearl of different colours (see below). It was what the Venetians called the giunetta or cana (canna); from canna d’India, "Indian cane", often taken in the sense of "bamboo", from which we also have the English word "cane". It was carried instead of a real cane in a wooden case.

When under ʿAbd al-Hamīd I, or later under his successor Selim III (q. v.), the naval hierarchy was organised and to some extent modernised, three grades of admiral were instituted (independent of the kapudan paşa, who was the Grand Admiral or "amiralissimo").

1. The kapudan paşa "Admiral". Mehmed Şükrü regards his rank as equivalent to the more modern one of "güray-i bahriye reisi "president of the Higher Council of the Navy". He had a fixed monthly salary of 4,500 piastres, and in addition received pay for 1,000 men (out of which he was liable to make various grants), but with the obligation to give to the kapudan paşa spices or dàrız to the value of 4,000 piastres. He carried a green cane and had the right to have a pen-
RIYALA — RIZE

below the flag on the main mast (that of the kapudan-pasha was above).

2. Patrona bey 'rear-admiral' (Mehmed Şükrü), modern Turkish niz amir but we also find the French equivalent of "guidon" (Sâmi Bey; Tinghir-Sinapiân). Salary: 3,500 piastres. Pay of 800 men. Dâr-ı to the kapudan pasha of 3,000 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the fore-mast.


It may be noted that, in theory, there was only one officer of each of these ranks at one time.

All three took part in the battle of Navartino in 1827 (Doun, Navarin, 250 and passim). They were under the command of Tâhir Paşa who had the rank of mîmirân. He was himself patrona, but this does not mean duplicating the office of the patrona who was subordinate to him, because the commanders-in-chief of the fleet (ser-asker bâg-bâg) were chosen without regard to rank. Khdîr Ilyäs (Enderun tdnkhi, 481) mentions a lîmân re^isi with the rank of patrona in 1826.

The flag-commander of the kapudan pasha retained his functions, but seems to have occupied a position on the edge of the hierarchy which the presence of the Grand Admiral on board sometimes made unenivable (von Hammer, Staatsverf., ii, 293).

We do not know at what period these ranks were replaced by the more modern terms of mâyîr, ferîk and lîwâ. The equations of rank varied considerably. The ryâla is regarded as mîr afay, mîmirân, lîwâ ferîk and even birîndî ferîk. It is probable that it was necessary to choose a grade between these. At Sebastopol in 1854, the Turkish fleet was commanded by a patrona, Ahmed Paşa (cf. Ahmed Râsim, Türkî, iv, 2013).

In Egypt under the Khedives, there was for a time a ryâla paşa in command of the fleet.

Bibliography: Only d’Ohsson gives definite information about the officers mentioned above, see his Tableau de Empire Ottoman, vol. vii, bk. viii, 420-38, devoted to the Navy. See also Ubicini, Lettres sur la Turquie, 2nd ed., Paris 1853, i, 484 (important); Jouannin, La Turquie, 456; Pakalân, iii, s.v.; I.H. Uzuççarşı, Osmanlı devletin merkeze ve bahriye teşkilatı, Ankara 1964, 433-5. See also Bahriyâ, iii, 126, and Kapudan Paşa. (J. Deny)

RIYÂM, Banû, also and perhaps originally Rîyâm, a tribal grouping in ʿUmân [q.v.].

The tribe would appear to have originated in the coastal area of southern ʿUmân and in the 4th/10th century al-Hamdânî (Sifa, 32) refers to them as a baın of al-Kamar, which Ibn Manṣūr’s LA (v, 115) states is a baın of Mahra b. Haydân, not the main group of Mahra which remained in southern Arabia. Kahlâla (Mu'qâm, ii, 428), relying on the 5th/11th century geographer, al-Bakrî, says Banû Riyâm themselves are a baín of Mahra b. Haydân b. A’mr b. al-Hâf, that they live in the coastal area of southern ʿUmân and that one of their fortresses is Raysût (Wilkinson, Immate, 75-6). The latter is the port of Zafâr [q.v.], about 15 km/10 miles across the bay from the settlement. Al-Firuzâbâdi’s Kâmâsi (ii, 125) says that Banû Riyâm also had a baín at Zâmar and al-Shibr, the port of Hadramawt. Despite these early references placing Banû Riyâm only in the south, their earlier settlement pattern seems to have extended from the southern coastal area as far as the plateau of al-Djâbal al-Akhâdr, and their main centre was in Djaîlâîn, the area in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. The political importance of Banû Riyâm in central ʿUmân, however, becomes clear at the end of the 3rd/9th century when they began to take over settlements at the foot of al-Djâbal al-Akhâdr on all sides (Wilkinson, Settlements, 243-6 and fig. 33). The area of al-Djâbal al-Akhâdr inhabited by Banû Riyâm has become renowned for its cultivation of such fruits as pomegranates, grapes, peaches, figs and mulberries, as well as roses for making rose-water and walnuts (ibid., 12-13).


(R. G. Smith)

RIZE, a town on the northern, Black Sea coast of Asia Minor, in the eastern part of classical Pontus and in the later mediaeval Islamic Lazistan [see LÆS], now in the Turkish Republic (lat. 41° 03’ N., long. 40° 31’ E.). In Byzantine times, Rhizus/Rhiziaon was a place of some importance and it was strongly fortified. With the Ottoman annexation of the Commene empire of Trebizond in 865/1462 [see TARABZUN], it became part of the Ottoman empire. A list of Orthodox Church metropolitans still in existence at the end of the 9th/15th century mentions the town, which formed part of the province of Trabzon, as a separate judicial district (kâda?). In the early years of Kânûnî Süleyman’s reign, the town contained 215 Christian households, two further households recently converted to Islam and 41 men subject to the bâdînha (landholding) tax. There also existed a monastery transcribed in the Ottoman register as Ayû Rândûs. The town was protected by two fortresses, one of them guarded by 31 soldiers under the command of a dizdar and kethkudi. A second kethkudi was recorded for the ‘old fortress’, which means that it was still in use. Two inhabitants of the town had been granted the privileges of köprügû, that is, they were exempt from certain taxes while responsible for the construction and upkeep of a local bridge. After the conquest of Trabzon, Mehemmed the Conquerer had resettled certain personages of the area in Rûmêll (sûrgûns); this fact is confirmed by the appearance of the first agricultural census of the early 10th/16th century. Among the town’s residents there also were a few sûrgûns from Bosnia and Morea. These were timâr-holders and followers of a governor, that is, they had probably been people of distinction in their areas of origin.

In the rural district surrounding the town, there were at least 29 villages and 35 mahâïles (quarters). This means that the non-nucleated settlement pattern, which is widespread in the area to the present day, existed in the 10th/16th century as well. The tax registers of the early 10th/16th century mention possessions of a Georgian power-holder (Gûrdgün kâfîr) in the area, which had been turned into a timâr after the Ottoman conquest. The total population of the kâda of Rize was recorded as 6,152 households. The majority of the population was still Christian, and many villages bore Greek names.

In the 11th/17th century, Rize, similar to other settlements located on the Black Sea coast, was subject to raids both on the part of the Abaza, who attempted to capture slaves, and on the part of Cossacks from the northern shore of the Black Sea. Guard towers were therefore built in the vicinity, which were still standing when the Mekhitarist monk Minas Bighiqlian visited them in the early 13th/19th century. He records only a single fortress in Rize, a port and some
shops. At some point in the past, Persian Armenians seem to have settled in the town quarter of Roshi and built a church; but it had apparently disappeared by the time of Bighzhi̇kian’s visit. The town went through difficult times in the 11th/17th century is probable; Ewli̇yȧ Celebi, who wrote a detailed description of Trabzon, merely mentions passing through or near Rize and does not supply any details.

Rize is mentioned in early 13th/19th century sources in connection with the Tuzdju-oghullari, a local əsən family which rebelled against Sultan Mahmut II in 1229-32/1814-15 and again in 1234-7/1818-21 and 1248-50/1832-4. The Tuzdju-oghullari had been influential in the area since at least the mid-12th/18th century. They engaged in trade and agriculture—Bızhzhi̇kian praised the area’s handsomely orange and lemon groves, while maize by this date had already replaced millet as the principal food grain. Peasants unable to repay their debts to the Tuzdju-oghullari had to hand over their land and work it as sharecroppers, a situation which entailed political loyalty toward this landholding əsən family. The latter paid the area’s taxes as a lump sum (maksi), and at the height of their power, the central government’s tax collectors could not enter the area. A handsome palace in Rize attested the power of the family. However, competition with another powerholder, who had succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Trabzon, resulted in an uprising on the part of Memiş Ağa, the head of the Tuzdju-oghullari. After recurrent revolts and considerable bloodshed, the principal members of the family surrendered and were banished to Ruse/Ruscuk and Varna.

In 1294-5/1877-8, Rize became part of the newly-established sub-province (sandık) of Lazistan and was promoted to the rank of provincial capital. Ca. 1307-8/1890, in addition to a covered market, the town possessed an administrative building (konâ) and constituted the seat of a governor (müstəsərrîf). At this time, the district contained a population of 160,000, of whom 138,820 were Muslims. Apart from agriculture, citrus growing and small-scale boat building, Rize was noted for a fine and high-quality striped linen, which was marketed as far as Baghdad and Egypt. This fabric has had a long history; it is mentioned in inscriptions of the Commenian period, and ca. 1245/1830, 75,000 pieces were produced every year; ca. 1308/1890, 150,000 pieces were being woven. However, Rize weavers were able to expand output only by lowering prices and profit margins, so that textile manufacturing relieved the poverty of the area only to a limited extent. Rize əzəhməndi is being manufactured down to the present day.

Overpopulation in the course of the 13th/19th century caused many young men to emigrate. Some of them settled in Istanbul, while others found their way to Odessa. The migrants specialised in various crafts; but given the high production costs, Rize tea has never been competitive with the major tea-growing areas of the outside world. Since the early 1980s, tea cultivation has slowed down, and emigration from the region to the industrial areas of Istanbul and northwestern Anatolia has continued.

Rize is now the chef-lieu of an il/ or province of that name. With a town population of 43,407 in 1980, Rize now possesses such public amenities as secondary schools, a hospital, and a railroad station.
This Kur'anic view was later strengthened by the hadith which stated that God decrees (fatfd, 2:233) things for man, without giving ownership of them, and especially, the Muslim theologians argued that God decrees in predestination, and that, whilst God provides both lawful and unlawful sustenance, it was possible for Him to provide a thing to man, and that, for example, the Qur'an allows obtaining stolen food? Hence the Mu'tazila concluded that God only provides for a man the sustenance to which he is lawfully entitled. On the other hand, orthodox theologians like al-Nagdhdh and al-Ash'ari [q.v.], faced with the proposition that God provided unlawful as well as lawful sustenance, made the distinction that, whilst God provides both lawful and unlawful sustenance, it was possible for Him to provide a thing with sanctifying ownership of it (cf. Watt, Free will and predestination, 66-7, 146, 147, idem, The formative period of Islamic thought, 201, 233). (C.E. Bosworth)

2. In the Kur'ân.

In the extensive Kur'anic use of this masdar (55 occurrences) and its related verbal forms (68 occurrences), God is virtually always the subject or implied agent. XXX, 40, makes maintenance of human life the explicit correlate of God's creation of it. Like creation, the power to sustain belongs to God alone (cf. XVI, 73, XXIX, 17, XXXV, 3, LVII, 21) and requires no reciprocal human offering (cf. XX, 132, LI, 57). Frequent repetition of the two phrases (and variants) "God provides/will provide for whom He wishes" and "God spreads (yabsutu) his provision generously for whom He wishes and sparingly [for whom He wishes]", conveys a sense of specific allotment and allowed the commentators to offer several technical terms (bakh, bakhahunna wa-al-razikm) for sustenance and predestination, 66-7, 146, idem, The formative period of Islamic thought, 201, 233). (C.E. Bosworth)

Kur'anic specification of God's sustenance includes such general designators as "good things" (sayyibi) and "a good, or generous, provision" (rizk) for which there are numerous earlier examples, and which also echoes the pre-Islamic concepts and which can be found in others of the older Near Eastern religions. The Qur'an also approves and also echoes the pre-Islamic concepts and which can be found in others of the older Near Eastern religions, especially, the Ma'mulaa al-Islamoyin, Istanbul 1930, 257, and al-Ibnâ, tr. W. Klein, New Haven 1940, 117-19; Abû Tâlib al-Makki, Kûl al-talab, Cairo 1381, ii, 3-37; Bâkillâni, K. al-Tâmîdî, Beirut 1957, 328-9; Abû al-Dâbbâr, Mumhîn, Cairo 1385, ii, 27-55, and Shâsh al-adill al-tammsa, Cairo 1938, 784-8; Abû Ya'âlî Ibn al-Farrâ, K. al-Mu'tamad, Beirut 1974, 149-52; Diwaynî, K. al-I'râhidî, Paris 1938, 208-9; L. Gardet, Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, Paris 1967, 132-4; B. Reinert, Die Lehre vom wasawwâl in der klassischen Briefliteratur, Apes Larday 1943; For the sources, see, in particular, W. Hoenerbach, Zur Herrsersubstitution der Abgässien. Studien über Absarafa, Diwan al-qait, in J., xxix (1950), 278 ff., and C.E. Bosworth, Abû Abdallah al-Kuwasari on the technical terms of the secretary's art, in FESHO, xii (1969), 144-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

RIZWAN BEGOVIC [see RIJWAN BEGOVIC]...

3. In military terminology.

Rizk appears here for the regular payments, in cash and in kind, made to those soldiers registered on the diswân of earliest Islamic times and, by the 'Abbasid period, on the more elaborate diswân al-qiyasa, hence equivalent to 'sip (q.v., and also DA'VY. 1, and QAT. of Qawwûn or 'amr). Such soldiers, the mutazakka, those drawing regular allowances, are contrasted with the mutawatwâa ('q.v.), volunteers who served in the early Islamic armies without regular stipends but who shared in the plunder. A single pay allowance was termed a razka, pl. razakâ. A considerable amount of information can be gleaned from the sources on the pay procedures, the intervals between payments, etc., both of the central caliphate and also of its provincial successor dynasties; see, in particular, W. Hoenerbach, Zur Herrersubstitution der Abgässien. Studien über Absarafa, Diwan al-qait, in J., xxix (1950), 278 ff., and C.E. Bosworth, Abû Abdallah al-Kuwasari on the technical terms of the secretary's art, in FESHO, xii (1969), 144-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

RIZWAN BEGOVIC [see RIJWAN BEGOVIC]...

RODOS, Turkish name (popular pronunciation also Rako) for Rhodos, Greek name for the ancient port city of Rhodes, both fem.),(an island and port city near the southwestern corner of Turkey, since 1948 a Greek possession and administrative centre of the nomos of Dodekanesos [see ON KI' ADA].

Rhodes stands out for its relatively large size (1,404 km²; the second largest island of the eastern Aegean after Lesbos (see MÖDILLI); maximum length between capes Kumburnu and Praso, 80 km, maximum breadth between capes Lardos and Astakias, 38 km), regular shape (an extended ellipse with a northeast-southwest axis), position at the southeastern extremity of the Aegean archipelago, and proximity to the Anatolian coast (18 km to the nearest point on Daraçya peninsula; 45 km separate the harbours of Rhodes and Marmaris). The interior is relatively mountainous (Attaviros, 1215 m/3,985 ft. is the highest peak) and has one of the last remaining forests that once covered the Aegean islands. Its climate, however, never extreme climate, beautiful scenery, and thriving vineyards and orchards, have since Antiquity elicited praise from poets, pilgrims and tourists.

In the past it was the island's strategic location on or near shipping lanes linking the eastern Mediterranean with the Aegean, Adriatic, and Black Seas that made it play a historic role in trade, war, piracy, and...
traffic of pilgrims to and from the shrines of the Near East. Aside from the context of war with the Byzantines, the caliph Mu'awiya may have foreseen some of these assets when in 52/672 he sent a fleet under Djinādāb. Abī Umayya al-Azdī to seize Rhodes after a preliminary raid in 33/654 staged by him while still governor of Syria; al-Balāḏūrī states that when Yazīd succeeded Mu'awiya seven years later, he ordered Djinādā to destroy the fort built after the conquest and return to Syria. Byzantine reports imply, however, that the Arabs occupied the island intermittently until definitively withstood off 12/727 by Berenice, ostensibly their failure to take Constantinople. According to a Byzantine source, the Muslims sold during their brief presence the bronze statue of the Colossus, since 225 BC lying toppled by earthquake in the sea, to a Jewish merchant of Edessa as scrap metal.

The next and most dramatic steps of Rhodes into Islamic history began when the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers, after 1530 better known as Knights of Malta [see DWAIYYA and ISBITARIYYA in Suppl.]) acquired it as their new base and headquarters. This military and charitable order, driven out of Acre [see 'AKKĀ], their last possession in Palestine, in 1291 by the Mamlūks, first moved to Cyprus as guests of the Lusignan dynasty, but by 1309 they established themselves in Rhodos as a complex theocratic, commercial, and naval power until their defeat and expulsion by Süleyman the Magnificent 213 years later. Besides adding various buildings of religious and utilitarian nature, the Knights kept strengthening the fortifications of the city and port to the point where it would take a supreme effort by the Ottoman empire at the peak of its might to conquer it. On the commercial and economic level, the Order, which also possessed several other islands of the Dodecanese as well as the fortress of St. Peter (ancient Halicarnassus; see BOURLIM) and the small but important island of Meis (Castellorizo) by the Turkish coast, prospered through trade carried on by a cosmopolitan lay community benefiting from the security assured by the rulers, but also through lucrative piracy cloaked in the mantle of Holy War and practiced both by the Knights themselves and by privateers welcomed under specific conditions. On the charitable level, the Order lived up to its original mission of caring for sick and needy pilgrims, for their hospital, and ran a hospital described with admiration by many travellers; and on the military level, the Order, although initially new to maritime matters, created a small but efficient fleet that became a thorn in the side of the Muslim powers of the eastern Mediterranean, although initially new to maritime matters, created a small but efficient fleet that became a thorn in the side of the Muslim powers of the eastern Mediterranean, first the Mamlūks and then the Turks. Having originated and functioned in Palestine as a byproduct of the Crusades early in the 12th century, the Hospitallers retained some of this attitude and participated in several later Crusades, but in 1344 they played a vital role in the league organised by Pope Clement VI that captured İzmir from the amīr of Aydīn [q.v.]; placed in charge of the city, they withstood all Turkish attempts to dislodge them until Timūr [q.v.] stormed the place in 1403. In 1365, the Hospitallers participated in the sack of Alexandria led by Peter D'Acquasparta, which they provoked with a belated but vigorous response from the Mamlūks, who in 1424-6 reduced Cyprus to vassalage, and who before 1440 and 1444 made three attempts to conquer Rhodos. The second attempt (1443) ended with the siege of Meis, but only the third attacked Rhodos itself; after a 40 days' long siege, however, counterattacks by the Knights forced the Mamlūks to desist and sail back to Damietta. Despite the confrontations with the Mamlūks and, increasingly, the Turks, the Hospitallers also had intermittent diplomatic and commercial relations with the Muslims, not unlike those pursued by Venice and other merchant republics, except that their emphasis was on care for Christian pilgrims (consuls in Jerusalem, Ramla and Damietta). The Knights sent envoys with congratulations and presents on the occasion of Mehmed II's accession in 1451, and after the sultan's conquest of Constantinople, they proposed a commercial treaty. The new crusade projected by the pope-Calixtus II did not materialise, but the plan forced the Knights to change their policy and to resume maritime depredations on Turkish shipping and coasts. As a result, punitive expeditions were sent in the course of the 1450s; none dared to attack the fortified port city itself, but the second under Hamza Bey raidied Istanbōyl/Kos, the Knights' other largest and most important island possession, and the fortress of Archangelos on the northeastern coast of Rhodos. The subsequent accommodation stipulating a cessation of the Knights' depredations had limited effect, partly because war with Venice (1463-79) absorbed the Ottomans' naval resources; the shehzade Djem [q.v.], as governor of Karaman [q.v.], had the task of dealing with the vexing problem. The return of an envoy sent by him to plead with the Knights coincided with the conclusion of the war, and the sultan turned his main attention to Rhodos. An imperial fleet under Mesih Pasha sailed in spring 1480, and the Turks besieged the port city for two months (May-July 1480), but the final assault on 28 July collapsed and they withdrew. The failure may have been partly caused by flaws in the vizier's leadership, but also by the absence of the sultan himself. Moreover, Mehmed II did not repeat the attempt the following year but threw the main force of the empire into a campaign that may have had Rome as its ultimate target; his own death in May 1481 caused the Turks to abandon their bridgehead at Otranto, and the subsequent fifteen years witnessed a paralysing contest between Djem and his brother, Sultan Bāyezīd II [q.v.], for the throne. The shehzade, defeated by his brother on the mainland, took refuge in Rhodos (July-August 1482), whence the Knights transferred him to the custody of their brethren in France; the threat posed by the Pasha of Shemakha (q.v.) to whom the Turks were then forced to pay onerous indemnities, first to the Knights and then to the Pope, and it ceased only with Djem's death in 1495. Even more harmful, however, was the chronic threat posed by the powerful corsair Knights, whose port also functioned as an intelligence centre and a base for other Christian powers and pirates preying on "infidels", and the sultans' protracted neglect to resolve this problem. Ironically, however, the Hospitallers may have unwittingly assisted the birth of Ottoman power in North Africa, and the genesis of the greatest naval epic of the Islamic Mediterranean, when they turned the initially commerce-minded Barbarossa brothers into prodigiously successful Muslim corsairs by temporarily capturing and enslaving Khādīr, the future Khāyru al-Dīn [q.v.]

The overdue conquest of Rhodos was finally achieved by Süleymān the Magnificent after a five months' long siege (July-December 1522) whose magnitude, display of heroism by both sides, as well as mutual courtesy marking the two encounters between the Order's Grand Master Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam and the sultan, have secured it a choice place in the annals of Mediterranean history. Both adversaries were long aware of the inevitability of a
final confrontation. Since the siege of 1480, the Knights had perfected the fortifications to the verge of impregnability. The sultan, however, eager to inaugurate his reign by succeeding where his illustrious ancestor had failed (at Belgrade [q.v.] and Rhodes), threw the formidable resources of the Ottoman empire against the daunting defences of the island fortress. The besiegers had at their disposal a war and logistical fleet estimated at up to 700 vessels; the sultan, who had come overland, embarked at Mar mariis for the island. The operations themselves were revealing for the great strides the art of siege mining had made since the fall of Constantinople; it performed a role against the walls of Rhodes no less crucial than artillery had done against those of the Byzantine capital. The final surrender of the Hospitalers was facilitated by the generous terms which Süleyman the Magnificent accorded them; they included a safe departure of the Order as well as of all others wishing to leave. The Turks entered the fortress on Christmas Eve 1522; churches were turned into mosques on Christmas Day, and on St. Stephens’ Day, a Friday, the sultan held a dînâm, at the end of which he received the Grand Master. The Order’s evacuation, in its own ships, was completed by 1 January 1523, with Viliers de l’Isle Adam leaving on that day. The humaneness displayed by Süleymân at the conclusion of this triumph was marred by the arrest and execution of his uncle Murâd, the son of Djem, who had remained in Rhodes and converted to Christianity, and of his son (his wife and two daughters were sent to Istanbul). Moreover, although the magnanimity of the sultan’s treatment of the defeated Knights is indisputable, its wisdom is less certain: Süleyman underestimated the resiliency of the military order, which would become his nemesis at the conclusion of his life by repulsing a similar attempt to dislodge it from the island of Malta (1565), besides again becoming a thorn in the side of Muslim shipping.

After the conquest and for the rest of the Ottoman period (1522-1912), Rhodes lost much of its former prominence and strategic importance; this was due not only to the fact that it itself no longer threatened Turkish coasts and shipping but also because all of the eastern Mediterranean became part of the empire. Nevertheless, the port city could at times perform an ancillary role in the art of securing the empire against the daunting defences of the island for-
plained not only by the number and experience of scholars studying classical and mediaeval Rhodes but also by the relatively brief and superficial effect which the Muslims had on it. As basic treatment, the article Rhodes in Pauly-Wissowa's Realenzyklopädie can be cited; another example is the ten large volumes of Clara Rhodos, published between 1928 and 1941 by the Istituto Storico-archeologico di Rodi.) Baladhuri, The origins of the Islamic state, tr. P.K. Hitti, New York 1916, repr. 1968, i, 375-6; Arif Ibrahim, Arabic literature in the 12th century, in Historical Journal, xiv (1971), 234-44; A. Khan, The successive Muslim rulers of Hindustan have arrived here in the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries, during which period numerous uprisings of the Katahriya muwādīn ('brigands') are recorded. The importance of Badāʿūn decreased, and Bareilly became the capital, under Badaʿun. In 633/1236 its governor Rukn al-Din became king of Dihl. Some of the earliest Muslim architects in the area dates back to these first governors. Badāʿūn was one of the earliest centres of Muslim culture in North India. Hundreds of Muslim martyrs lie buried there. The sūbah of Badāʿūn was one of the most important administrative centres of governorates already under the Muʿizzī Sultans of Dihl and is mentioned frequently in the Indo-Muslim chronicles. ilitation of Badāʿūn and increased, and Bareilly became the capital, under Shāh Djahān, while Awrangzēb added the district of Sambhal (Western Rohilkhand) to the territory ruled over by the governor of Kātab. The great majority of Afghan immigrants who, from the second half of the 11th/17th to the beginning of the 13th/19th century, settled in Kātab, Rohilkhand originated from the area of Peshāwar [g.v.] and belonged to the Yūsfayz tribe, mostly of the Mandār subsection. At the beginning of the 12th/18th century, Mughal rule in the provinces of Sambhal and Badāʿūn was restricted to the vicinity of the larger cities of Bareilly, Mūradābād and Badāʿūn, while there were already many Afghāns from the Peshāwar area in the local armies of the Kātab rājās, and Kātab at large was dominated by rival Katahriya 2,342-49, new ed., Istanbul 1935, ix, 233-57; Plri Reßme, Kitdb-i 3, 29-34; Mustafa Čelebi Dželāżade [Kodja Nishāndj], Tabākat′ul-memādlik ve derecsis′ul-mesālik, ed. Petka Kappert, 1881, 55-9 (German summary), 65a-103b (facs. of the ms.); Ewliya Čelebi, Seyhatname, Istanbul 1935, vii, 258-77; Fiore Reźs, Kudżā Bahriye, Ankara 1935, 238-42, and new ed., Istanbul 1966, ii, 524-33; Kâtip Čelebi, Tihfet ul-kibārji bul 1988, ii, 524-33; Katip Celebi, Edirne-i Bahr-i Sefid, year 1303 (publ. 1311), in Pauly-Wissowa's Rhodos. The great majority of Afghan immigrants who, from the second half of the 11th/17th to the beginning of the 13th/19th century, settled in Kātab, Rohilkhand originated from the area of Peshāwar [g.v.] and belonged to the Yūsfayz tribe, mostly of the Man-
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Radjput, Djat and Bandjara zamindars. Dawud Khan (ca. 1122-37/1710-25), founder of the Rohilla state, started his career as a petty horsetrader, and for some time was a military entrepreneur and cavalry officer in the service of one of the local zamindars of Katahr. The succeeding Rohilla leader, ‘Ali Muhammad Khan (1137-62/1725-49), became increasingly involved in Mughal politics, assumed the title of Nawâsb [q. v.]—which was soon recognised by the emperor—and set up court at the new capital of Aonla. This happened in the wake of Nâdir Shah’s invasion (1152/1739), when new waves of Yusufzay immigrants from Roh swallowed the Rohilla ranks to around 100,000. In 1155/1742 a large campaign into the Terai and the northern hills was undertaken; Ku- maon and Garhwal were reduced to tributary status. At the time of ‘Ali Muhammad Khan’s death, Mughal imperial influence in Rohilkhand had vanished. Kâ’im Khan, the Bangash nauwâb of the adjacent Afghan principality of Farrukhabad [q. v.], as the senior member of the Afghan nobility at the Dihli court, now claimed the whole of Rohilkhand. He was killed, however, in the ensuing struggle with the Rohillas in 1161/1748-9, near Bada’ûn. Rohilkhand then became a confederacy of small principalities based on a dense and flourishing urban network. Another Rohilla parvenu, Nadjib ad-Dawla (1166-84/1753-70), who, as ‘Ali Ahmad Khan’s wazir, was appointed as a viceroy of Rohilkhand in 1175/1761, as reward for the other Rohilla leaders Hafiz Rahmat Khan [q. v.] and Dündî Khan, who took possession of his territory. In 1166/1753 Hâfiz Rahmat Khan sided with the minister Sa’dar Djang [q. v.], while Nadjib ad-Dawla sided with the Emperor and was awarded a mansab [q. v.] of 5,000. In 1169/1756 Nadjib ad-Dawla joined the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Durrânî or Abdâlî [q. v.]. In 1170/1757 Nadjib ad-Dawla obtained an appointment as Mir Bâkhâli. All the principal Rohilla chiefs allied themselves with Ahmad Shah Abdâli and played an important role in his victory over the Marâthâs at Pânîpat [q. v.] in 1174/1761. As rewards, extensive territories were assigned to them by the victor. But the Rohilla leaders could not consolidate their gains because of mutual jealousies. Nadjib ad-Dawla died in 1180/1765 amid disorders, and in 1180/1765 Dabîta Khan, Hâfiz Rahmat Khan and his allies among the Rohilla chiefs were utterly overthrown by Shudâlâ [q. v.] and the English in 1188/1774. Dabîta Khan (d. 1199/1785), who was not involved in this conflict, maintained his position with difficulty; his son Ghulâm Kâdir became infamous by seizing Dihli and blinding the Emperor Shah ʿAlâm (1202/1788). He was killed soon afterwards, and Rohilkhand rule in the upper Do‘âb also disappeared; the Râmpur State [q. v.] was the only Rohilla principality to survive.

The Rohillas obtained commendation from contemporary observers for their promotion of agriculture. As builders, their contributions were modest, though Nadjib ad-Dawla left a town named after him (Nadjibabâb [q. v.]), where he built a fort and some other buildings. Nor did the Rohillas leave much of an imprint on art and literature. They do not appear to have maintained their own language and identity, in any notable way, and it soon disappeared. In the next century, the Rohillas under Kân Bahâdur Khân, a grandson of Hâfiz Rahmat Khân, joined the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-8 and suffered the consequences of its failure.

the Mughal Empire, iv, repr. Calcutta 1964; Sh. Ab-
dur Rashid, Najibud Daula, his life and times, Aligarh
1932; Ibqal Husain, The rise and decline of Rohilla chief-
tains, New Delhi 1993.

RÖHTAS, a fortress in the Jhelum District of the Pandjāb province of Pakistan (lat. 32°55' N., long.
73°48' E.), 16 km/10 miles to the northwest of Jhelum town. It was built by Shīr Shāh Sūr [q.v.] in 949/1542 after his victory over the Mughal Humayün [q.v.] and named after Shīr Shāh Sūr’s other fortress in Bihār, Rūhtāsgarh [q.v.].

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, xxi, 332.

RÖHTASGARH, a hill fortress and settlement in the Shāhābād District in the northeast of the state of Bihār in the Indian Union (lat. 24°37' N.,
73°48' E.), some 50 km/30 miles south of the town of Sahsaram when he was ap-
pointed governor of Bihār and Bengal. It was sur-
rendered to the British army in Bengal soon after the
day of Baksar (Buxar [q.v.]) in 1764 through the ef-
forts of Mir Kāsim Ali’s opponent Ghulām Husayn Khān Tabātābā [q.v.].

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India, xxi, 322-3.

RÖNTA [see RONDA].

ROSHANAYYA [see RAWSHANAYYA].

AL-rukāsī, Ibn Akhī Muṣādh al-Harrā [q.v. al-Ru’aynī]
Mahmūd [b. AL-ḤASAN] b. Ābī Sārā b-Nili al-
Nabwī, Ābū Djiāfar, an Arab grammarian,
regarded to be the legendary founder of the Kufān school of grammar.

Very little is known about his life and grammatical views, which are rarely quoted by later grammarians. The legend about al-Ru’āsī’s founding the Kufan school of grammar seems to have been invented by the polemsics with al-Mubarrad. Both grammarians quote the name of al-Ru’āsī (this name from the largeness of his head) in a clearly polemical vein. Al-Ru’āsī is said to be quoted by Sibawayh as al-Kūfī ‘the Kufan’, which is not cor-
borated by the text of al-Kītāb. Al-Ru’āsī was a man of wide contacts and studied under or proba-
ably as Ibn al-Anbārī, his nephew) of the inventor of tarīqī and Kurān reader Muṣādh al-
Harrā, which might be inferred from his name Ibn Akhī Muṣādh al-Harrā. Later grammatical sources (e.g. al-Suyūtī) confuse al-Ru’āsī with his relative Muṣādh al-Harrā. In Kufā, al-Ru’āsī studied Kurānic recitation (harfū) under al-A’māz (d. 147/764); grammar he learned from Ḥāfa b. ‘Uthmān and Ābū ‘Amr b. al-A’zā. His disciples in Kurānic recitation were Khalīl b. al-Minākāri and ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Kindī, and in grammar al-Kisā’ī and al-Farrā, both famous grammarians from the Kufan school. He is said to have visited Baṣra, but was never accepted there as a grammarian. Kufa seems not to have been his favourite dwelling place; most of the time he spent in the neighbouring al-Nīl (whence his name); he received his wife originating from where his wife originated. Judging from secondary evidence, al-Ru’āsī lived in the second half of the 9th century; he was a contemporary of al-
Khālīl b. Ahmad [q.v.], with whom he maintained contacts. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd he was said to have been very old (‘ummira).

None of his works is extant. (1) His most frequently mentioned work on grammar is the treatise al-Faysāl (“The Decisive”). The 3rd/9th century grammarians Ibn al-Sarrāj claimed to have read it (according to Yahyā). His other grammatical works are: (2) al-
Tāfālīr on the diminutive; (3) al-‘Irād wa l-‘iqlam on the singular and plural. His main interest lay, however, in practical problems of Kurānic recitation. Quoted are the following works: (4) Kitāb Maṣā’īl al-Kurān (‘al-Ru’āsī’s teachers and according to their teachings. Its methodology and value have been assessed by al-Ahwām and Forneas in their seminal works on Andalusian bibliographical literature. Al-
Ru’aynī’s haremād, contrary to Ibn Khayrāb’s F],
(especially *kira‘ātl*), *adab* works (like al-Hariri’s *Makdmdt*) and poetry. Among the data which he offers, it is worth noting the transmission of the *shā`ir‘ī*’s *hudud* ‘*alā *tābīt al-kadar* by al-Murādī, of the *Makmāt* al-sublān by al-Khaḍrādī, of other barāmīdī (he quotes many *rūyāt* by Ibn `Ubayd Allāh al-Hādijārī, d. 591/1194, through Abu 1-`Abbās al-`Azafrī), of al-Suhrawardi’s *K.* *A`tmān al-ma`arīf* and *Iyād*’s *K.* *al-Shīf‘ā.* He has recorded valuable information about his teachers and contemporaries, like Ibn Hishām al-Azdi (the author of *Mufid li ‘l-hukkām*), Ibn Khāzradjī, of other *ugāyāt*, Ibn Ikhshid’s leaning towards *ru`ūb* and poetry is shown in his *Ikhwāt min al-madīnī fī ḥadīth al-mu`adhdhīna, al-khawdīr min al-masā’il fī ḥadīth al-mu`addalāt, a continuation of the works by Ibn Khāzradjī and Ibn Bāsām [q.v.]. He also wrote a work on *hadīth* entitled *Iktifād* al-sanan ji *intikāf* arba`a. The *shā`ir* *al-khawdīr min al-mahdsin fi ḥadīth al-mudda al-`adhbah by al-Murādī*, of other *ugāyāt*, and *al-Suhrawardi’s K.*

In the 3rd/9th century, Muslim astronomers developed three main varieties of smaller quadrants (*rubūb* for timekeeping [see *miqāt*]. First, the horary quadrant (*rubūb* al-`adhbah), marked with a radial solar scale and curves for the hours. With this one could simply hold the quadrant vertically and align the radial edge towards the sun’s sights requiring the hour and then the quadrant would hang over the hour curves, and from its position relative to these one could read the time (see Ps. XXXII, XXXIII). Second, the trigonometric or sine quadrant, marked with a set of parallel horizontal lines (originally for each 15° on the outer scale, representing hour lines). With this one could calculate the time of day *T* in seasonal hours [see *shīb*] from the observed solar altitude *h* and the meridian solar altitude *H*—the formula was approximate, equivalent to the following in modern notation:

\[
T = \frac{1}{15} \arcsin \left( \frac{\sin h}{\sin H} \right)
\]

(Note that the boundary conditions when the sun is on the horizon (*T* = 0 when *h* = 0) and on the meridian (*T* = 6 when *h* = *H*) are satisfied; the formula is in fact accurate at the equinoxes.) This approximate formula has the advantages that it is much simpler than the accurate formula, that it works for any terrestrial latitude (within limits), and that it yields good results for most practical purposes (if only for lower latitudes, and certainly not for latitudes in Northern Europe). From this quadrant there developed in later centuries the sine quadrant (*rubūb* *mudayyub*) with markings resembling modern graph-paper; with this any problem of mediaeval trigonometry could be solved (see Pl. XXXV). Third, the universal horary quadrant (*rubūb* *ṣafā†), designed to solve the same trigonometric formula as the second variety but quite different in appearance. The hour-curves are now a set of circular arcs radiating from the centre to each 15° on the outer scale (with a semicircle representing the sixth hour, that is, midday). Such markings were used by Muslim and European astronomers for over a millennium, mainly on the backs of astrolabes [see *astulfar*] and sometimes in combination, as shown in Pl. XXXIII, and it can be assumed that few in later centuries (especially the Europeans) had any idea of the underlying formula. This quadrant, then, is universal (*ṣafā†*), and one enters simply with the solar meridian altitude, but it can be made specific by having a cursor marked with a solar or a calendrical scale on the outer rim. A 3rd/9th-century treatise from Baghdād describes such an instrument with either a fixed cursor, serving a single latitude, or a movable cursor, enabling the user to enter with the solar longitude. This instrument was known in mediaeval Europe as *quadrans vetus* (see below). Few early Islamic quadrants survive. But the same markings—for performing trigonometric calculations or for finding the hours—were added to the backs of astrolabes, and it is there that we can trace their development in instrumentation.

In the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century, probably in Egypt, an astronomer whose name is unknown to us hit on the clever idea of using one-half of the markings on an astrolabe plate as a quadrant, replacing the rete...
with a thread with movable bead attached at the centre (rubāʾ al-mukantard). The earliest surviving examples of this kind of astrolabic quadrant are by the early-8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mizzī. Such quadrants, with trigonometric markings on the back, were very popular in the Ottoman Empire and generally replaced the astrolabe in those regions. Dozens of late examples survive (see Pls. XXXIV, XXXV).

The writings of al-Marrākūsh (fl. Cairo, ca. 680/1280 [q. v.]) and Ibn al-Sarrājī (fl. Aleppo, ca. 780-820), of which the latter was the author of a lost treatise on Cleomedes' and Albert of Bohemia's (B. Dorn, Bey and the sine quadrant, in [1975], 108-24; J. Moulierac (ed.), Syne, mémoire et documents, Memoires de l'Academie Im-

Gli strumenti, Turin 1991, 154-89 and 581-5. Some of the earliest texts on the horary quadrant with cur-
A trigonometric quadrant (upper left), horary quadrant for a specific latitude, in this case 41° serving Istanbul (upper right) and a universal horary quadrant (lower right) on an astrolabe dated 1125 AH [≈ 1713-14] signed by ‘Abdi. Courtesy of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford (inv. no. 57-84/171A, diameter 131 mm).
The astrolabic markings for latitude 33°30', serving Damascus, on a quadrant signed by Muḥammad al-Ṣakāsī (؟) al-Djarkāsī ca. 1800 (radii 134/110 mm). Private collection, courtesy of the owner, photographs (also Pl. XXXV) courtesy of Mr. Luis Marden, Washington, D.C.
The trigonometrical markings on the back of the same instrument include all of the special lines and curves devised by Muslim astronomers over the centuries for solving specific problems of timekeeping.
Cheesman, *The deserts of Jafura and Jabrin*, in *GJ*, lvx [Jan.-June 1925], 139). According to Cox, Bertram Thomas, Wilfred Thesiger and H.R.P. Dickson, the name Rub\(^\circ\) al-Kh\(\text{h}l\)\(\text{i}\) was unknown to the indigenous people living around the desert perimeter and the only general term known to most modern travellers to describe the desert was “al-Ramal” or “al-Rimal” (Thomas, 180; Thesiger, 37), although Cox also encountered the term Nufud as well. Within the desert, specific tracts are identified by particular names, such as al-Ka‘āmilīyāt, Shuwayklā, Hawayā, Ramlat al-Khākhariya, Bayt Kathlā and Jurān-awān. Thomas (1930-1), Philby (1932) and Thesiger (1946-7, 1947-8) all conducted major journeys of exploration in the sands, and in modern times, oil exploration and development have made it relatively more accessible. Today, a number of international boundaries in the Rub\(^\circ\) al-Kh\(\text{h}l\)\(\text{i}\) are disputed and the discovery of oil has encouraged conflicting claims, several of which remain unresolved.


(G.R.D. King)

RU'BA b. AL-'ADDJADJ AL-TAMIMI, Abu 'l-Djahláf (Abū Muhammad also occurs), an Arab poet of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsida era (d. 145/762), the greatest exponent of the raďaz [q.v.] kasida. The name Ru'ba, by which he was called after his grandfather, is attested seven times, and its diminutive Ru'ayba eight times, in Ibn al-Kalbi's genealogy (see Caskel-Strenzienki ii, 489f). There is no clear cluster of attestations in Eastern Arabia, which makes Krenkow's contention (see EP, s.n.) that the name is the Persian ṭūbāh “fox” less likely. Arabic philologists suggest several explanations of this peculiar name (Ibn Durayd, al-līthbīk, 260). Al-'A...
tains several monothematic pieces, in particular three
desert descriptions (nos. 1, ... This in-
volved recourse to anecdote betrays awareness of the
specifically Persian origin of the quatrain. But Shams
kasida apparently in the less usual sense of people
kadariyyun, which is the
wa kdtimi 'l-a^mdki khawi 'l-mujshtarak),
159). (4) Koranic
fakhr added to the ones collected in KADARIYYA, vol. IV,
believing in predestination (this attestation to be
this may be true, it should be noted that no. 40 (start-
L
in his poetry, he remained a favourite of
ofgharib, not
survives.


Beiträge zum Diwdn des Ru^bah, ed. Geyer in his
S.B. Ah. Wien, clxiii (1910). Even then there remain
Diiamben, Leipzig 1908; M.T. al-Bakri, K. Arägi
c-arab, Cairo 1313/1895-6); Brockelmann, S I, 90-1;
Seszgin, GAS, ii, 357-9 and additions by R. Weipert in
ZGAW, ii (1985), 259, and Orions, xxxii (1990), 355; C.-A. C.-A.
Nallino, La littérature arabe des origines à l'époque de la dynastie umayyade, Paris 1950, 156-62; R. Blachère, Histoire de la littérature arabe, iii, Paris 1966, 526-90; M. Ullmann, Untersuchungen zur
Ragazpoesie, Wiesbaden 1966, 29-37; Kh. T. al-
Hilâlî: Dirâsâ lugbâyiyat fi arâjîğî Rûba wa-l-
'Adîjâdî, 2 vols., Bagh'dâd 1982 (vol. ii being a
dictionary of the two diwâns). (W. P. Heinrichs)
RUBâI (pl. RUBÂIYYAT), a verse form.

1. In Persian.

In Persian, this is the shortest type of formulaic
poem; its long history, the strict rules governing its
type and the richness of its expression makes it one of
the jewels of Persian literature, now usually
accurately called "quatrain" (Arabic rubâ', "in fours, in
foursomes"; rubâ', composed of four parts >
"quadriliteral"). In the 7th/13th century, Shâms-i
Kays explained the Arabic appellation thus:
"because, in Arabic poetry, the hazâdî metre is made up
of four parts; thus, each bajî (in Persian) con-
structed on this metre forms two bajîs in Arabic" (Shâms, 115, ii, 3-4). This reference to Arabic poetic
technique, in describing a specifically Persian form of
poem has for a long time confused study of the
quatrain.

Shâms-i Kays, in his magisterial treatise on Persian poetic
technique (completed after 630/1232), al-
Ma'qûm fi ma'âyir ašîrâr al-adâjîm, tells the story of an
ancient Persian poet ("and I think that it was
Rûdâkî", 112, i. 4) who invented the metre of the
quatrain on hearing a winsome child crying out in the
course of a game: ghâlîn ghâlîn hamirawad tâ bun-i gu
("the ball is rolling, rolling to the bottom of the
ditch"), i.e. in quantitative metre: 4 4 4 4. On
account of its rhythm and freshness, the poem thus
invented was called târânî ("young and fine");
"it was also called du bajî (with two bajîs). This
involved recourse to anecdote betrays awareness of the
specifically Persian origin of the quatrain. But Shâms
no longer possessed the elements which would have enabled him to address correctly the study of the
languages by Fr. Gladwin, Garcin de Tassy, Fr. Rücker-W. Persch and H. Bloechmann, are an-
notated translations of the latter. All give prominent place to the problem of the rubāʾī, as does Shams-i Kays.
In the first chapter of al-Muʿjam, the first metre of which he analyses the constitution and usage is the bahār-i haṣādī, a metre of quantitative rhythm composed of a foot of one short and three longs (mafṣūṭūn) repeated three times, hence four equal feet. Like his predecessors, Shams seeks to locate the rubāʾī among the realisations of the Arabic haṣādī metre; but he finds it so original that he relegated study of it to a footnote at the end of his survey of this metre. He then has recourse to the authority of an ānān of Khorāsān, Hasan Kaṭṭān (115, l. 19), who had constructed an overall diagram formed of two trees with twelve branches, designed to show all the opportunities for “changing the foot by excision of a syllable” (zihāf), available in Persian in the usage of rubāʾī and “which did not exist in Arabic” (115, l. 5), even though “today”, he says, there are numerous rubāʾīyyāt in Arabic, imitations of the Persian. Case by case, over six pages, Shams subsequently brings his aesthetic appreciation to bear on the major realisations of haṣādī metre in the rubāʾī; these are formed on the basis of two principal types of excision of a letter (or of a syllable) at the beginning of a foot, ḥār or ḥarm. The specifically Persian tarānā was thus forced into a mould which was inappropriate for it and from which modern ingenuity has been unable to extricate it (M. Farzaad, Persian poetic metres, Leiden 1967, 99-123).

In order to escape from the impasse to which the false path of haṣādī was leading, it has been necessary to undertake a philological study of the antecedents of this sophisticated rubāʾī and a statistical study of the reality of the usage of the metre of the Persian quatrain, setting all theories aside. It is undisputed that three elements characterise the rubāʾī: brevity, the absence or minimum of caesuras, and the rhyme appropriateness to its structure. In its classical form, it is the shortest of Persian poems. Each one begins in the same formal fashion. It is composed of two baytāt; each baytā consists of two mīrāḍ’s or hemistichs; the four mīrāḍ’s have the same metre, or are arranged in pairs, with two variants of the metre. Mīrāḍ’s 1, 2 and 4 rhyme; in some cases mīrāḍ 3 also rhymes with the others. In short, it is a form offering almost limitless possibilities for stylistic experiments.

It is not known when the quatrain first came into existence. Its emergence in literature can be pinpointed, but it is certainly of pre-Islamic origin, and of popular origin also: the du baytā remains a form of poetry widely practised throughout the Persian cultural sphere. Historically, the quatrain has followed the evolution of Persian poetry in general. Whatever direction it takes, the quatrain is a prose poem written in a syllabic metre and an accentual verse with caesura; rhyme, admittedly irregular, appears in the early Islamic period, and is followed by the use of quantitative metre, irregular at first, ultimately becoming regular quantitative versification, with regular rhyme (Lazard 1975, 612-14). The appearance, under Arabic influence, of rhyme dictated by increasingly stringent rules is understandable; more singular is the subjecttion of the Iranian syllabic metre to Arabic quantitative prosody (Benveniste 1930, 224). There was imitation of the quantitative principle, but application took account of previous realities. It is for this reason that the Persian metre differs from the Arabic metre in the distribution of long sounds; this applies particularly to the quatrain. The Persian metre is a syllabic metre, but with syllables divided into long and short. Accents and caesuras had moulded the elementary distributions of syllables; the major Persian metres are moulded according to these distributions. The accent has ceased to be a factor in the distribution of syllables in the classical bayt. The reckoning of syllables, short and long, is what matters in Persian metrical systems, rather than the reckoning of letters, which are important only for the rhyme.

Various studies have been undertaken (Benveniste, Henning, Lazard and Shafi’i Kadkani) with the object of identifying, in fragments of verse in Pahlavi (of the Bundahish) and in older Persian (before the 3rd/9th century), transmitted through texts in Arabic as well as in Manichaean fragments, what used to be known as the tarānā, a term of pre-Islamic origin which denoted songs intended for feasting and wine. Rūdaki (d. 329/940 [q.v.]) had, at the apogee of the Sāmānids of Bukhārā, a leading role, owed to a poetic genius which led to his acceptance as a master by all the poets of the 5th/11th century. Numerous quatrains were attributed to him (including, no doubt, some pseudepigrapha), and he was even credited with the invention of the genre. But among poets who preceded him, some by as much as a century, and among poets contemporary with him, examples are known of poems which conform to the characteristic traits of the rubāʾī. In Arabic, the rubāʾī did not appear until the end of the 4th/10th century, in Khorāsān and from the pen of a poet of Pūrang in the region of Harāt (Shafi’i Kadkani, 1988, 2331), evidently under Persian influence.

Another important feature in the history of the quatrain is its usage in Sūfī circles. The question was posed in the 4th/10th century: whether in the course of the spiritual observance and the dance which accompanies it (sāmsā [q.v.]), it is permitted to listen to rubāʾīyyāt (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāḏ al-Ṭūsī (d. 378/988), K. al-Lumd, al-rubāʾīyyat 2337, 1. 22). It is therefore not astonishing that in the 5th/11th century the quatrain was in use among all the Persian lyrical poets. Attempts have been made to establish Abū Saʿīd Abī Ẓ-al-Khayr (d. 440/1049 [q.v.]) as the inventor of the quatrain in Sūfīsm; like others before him, he experimented with it, but his eminent role in the history of Khorāsānī Sūfīsm gave added respectability to the rubāʾī, and poems attributed to him were considered to have been endorsed by his authority. In the same period, the Ḥanbalī Sūfī al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1088 [q.v.]) composed some five quatrains, and the mountain-dwelling hermit Bābā Tāhir (d. in the middle of the same century [q.v.]) expressed the sum of his experience in du baytā in which his Persian was
blended with dialectal elements of Luristan. There are few poets who, over ten centuries, have not practised the quartain; the modern period has seen the evolution of variants of the rubāʿī having 3 or 5 mirāṣ. The most widely admired author of quartains is Umar Khayyām (d. before 530/1135 q.v.); his life, his work and his eminent position made him an easy target for pseudoeuphoribical artifice; it was not until a century after his death that a copy of a quartain attributed to him was found, but the scholarly scepticism which is observed here corresponds closely to that which was denounced by the great mystic Ḡazī (d. ca. 617/1220 [q.v.]), in regard to Khayyām precisely (Ḥāfiz-nāma, II, 5169-83). Thus was born a Khayyāmian tradition of quartains, from the terrible century of the Mongols, the 17th/13th, onwards.

In his study of Persian metre based on statistical findings, P. N. Khānli (Khānli 1966), has demonstrated once again that the metre of the rubāʿī followed rules exclusive to it. The basic structure of what he calls the ḥāt vā ṭarānā consists, he asserts, of five feet; the first and the fourth, comprising two longs, never vary; feet 2 and 5, made up of two longs, may have as a variant: ʿūʿ; foot 3, constructed thus: ʿūʿ, can have two variants: ʿūʿ and ʿū. Twelve principal realisations are identified by the author, emanating from the possibilities offered by these variants.

L. P. Elwell-Sutton (1976, 134-6), has set aside the division into feet and has sought to group the realisations of a sample of 400 lines or "hemistiches" (mirāṣ), under patterns capable of producing all the realisations. A group a corresponds to a basic pattern constructed thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-a-b-c-d} & \\
\text{a-b-c-d-a} & \\
\text{a-c-d-a-b} & \\
\text{c-a-b-d} & \\
\text{a-b-a-c} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

This is the most ancient, the most popular and the most frequent; group b:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-a-b-c-d} & \\
\text{a-b-c-d-a} & \\
\text{a-c-d-a-b} & \\
\text{b-a-b-a} & \\
\text{a-b-a-c} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

For the two shorts in the penultimate position, it is quite common to substitute one long; the same substitution for the two shorts in the third position is exceptional, and this would be out of place in the middle of the line. These features are quite typical of Persian metre. The statistical survey has also enabled the author to state that lines of 12 and 11 syllables are the most frequent, and that there is no evidence to show that the rhyme pattern A A A A in the quatrain is older than the rhyme pattern A A B A, although the latter obtains in 70% of cases.

The quartain is not restricted to a unique semantic field; it may be lyric, satirical, mystical, philosophical, conveying aphoristic maxims or expressing states of mind. It should be dignified (buland), or delicate (laif), or mordant (āţī). Its structure should be such that the first three mirāṣ introduce the fourth, the first two sharing a certain unity, whereas the ternary structure which is encountered in a number of quartains (Bausani 1960, 532) While quartains are to be found in almost all the Persian diwāns, there are some diwāns which are composed exclusively of quartains.

There are numerous translations of Persian quartains. The technical problems of translating the rubāʿī into European languages have only recently been the object of systematic consideration (Lazard 1974). The object must be to convey an impression of the form of the rubāʿī, a poem of such rigorous intensity that the rhythmic clash of words is constantly striking brilliant sparks of intelligence.


(C.-H. DE FOUCHECOUR)
for the "rubāʾi" (~ PGR) neither a Turkish nor a Persian origin can finally be proven (although PGR is documented in the Persian literature much earlier). At any rate, the four-line strophe is popular both in Turkish and Persian mediaeval and modern lyrics. The same differentiation is also expressed in Bertel's, 88, 107; the PGR has originated under the influence of the Turkish FLS, but it has assumed its ultimate shape in Persian literature.

The origin of the Persian PGR under the influence of the Turkish FLS has been underlined still more extensively by Atabat al-hakīdī (generally), cf. Kopruçu, 341. To be sure, these verses are no PGR, but FLS in its perfect structure. This sequence is widespread in modern Turkish folk-poetry, not only in the Anatolian mānī (q.v.) and in other regions of Western Turks, such as Persia, but also in Central Asia (Karakalpak, Kazakh, Uzbek and New Uyghur folklores). It is even found in South Siberia—above all in Tannu-Tuva—and this may be a hint at the archaic character of aaba in the Turkish world. On the other hand, in Iranian folk-poetry aaba is also well-documented. In Iranian educated literature, the older rubāʾiyāt have mostly the rhyme sequence aaaa, cf. Elwell-Sutton, 639-44; seven Persian poets of the 5th/11th century offer 905 cases of aaaa (91%), against only 91% (9%) aaba. In Umar Khayyām's work, on the contrary, aaba prevails over aaba (70%: 30%), and this norm is still more valid in Hāfīz, where aaaa has become extremely rare (about 2.5%).

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The Turkish development is almost a parallel of the Iranian one. However, extensive statistical investigations of this topic are still lacking, and poets seem to behave very differently. Mir 'All Shīr Nawā'ī (845-906/1441-501) favours aaba both in his Caghatay Turkish and Persian rubāʾiyāt about 88%. The last word is often identical in all four verses (then generally with a radi'ī [q.v.]). In poems of the Aḥārbarbāyjānw poet Nezāmī (770-820/1369-1417), aaba prevails over aaba (and xaya): 314 (86%) 52: 1. But in the East Anatolian Kādī Burhān al-Dīn's (745-800/1345-98) poems we find aaba : xaya in a relation of 19: 1; similarly in the Rumelian Yāḥyā Newīyī's (940-1007/1533-99) rubāʾiyāt, aaba : xaya = 8 : 3; and in the Istanbul Hālecī's (977-1040/1570-1631) poems (here, for example, the 16 poems quoted by Gibb, iii, 227-30, all belong to Kādī Burhān al-Dīn), the Aḥārbarbāyjāw poet Fudūlī's (d. 963/1556) work:
aaba : aaaa = 65 : 7 (three aaaa with radi', i.e. 90%: 10%). Generally speaking, the rhyme sequence aaba (which corresponds to that of the mānī) found increased use in the course of time, particularly in the western area of Turkish literatures.

These and other hints at the Turkish origin of the FLS and PGR are remarkable, and may be due to a narrow Turkish-Iranian symbiosis. However, the PGR in its ideal form is owed to the Persians and above all to Umar Khayyām. It remains (Eilers, 212) "ein wundervolles Zeugnis des persischen Genius". This PGR has been adopted by both Ottoman-Aḥārbarbāyjānw and Caghatay literature and plays an enormous role there. Kabakī, 618, understands when he says that every Diwān poet has written "one or two rubāʾiyāt"; PGRs, sometimes in great number, are found in almost every important divān.

The earliest documented purely Turkish PGR was written by Mubārakshāh from Marw-i Rūd [q.v.] in eastern Khorāsān. It presumably belongs to the end of the 6th/12th century: wa'ūd beršān nā'ūn kalāmsān / sōz xalqānīn mānīng bīlā koymešān / yūzīng kūn u sāt xūn kāra kārmāsān / ẓakīngda kārārīz ẓā'ā dībā bīmāsān "thou givest me a promise, (but) why doest thou not come? Thou abandonest neither lying nor
me. Thou dost not see that thy face is (bright as) the sun and thy hairs are black (as) the night. Furthermore, there are two monacrons of rubâ'îyyât dating from the same period, Badr al-Dîn al-Kawwâmi of the Râyî Ogãz (6th/12th century, with a rhyme sequence asaa) and Kurâshî from Transoxania (7th/13th century, rhyme sequence aaba), cf. Köprülüzâde, Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında avârîmâl, 118-20.

According to Köprülû (344, and in PTF, ii, 256) the PGR metre is not adapted for the Turkish language ("étranger au rythme du métronome national et très difficile à adapter à la langue turque ... caprices individuels des poètes turcs possédant une solide connaissance de la métrique persane"). On the other hand, he explains (1934, 350) that the PGR was readily adaptable to Turkish prosody, since it is a four-line strophe. Indeed, the PGR has become a favoured genre in the Turkish literatures, at least those more or less influenced by Persian poetry. This preference lasted from the earliest period (e.g. Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn until the modern era (e.g. Yahyâ Kemal Beyâtî, 1884-1958). Rubâ'îyyât have been shaped not only in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, but also in Âdharbâyân (see above; Nesîmi, Fudûlî, and many others), in Turkmenia (Âzâdî, 1700-60) and even in the successive regions of the Ulus Câghhatay (Nawâ'î; Şâhînâ, 853-916/1451-1510; Amânî, 945-1017/1538-1608; Bâbûr, 888-936/1483-1530; Kamrân Mîrzâ, 1825-99; Dişânâ Khatun, 19th century; cf. Eckmann, in PTF, ii, 304-402, and Hofman).

For the poets of the Ottoman Empire (and Turkey) cf. PTF, ii (index 952; references given by Börkman at 403-65); Kabâbî, 618; Türk Anzîklololisisi, 445; Dîlçin, 168, 350, etc., Özkûrîmî, 996, Karâaîloğlu, 605; Necâtîlgil. As well as those named above we may mention as the most outstanding rubâ'î poets: Kara Fâdîl (d. 1564), Rûşîî from Baghdad (d. 1014/1605); Fehim (1036-58/1627-48); Djevîî (d. 1064/1654); Nesîmî (d. 1085/1674); Khayyâm-i Rum. This accentuation of the third verse, the underlying of one for the verses 1,2,4 (which also rhyme with each other) and another for the third (in the aaba pattern, unrhymed) verse: this is a frequent usage in Persian poetry too, for example in 'Umar Khayyâm's poems. This accentuation of the third verse, the underlying of its particular character is also known in the Turkish poetry too, for example in Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn's 20 rubâ'îyyât are all akkhrêb; in Fucjullî's 72 examples, only one akkhrêb is to be found.

According to Dîlçin, 207, a certain preference exists to employ two different variants in a rubâ'î, namely, one for the verses 1,2,4 (which also rhyme with each other) and another for the third (in the aaba pattern, unrhymed) verse: this is a frequent usage in Persian poetry too, for example in 'Umar Khayyâm's poems. This accentuation of the third verse, the underlying of its particular character is also known in the Turkish poetry too, for example in Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn's 20 rubâ'îyyât are all akkhrêb; in Fucjullî's 72 examples, only one akkhrêb is to be found.

These statements can be corroborated. For example, Newî's 11 rubâ'îyyât and Kâdî Burhân al-Dîn's 20 rubâ'îyyât are all akkhrêb; in Fucjullî's 72 examples, only one akkhrêb is to be found.

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The following table shows the patterns and their frequency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| -w-w-w-w-w- | frequent according to Kabâbî, TDEA, Dîlçin; according to Andrews (along with 2) the most frequent pattern |}

**Note:** The table above shows the various patterns and their frequency according to the sources cited. The patterns are categorized based on their syllable structures, with specific examples provided for illustrative purposes. The table is a representation of the diverse poetic structures employed in the Rubâ'î genre, highlighting the prevalence and variation in rhythmic patterns across different poets and traditions.

3. In Arabic.

The ruba‘îya, lit. "quadrupartite entity", or quatrain occurs in Arabic literary both as an independent verse form and as an element of structure in longer compositions. It represents a comparatively late development of poetic form and its origins are not altogether clear.

The lines of the quatrain can either be lines in the sense of a bayt (two hemistichs with between 16 and 30 syllables and a caesura) or in the sense of a bayt (two hemistichs with between 16 and 30 syllables). In the classical kašîda it is the bayt which represents the unit of structure, in rûfîz poetry it is the šârî. In the ruba‘îya either case can apply, leading to ambiguity in the usage of this term. However, more often than not, the ruba‘îya denotes a quatrain whose lines have the length of half a bayt. This explains why expressions like baytîn ("two bayts") or dubayt (from Persian du ‘two’) also dubayt) are sometimes used as synonyms for ruba‘îya.

Dubayt, however, is more often used for a quatrain of a particular metre (fa‘lûn muṣâfûlûn fa‘lûn fa‘lûn), and rhyme scheme aaba (called a‘raq) or aasa. Common metrical variations are:

\[(a) \text{--w--w--w--w--}; (b) \text{--w--w--w--w--}; (c) \text{--w--w--w--w--}.\]  
When used in this sense, dubayt is the Arabic equivalent of the Persian raûdî. Its origin and historical development are discussed extensively in the introductory essay of Kâmil Mustâfa ‘alâ-Şâhîyî, Dîwân al-dubayt fi l‘Iraq al‘arabî (fi šârîr kurûn), Mangûrît al-šârîmî li Lîbiyîya, n.p. 1392/1972, 15-132. This book contains, arranged according to centuries, a collection of 808 poems in the dubayt metre (mostly quatrains, but also some other forms, such as muwâṣâhahs) by 165 poets from the 5th/11th century until the beginning of the 14th/20th century, together with 120 anonymous poems, of which 14 are in colloquial Arabic. Supplements have been published in al-Ma‘ârid (1975), 153-72, and (1977), 49-108.

In most cases, only a few dubayt quatrains of each author have been handed down in the literature. A more extensive collection is the dubayt diwán Nûkhât al-šâhîr wa-ša‘bîlî al‘rajîh, by Ni‘âm al-Dîn al-Iṣfâhânî (d. after 680/1281 or in 1278, Brockelmann, S I, 449), which contains some 500 quatrains arranged according to rhyme-letter in Arabic (predominantly, Persian), and in a mixture of both languages (mulâmmûn). Eighty of the Arabic quatrains of this author are also in al-Shâbi’s book (see 285-300, t‘imâd al-Dîn al-Iṣfâhânî (519/971-1201 [q.v.]) and Şalâb al-Dîn al-Iṣrâ‘îlî (572-631/1176-1234) are also said to have composed diwâns of dubayt quatrains (see 285-300).

The rise of the dubayt quatrain is placed by al-Shâbi among bilingual Persians in and around Ghazna, and the most easterly Iranian territories. As a date he suggests the 380s A.H., i.e. coinciding more or less with the beginnings of the Persian rûdî. The Persian origin is borne out by the occurrence of a ruba‘îya (q.v.) in three early Arabic dubayts (al-Shâbi, op. cit., nos. 2/1, 5/1 and 8/1).

The earliest textual examples of dubayt quatrains go back to the first half of the 5th/11th century. They are preserved in the Dumyat al-ṣârîr compiled by Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alî al-Bâbkhârî (murdered in 467/1075 [q.v.]). In his comment on one of these quatrains, al-‘Iraqî speaks of "the rûdî metre" (jâma‘ al-ṣârîn al-rubâ‘î). He remarks that he had not heard of this method (farîka) until his father had recited quatrains in this manner (ruba‘îyîd al-ṣârî al-hâdîh ‘l-namâq) (Dumya, ed. Muhammad Râghîb al-Ṭabbâkh, Aleppo 1349/1930, 174). Two early Arabic dubayts are by the Persian mystic Abu Sa‘îd al-‘Abî ‘l-Khâyyr (357/940/967-1049 [q.v.]) famous for his more than 700 poems in the quatrains.

References to quatrains of an earlier date do occur in the literature. Examples are Abu Nâṣr al-Sarrâdî (d. 378/988), Q. al-Luma‘î fi l‘tasawwuf, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London 1914, 299 (Bîbî fi man kartha ‘l-samâd); Abu ‘Alî al-Ṭanûkhî (329-849/939-94), The talk-of a Metropotamian judge (= Nîâşûd al-Mubâdara), ed. and tr. D. S. Margoliouth, London 1921-2, i, 54, ii, 59: "there was a Sûfî present, who was humming some ruba‘îyas and recited quatrains in this manner (rubâ‘îyîd al-ṣârî al-hâdîh ‘l-namâq) (Dumya, ed. Muhammad Râghîb al-Ṭabbâkh, Aleppo 1349/1930, 174). Two early Arabic dubayts are by the Persian mystic Abu Sa‘îd al-‘Abî ‘l-Khâyyr (357/940/967-1049 [q.v.]) famous for his more than 700 poems in the quatrains.

Another expression that may refer to the quatrain is mûshânî, mentioned in al-Ǧâwârî, Sîhâh, Cairo 1282, ii, 453 s.v. th-ny, said to be equivalent to "what is called in Persian dubayî, which is singing (al-ghânî)" (see also L.A, xiv, 119 s.v. th-ny).

Quatrains or quatrain-like compositions may also be intended in a passage in Aṣâfîn (such as ibn al-Fârîd [q.v.]). See also G.E. von Grunebaum, in JNES, iii (1944), 10 and G. Vajda, Les zinûqîs en pays d’Islam au début de la période abbassîde, in RSO, xvii (1938), 205.

The 7th/13th century represents the Golden Age of the dubayt quatrain, with many poets among mystics (such as ibn al-Fârîd [q.v.]) with over 30 quatrains and
Djalal al-Din al-Rumî [q.v.] with 19 Arabic dubayt in the Kulliyydt-î Shams), princes, men of law, philosophers and physicians. There are experiments in form, e.g. the famous dubayt kadîsa by Bahâî al-Din Zuhayr (581-656/1186-1258 [q.v.]), Dijân, ed. E.H. Palmer, Cambridge 1876, 202-4; the mixture of dubayt and muwashshah, such as the example by Ahmad al-Mawsîî (603-56/1207-98) quoted in Ibn Shâkir al-Kutubi, Fauzi-î Wajîfiy, ed. Muhammed al-Din 'Abd al-Hamîd, Cairo 1951, ii, 510-11, as well as the many imitations (mu'ârada [q.v.]) which these innovations provide prototypes.

In this century, the dubayt also spread to the western part of the Muslim world. The Esorial ms. 288 contains four texts on the dubayt written by Maghribi authors, Abu 'l-Hakam Malik b. 'Abd al-Rahmân Ibn al-Murâhbal (604-99/1207-98), Abû Bakr al-Kalâlûfî (d. 707/1307), Muhammed b. 'Umar al-Dârrâdî (authorship not certain) and Abu 'l-Sâlih Âli Ibn Barri (d. 730/1330). Two of these texts have been published by Hîlaq, Rûkâ, e.g. faridat-dubayt in the, in Maurit., iii (1974), 145-74. Hâzim al-Kârtâjdîni (608-84/1211-85 [q.v.]) finds the dubayt exquisite, in spite of its non-classical origin, and therefore approves of its being practised (dâ ba' bi 'l-'amal 'alayhi fa-innahu mustazraf wa-wad*uhu mutanâzihat), see Minhâd b. al-Âlîqârâh, ed. M.H. Belkhojdja, Tunis 1966, 243. After the 7th-13th century, the number of dubayt-quatrains found in the literature dwindles, but there are examples in the work of authors such as Sa'îf al-Din al-Hâllî (d. 725/1321 [q.v.]), Saâl al-Din al-Šafâdî (d. 764/1363 [q.v.]), Ibn Hîijdja al-Mamûnî (767-836/1366-1434 [q.v.]) and Ibn 'Afdil al-Aškâlânî (775-852/1372-1434 [q.v.]). Today, the dubayt is said to be still in use in al-Kuwayt, al-Bahrayn and 'Umân.

In modern Arabic literature, the rubâ'îyya in the dubayt metre is seldom found, but there are many instances of quatrains in original Khillâlîan metres or modern derivates. They represent one of the examples of the revival and development of strophic form in modern Arabic poetry (cf. S. Moreh, Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970, Leiden 1976, and idem, Technique and form in modern Arabic poetry up to World War II, in, Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 415-34 = Moreh, Studies in modern Arabic prose and poetry, Leiden 1988, 116-36).

The dîdân of Ibrahim Nâdîjî (1898-1953 [q.v.]), for example, contains, under the title Rubâ'îyyât, a collection of 77 short-lined quatrains in the sarî metre, partly in monorhyme aaaa and partly in cross rhyme abab (ed. Ahmad Râmi et alii, Cairo 1961, 225-34). In this dîdân, the short-lined quairain is also used as a structural unit in 27 other poems, three of which are of the muwashshah type aaaa, bbb, cccc (see mu'ârada), most of these, the others showing cross rhyming (abab cddc efef ...). The number of quatrains per poem varies between 4 and 35. Several metres are employed, especially kâtâmî, ramal and sarî.

The long-lined quairain (based on a bayt with two hemistichs) occurs in 11 poems. The rhyming scheme for most of these is aa xa xa xa; xx xb xb; xc xc xc (in which x represents unrhymed hemistichs). The number of quatrains varies between 4 and 33 per poem.

The Egyptian poet 'Ali Mahmûd Tâhâ (1901-49) also employed both short-lined and long-lined quatrains in longer poems. His poem Allâh wa 'l-'âdâr consists of 108 short-lined quatrains in the sarî metre with rhyme scheme abab cddc efef ... (al-Malâlî al-tâ'îîh, Cairo 1943, 77-117).

Slightly longer is Tarsegmat shayyân by 'Abbas Maâumî al-'Akkâd (1889-1964 [q.v.]) in Suppl.), with the same rhyme scheme but in the ramal metre (Dijân, ed. 1928, 201-9). DJamîl Şîdkî al-Zahâwî (d. 1936 [q.v.]), has a dîdân called Rubâ'îyyât, Beirut 1924, containing 1,018 quatrains in different metres, all of them of the short-lined type.

Maâmûd Darwâsh (b. 1942) publishes under the title Rubâ'îyyât 22 short-lined quatrains (abab cddc efef rhyme) in Awarâl al-zaytûn, Beirut n.d. (original date of publication 1964), 133-142. Eleven of these are in Dijân (1936), Dijân al-awwal, Cairo 1931, 3). The translation made by Ahmad al-$afT al-\nsâdî (d. 1936), which is entirely in the sarî metre, has become popular in its version sung by the Egyptian singer Umm Kulthûm (d. 1975). Apparently the first rendition in Arabic of a collection of Khâyâm's quatrains is the one published by Wadi' al-Bustâinî (1886-1954), Cairo 1912, which has the form of septets, a 7-line stanza with the rhyme scheme aabBCD, brought together in two cantos (nâshîd), in each of which the septets are linked together throughout the canto by the common rhyme of the last two lines.

Muhammad al-Sîbâî (1881-1931) published in ca. 1918 his translation in three cantos of 44, 38 en 9 quatrains, rubâ'îyyât 22, dâdabb in an extended muwashshah-like fashion.

Structured along the same lines, but in Egyptian Arabic, is the work of Husayn Maâzûm Riyâd, Ru'bâ'îyya al-Khâyâm, Lâdînî al-nâshî li 'l-djâmîyyâ, Cairo 1944. A more recent translation in short-lined verse in the
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mutakârb metre is by the Bahrayn poet Ibrahim cAbd al-Husayn al-cUrayyic (b. 1908), published as Rûdā'īyyat al-Khayyām, Beirut 1966, 1984.

The term rubā'īyya is also employed in the sense of a literary work in four parts, translating both tetralogy and quartet.


W. STOETZER

RUGHUZI [see RAGHUZI].

RUBIS [see YAKÛR].

RÜDÄKÎ (properly Rûdâkî), arabicised as al-Rûdâkî, the leading Persian poet during the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of the earliest substantial surviving fragments of Persian verse. Al-Sâmînî gives his name as Abû 5Abd Allâh Dîâ'îr b. Muhammad Hâkîm b. Abû Al-Râmân b. Abû al-Râmân al-Shâ'îr al-Samârânî, says that he was born in Rûdâk, a suburb of Samârân, and that he also died there in 329/940-1; there are, however, reasons to think that this date might be about a decade too early (see the discussion in Storey-de Blois). 4Awfi says that Rûdâkî was born blind and there are quite a few references to his blindness (though not to the fact that he was sightless from birth) in early Persian authors. The available biographical data all link him with the Sâmânî ruler of Bûkharâ Naṣr II b. Ahmad (301-31/914-43 [q. v.]) or with his minister Abu l'-Fadl al-Bâl'âmî [q. v.], and it was evidently under their patronage that he flourished.

Rûdâkî left, as Asadî tells us, a diwân of more than 180,000 verses. This was lost long ago. What have survived are a fairly large number of single verses quoted in the Persian dictionaries (notably in the oldest of them, Asadî's Lughât-i Furs) as well as a few complete poems quoted by anthropologists and historians, the most important of the latter being a splendid kastāda of nearly 100 verses (beginning mâdar-i may) which is preserved in the anonymous Târikh-i Sîstân and which, according to that source, Rûdâkî sent from Naṣr's court in Bûkharâ to the ruler of Sîstân, Abû Muhammad b. Kâhalîf. We also have (in chronological order of the authorities who cite them) five short poems, all of elegiac inspiration, quoted by the historian Abu l'-Fadl Bâl'âmî [q. v.], the verses beginning bâ-yî o-yî qâ-yî Mâlûmîn quoted by Najafî, and a fragmentary missive addressed by Abû Naṣr b. Ahmad, a few short pieces quoted by 4Awfi and Shams-i Kays and a description of spring quoted by the 8th/14th century anthropologist Dîjâdîrnî. The latter adds a few more poems, but the only one of these that can be ascribed more or less confidently to Rûdâkî is a long ode, cited by Amin Râzî (1002/1593-4), in which the poet laments his old age and recalls the amorous adventures of his youth. This poem refers also the riches which the poet had formerly received from the Sâmânîs, but also from "mir Mâkân" (evidently the Daylami Mâkân b. Kâkî, d. 329/940-1 [q. v.]), and adds that "times have changed" and that the poet was now reduced to poverty.

The most famous of Rûdâkî's works was evidently his versification of the book of Ka'îlîa uwa-Dimma. The Shâh-nâmâ of Firdawsî tells us how the dastûr Abu l'-Fadl (sc. Bal'âmî) first had this book translated into Persian and how the amir Naṣr subsequently appointed "interpreters" to read it out so that the blind Rûdâkî could versify it. The valuable collection of Rûdâkî's fragments by Sa'id Naftâsi (altogether 1,047 verses in the second edition) excises Katrân's poems, but retains a number of other dubious verses from unreliable sources. Moreover, the collection includes a good number of pieces that the sources either quote anonymously or ascribe to a different poet, but which Naftâsi attributed to Rûdâkî for stylistic reasons, as well as several "poems" that he patched together from single verses quoted in the lexica. The collection must therefore be used with caution.

Rûdâkî's style is simple and direct, and consequently stands in stark contrast to the mannerism which dominated Persian poetry from the 6th/12th century onwards; it is thus hardly astonishing that his works, greatly admired though they were in his own time, soon seemed dreadfully old-fashioned and fell into oblivion. What he lacks in rhetorical ornament he makes up for in poetic sonority and the almost childlike fond of assonance and internal rhymes. Much of what remains of his poetry has a decidedly pessimistic tone, a lot of it along the usual lines of Islamic homiletic poetry (as represented, for example, by Abu l'-Atâ'îya [q. v.]), but there is hardly anything overtly religious in his work and certainly no trace of Şûfîm. "You ought not, O guests!", he says in one poem, "to set your hearts for ever on this way-station, for you must slumber under the earth, even if now you sleep on silken brocade. What use to you is the companionship of others? The road into the grave must be taken alone and your companions under the ground will be ants and flies", etc. (Bayhâkî, 188). Other poems are unashamedly hedonistic, though with a hedonism that is often shot through with melancholy. "Live merrily!", he advises us, "amongst the black-eyed beauties, marry, marry, for this world is nothing but wind and an idle tale. Be happy with what has come your way and give no heed to what has departed. Look rather at me in the company of a maiden with curly hair and the fragrance of fine musk, a face like the moon, of the race of the houris. ... This world is a breeze, a fleeting cloud, a jest. Bring the wine and let come what may." (4Awfi, ii. 9).

Bibliography: Firdawsî, Shâh-nâmâ, ed. Moscow
This is the most famous of the Rūdhbārs in Islamic history because the district was, from the late 5th/11th century to the 7th/13th century, a major centre for Ismā'īlī [see Ismā'īliyya] activity. A century or so before the implantation of Ismā'īlīsm there, the Rūdhbār of Alamūt [q.v.], in the valley of the Shāh Rūd, the southern constituent stream of the Safīd Rūd, had been the residence of the Daylamī dynasty of the Dījūzdān (on whom see Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawī, Shahrūyārīn-ī gūm-nām, Tehran 1307/1929, 22-24; W. M. Watt, "The Cambrics of Iran", iv, 225-24 and already a centre of Zaydi Shī‘ism. From Alamūt, Ḥasan-i Sābbāb [q.v.] furthered the Ismā‘īlī da‘wā by establishing garrisons in several other fortresses in the Rūdhbār district towards the end of the 5th/11th century, such as Girdkūh, Lānbasar [q.v.] and Maymūnīz [q.v.]. These fortresses were held by the community until the operations in Daylam of Hūlegū’s Mongols in 651/1253, substantially completed with the reduction of the most of the fortresses by 654/1256, although in the 1270s the local Ismā‘īlīs seem to have re-occupied some of the Rūdhbār fortresses. See Freya Stark, The valleys of the Assassins, London 1936; P. J. E. Willey, The castles of the Assassins, London 1963; M. G. S. Hodgson, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 430-2; F. Daftary, The Ismā‘īlīs, their history and doctrines, Cambridge 199, 344-8, 442 ff., 445-449, 453.


Rūdhrāwār, a rural district (nūstāb, nāḥya) of the mediaeval Islamic province of Dījābī [q.v.], sc. western Persia. The geographers describe it as a fertile plain below the Kūh-i Alwand, containing 93 villages and producing high-quality saffron which was exported through the nearby towns of Hamadān and Nīhāwān. The chief-lieu of the district, in which was situated the gāmīn and minbar, was known as Karaqā-ī Rūdhrāwar, characterised in the Hудi الدين al-ulām, tr. 132, § 31.8-9, as prosperous and the resort of merchants. The site of this seems to have been distinct from the Karaj which had, in earlier ʿAbbāsid times, been the seat of the in the Arab Dāfūd family [see Karaj] and which the author of the Hудi الدين al-ulām states was in ruins by his own time (sc. late 4th/10th century), and it may be that Karaj-ī Rūdhrāwar grew up on a new site to replace the old Dafūdī capital.

Karajī Rūdhrāwar was still flourishing in the post-Mongol period, when Hann Allāh Mustawfī described it as a town on which depended 70 villages, still famed for their saffron production and yielding a tax revenue of 23,500 dinārs [Nuzha, 73, 76]. The present ruins known as Rūdhrāwar probably mark the site of Karajī Rūdhrāwar (J. de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse, Paris 1894-1904, ii, 136).

Bibliography: See also Samānī, Ābād, ed. Haydarābād, vi, 190; Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, iii, 77-80; see also W. Barthold, Al-Rudhrāwī, Abū Shudja 5 Muhammad b. Al-Husayn, Zahir al-Din, vizier to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (437-88/1045-95).

He was actually born at Kangāwar [see Kinkwar] in Dīǰābī, but his father, a member of the official classes, stemmed from the nearby district of Rūdh-rāwar [q.v.]. Abū Shudja 5 Muhammad served al-Muṣṭafī as vizier very briefly in 471/1087-8 after the dismissal of ‘Amīd al-Dawla Ibn Dājīr [see Maṭar,
BANU] and then for a longer period, Shâbân 476-484/December 1083 to January 1084-April or May 1091, after the second dismissal of 'Amîd al-Dawla Ibn Qâdir until pressure on the caliph from the Saldjuk sultan Malik-Shâh [q.v.] procured his dismissal. Hence in 479/1090 he left 'îrak for the Pilgrimage, and spent the last year of his life as a madâwiw [q.v.] in Medina; he died in Djamâdâ II 488/June 1095 at the age of 51 and was buried in the Bâkî al-Qâhrâk cemetery there.

Al-Rûdhârâwârî is said to have been a wise and humble man, one of the Bâkî, who, amongst other things, pursued a conciliatory policy regarding the Sunnis and Shî'is and their rivalries in the city. The sources praise him both for his piety and his literary skills. He was the author of a poetic diwân, of which some 80 verses are extant in the literary and biographical sources, and of a dhayl or continuation to Miskawayh's [q.v.] history, the Tadżurî al-umam, covering the years 368-89/979-99 (ed. and Eng. tr. H. F. Emmerd and D. S. Margoliouth, in Eclipse of the 'Abbâsî caliphate, iii, 9-332, tr. vi, 1-358; see Brockelmann, S I, 583, and Margoliouth, Lectures on Arabic historians, Calcutta 1930, 147).


(C. E. Bosworth)

RUDJÛ (A.), verbal noun from the verb rudâ'a, basically, "to return", and frequent in the Kurânic in various senses, according to context. It is found e.g. in VII, 168, and XXX, 41, in the expression la'allakum yardiqâna 'perhaps they will return', which, explains al-Kurtûbi, has the sense "they will return from their unbelief" ('an kufishim), or elsewhere given as the equivalent of yatubuna "perhaps they will repent of themselves".) Rûdijû would seem to be in this sense, a synonym of tauhûd, and just as repentance is considered at the same time man's turning to God and God's turning to man. The verb rudâ'a is used both in the active and passive senses: man is said to return to God and be brought to God.

But the verb is employed in other contexts, and especially in verses like II, 28, "He makes you to die, and then He makes you to live, then you are brought to God", or XXX, 11, "God begins the act of creation, then He repeats it, then you are brought to Him", or XXXX, 11, "when the affair is decided" (idh kudju'a al-amr), man is unable to plead his cause, and can only answer yes or no. This appears in Fâhîr al-Dîn al-Rûzî's commentary on the second verse (XXX, 11), basing himself on the immediate sequel to this when it is a question of the Hour, whence of the Last Judgment. Having revealed, he says, that mankind will be brought back towards Him, "God explains what will take place at the moment of the return to Him (waâk al-rudjî'î šayhiyî)", declaring, "those who are guilty will be thrown into despair (yalûtiyâ)". Al-Rûzî explains the sense of this verb by citing the commentaries of the grammarians: (d. 311/923): "the mubîs is the one who is silent (al-sâkit) and who has his speech cut short in the course of his arguing (al-munkaṭî fi kufishîthâ)."

This is how the return, in the commentaries on the verse in which the verb rudâ'î is figures, is interpreted. To return to God, from this point of view, would appear to be essentially a summons to judgment at the time of the Last Judgement. It follows immediately after the resurrection, which, one might say, forms the first step. The question posed by the philosophers, that of knowing whether the soul alone, or even, the intellect alone, comes back to life, or whether there is also a resurrection of the body, is thus linked with that of rudâ'î. In one sense, it is a question of faith; but belief in a spiritual return has obviously a special theological and philosophical interest.

For the faithâya, such as Ibn Sinâ, the whole orientation of the human life—political, moral, intellectual and religious—is defined by two opposite poles, that of departing and that of arriving. At the departure, there is God in his oneness, God as the "First", from whom stem all the secondary beings; at the arrival, there is God as the "Last" (cf. Kurânic LVII, 3). Thus, in the political scheme of the Shahî, Ibn Sinâ explains how the nature of the two notions of tauhûd on one side, and ma'âd [q.v.] on the other, must require every effort of reflection on the government of mankind. The ma'âd as the place of return corresponds to the final cause which is, according to Ibn Sinâ, "the cause of the efficiency of the efficient cause" (cf. his Idrârî). The return accordingly has an ontological meaning, in so far as it is a constituent element of beings. At a first moment, starting from the First, who is a One, is seen the coming into being, by means of a descending act of the first Agent, in the plurality of forms which the Agent Intellect, wahîb al-awwâr, gives, on the one hand, to the material elements and the things composed of them, and on the other, separated from all matter, to the human intelligence. From this moment onwards, there is a possible and progressive upwards motion towards unity, and it is this movement of return towards the One which, by rediscovering intelligible reality linked to unity, constitutes the return to God, without however prejudging what the outcome of this return will be. One might conceive of it from the viewpoint of a religious mystical phenomenon, or that of an intellectual mystical phenomenon of the kind in Plotinus. For the Ibâwâl al-Sâfî [q.v.], the particular souls, having accomplished their mission in regard to the bodies and having thus acquired the completeness (tamûm) which they lacked, return to the unified soul. For these, the aim is to pierce the inner essence of the body, just as, at birth, the embryo had pierced the enveloping membranes which surrounded it in the womb. (On all these questions, see the very interesting comments of L. Gardet, in his Dieu et la destinée de l'homme, Paris 1967, 267, 276, 279.)

The idea of a return to origins, which we have seen being sketched out in the commentaries on certain recoin, "...
Kurânic verses, easily takes on a mystical value. In the present life, men are separated from God by veils which their various faculties suspend between them and Him. Al-Djouayd accordingly used to teach that one should separate oneself from them by a purification of everything to which they cling in themselves, in order to lose oneself in the unique aim which is borne towards Him: this is al-fanâ bi 'l-madghâbî, the final aim of mystical experience, a return to the authentic origin of the creature in the divine creative act, al-mihâyâ rujû'îa undoubtedly (cf. al-Djouayd, Expression spirituel, tr. R. Deladrière, Paris 1981, 45-6). But this is a type of rujû' which Ibn 'Arabî especially considered: the highest form of the mystical favour and gift is, not to arrive at the summit of the spiritual ascent but to be sent back amongst creatures in order to enlighten and guide them. Thus we have here a return to mankind. One should note that this is what happened to the Prophet: he was raised up at the time of the mihrâj [q.v.], and he was sent back with the mission of announcing the good news and of adopting a watchful attitude (on this concept of return, see M. Chodkiewicz, Le sceau des saints, tr. R. Deladrière, Paris 1983, 141, 185, 217). Finally, one should mention the idea of a return at the end of time: the return of the Messiah, of Muhammad and of the Mahdi. This is totally bound up with the eschatological visions nurtured, above all, by various hadîths.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(ARNAELDEZ)

**RÚFUS AL-AFSISÍ,** Rufus of Ephesus, a Greek physician who lived at Ephesus [see AYA SOLÜK] around 100 A.D. Of his biography hardly anything is known. He was an important medical author, who wrote monographs on many questions concerning pathology and dietetics. Most of his writings, however, were lost during the Middle Ages since his work which was overshadowed by that of Galen [see GALENIUS] (cf. O. Temkin, Galenism. Rise and decline of a medical philosophy, Ithaca and London 1973). Consequently, only four of his works have survived in Greek: 1. On kidney and bladder diseases (ed. A. Sideras, III, Berlin 1977); 2. On satyriasmus and gonorrhea (ed. Daremberg and Ruelle, Paris 1879, 64-84); 3. On the names of the parts of the human body (ed. G. Ahlwardt, ch. 3); 4. On poisoning and its therapy, in which vegetable poisons and bites of insects, serpents, and dogs are dealt with. Many fragments have been preserved in Oribasios as well as in Hunayn b. Ishâk (K. al-Aghdiya, ms. Bankiopore, Kûdâbâkhs Bââd 2142), al-Râzî, Ibn Samadjûn and Ibn al-Baytâr.


7. Kitâb al-Lâban = Perî bduw, translated into Arabic by Kusà b. Lûkâ as a monograph in which all kinds of dairy products, milking and cheese are described from the most various points of view.

8. Kitâb Tharîyân al-aʃ̄âfî = Perî hâmîbî û hâmîbî. From this work an excerpt was made by Aetiós of Amida (Tetrabiblos II, chs. 86-103). A summary of the Arabic translation has been preserved in al-Râzî, Hâwi, xxi, 440-7. It is a monograph in which all kinds of dairy products, milking and cheese are described from the most various points of view.

9. Kitâb al-Adâwya al-hâlîta (the Greek title has not been transmitted). This is a work on poisoning and its therapy, in which vegetable poisons and insects, serpents and dogs are dealt with. Important fragments have been preserved by al-Râzî, Ibn Sinâ (Kûdâbâh al-Husayn in al-Râzî, Ibn al-Munîbî, min al-halâta (ms. Chester Beatty 4525).

they were noted down by "Rufus and other ancient and modern physicians" (ed. Ullmann, _Die Medizin im Islam_, 130). In _Abh. KM_, viii, 218; al-Yaʿqūbī, i, 177; M. Hartmann, _Djabar_ (repr. Amsterdam 1963); J. Ilberg, _Rufus von Ephesos, ein griechischer Arzt in trajanischer Zeit_, in _Abh. d. Sächsischen Akad. d. Wiss., phil.hist. Kl._, xii (30), no. 1, Leipzig 1930; Sezgin, _GAS_, vi, 110 = Abh. KM, viii, no. 3; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 517, 521). The town of Djazlra. After the Greek governor Joannes Kateas, who had endeavoured to save the region of Osrhoene by paying tribute, had been dismissed by the emperor Heraclius and the general Floteleides, put in his place, al-Ruha3 (Edessa) had to surrender in 18/639 like the other towns of Mesopotamia (al-Baladhuri, 172-5; Ibn al-ʿAṭṭīr, ii, 414-17; Yākūt, s.v. al-Djazira; Khāʾarazmi, ed. Baethgen, _Fragmente syr. u. arab. Historiker_, Leipzig 1884, 16, 110 = Abh. KM, viii, no. 3; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 517, 521). The town now lost its political and very soon also its religious significance and sank to the level of a second-rate provincial town. Its last bishop of note, Jacob of Edessa, spent only four years (684-7) and a later period again of four months in his office (708). The Maronite Theophilius of Edessa (d. 785) wrote a "Chronicle of the World" and translated into Syriac the "two Books of Homer about Ilios".

Al-Ruha2, like al-Rakka, Harrān and Karṣiyya, was usually reckoned to Diyar Mudad (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭīr, vii, 218; al-Yaʿqūbī, i, 177; M. Hartmann, _Djabar_, 88, no. 2 and 3 = _AVAG_, 1897, i, 28; Canard, _Hʿamdānides_, 91-2). In 57/666-7 al-Ruha3, Harrān and Sumaysāt formed the governorship which Ibrahim b. al-ʿAṭṭīr granted to Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭīr, iv, 218).

The "old church" of the Christians was destroyed by two earthquakes (3 April 679 and 718). In 737 a Greek named Baḡīr appeared in Harrān and gave himself out to be Tiberias the builder of Hisn Mansur; he was believed at first, but was later exposed and executed in al-Ruha3 (Barhebraeus, _Chron. syr._, ed. Bedjan, 119). In 133/750-1 the town was the scene of fighting between Abū Ḍaʿīfar, afterwards the caliph al-Mansūr, and the followers of the Umayyads, Ishāk b. Muslim al-ʿUkaylī and his brother Bakkār, who only gave in after the death of Marwān (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭīr, v, 333-4). But continual revolts broke out again in al-Ruha3 (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭīr, vi, 3), and in the reign of al-Mansūr, for example, the governor of al-Ruha2 of the same name, the builder of Hisn Mansūr, was executed in al-Rakka in 141/758-9 (al-Baladhurī, 192). When Harūn al-Raṣūlī passed through al-Ruha2, an attempt was made to cast suspicion upon the Christians and it was said that the Byzantine emperor used to come to the city every year secretly in order to pray in their churches; but the caliph saw that these were slanderers. The Gūmrākī (from al-Djazira, in the valley of ʿAfīr in Syria), who, with the Telmahrāyī and Rūṣāfāyī, were one of the leading families of al-Ruha2, suffered a great deal, however, from his covetousness (Barhebraeus, _Chron. syr._, 130). In 196/812 the Christians were only able to save the unprotected town from being plundered by the rebels Naʾr b. Šabāṭ [q. v.] and Amr by a heavy payment; Abū Ṣāḥibī therefore fortified al-Ruha2 at the ex-
pense of the citizens (Barhebraeus, 136-7). At the be-
ginning of his reign, al-Ma’mun sent his general Tahir Dhū Y-amainayn (q.v.) to al-Ruḥā, where his
Persian soldiers were besieged by the two rebels, but
offered a successful resistance supported by the in-
habitants among whom was Mār Dionysius of Tell
Mābre (Barhebraeus, 139). Tahir, who himself had
fled from his mutinous soldiers to Kallinicos, won
the rebels over to his side and made ‘Abd al-Alā’
governor of al-Ruḥā; he oppressed the town very
much (ibid., 139-40). Muhammad b. Tahir, who gov-
ered until 1085/86, persecuted the Christians in
al-Ruḥā, as did the governors under al-Mu’tamin
and his successors.

In 331/942-3 the Byzantines occupied Diyarbakr,
Arzan, Dārā and Rās al-‘Ayn, advanced on Naṣībān
and demanded from the people of al-Ruḥā the holy
picture on linen of Christ called μαθημὸν (al-‘Ībān
al-‘Mu‘ālid); with the approval of the caliph al-Mu’taṣaf, it
was handed over in return for the release of 200
Muslim prisoners and the promise to leave the town
undisturbed in future (Yahyā b. Sa’id al-Anjākī, ed.
Kračkovskiy-Vasil’ev, in Patrolog. Orient., xvi, 730-2;
The picture reached Constantinople on 15 August
944, where it was brought with great ceremony into
the Church of St. Sophia and the imperial palace (see
Chron. syr., i, c. 7, pp. 24-5; Matthew of Edessa, ed.
1898, c. 43, pp. 58-62 = tr. Dulaurier, 46-9;
Cedrenus-Sylhetizes, ed. Bonn, ii, 500; the accounts of
the events preceding the surrender differ very much).
Edessa under Maniakes seems to have enjoyed a cer-
tain amount of independence from Byzantium, as he
sent an annual tribute thither (Cedrenus-Sylhetizes,
502).

In Radjab 427/May 1036, the Patricius of Edessa
became a prisoner of the Numayrī Ibn Wathīḥāb
and his many allies; the town was plundered but the for-
tress remained in the hands of the Greek garrison (Ibn
al-Āthīr, ix, 305; Barhebraeus, Chron. syr., 217). By
the peace of 428/1037 the emperor again received
complete possession of Edessa which was refortified
(Ibn al-Āthīr, ix, 313; Barhebraeus, 221).

According to the Armenian sources, Maniakes was
followed by Apūkṣaŋ or Ævōn Asaphēndō, then by the
Iberian Bārūxā’ūz as strategus of Edessa; in 1059
Iwōnēnē Ḟ Đōousēkēnsē was catapanus of the town. In
1065-6 and 1066-7, the Turks under the Kūtrash-
Sālār attacked the town and the Saldžuk Alp Arslān
besieged it for fifty days in 462/1070; it was defended
by Wasiṣ (son of the Bulgar king Aλōiαs?). After the
victory of Malāzgird (q.v.), Edessa was to be handed
over to the sultan, but the defeated emperor Romanus
Diogenes had no longer any authority over it, and its
Catapanus Paulus went to his successor in Constan-
tinople (Sylhetizes, ed. Bonn, 702). In 1081-2 Edessa
was again besieged by an amīr named Khusraw, but
in vain. After the death of Wasiṣ, the Armenian
Smbat became lord of Edessa and six months later (23
September 1083) Philareus Brachiamius succeeded
him. But he lost it in 1086-7 when, in his absence, his
deputy was murdered and the town handed over to
the Saldžuk sultan Malikshāh. The latter appointed
the amīr Būzān governor of al-Ruḥā and Ħarrān.
When the latter had fallen in 487/1094 fighting
against Tūṭah (q.v.), Tūṭah’s general Alpāyūkik
occupied the town, but it was not plundered by his army
as he was attacked and defeated by a Turkish army led
by Wāṣil (son of the Bulgar king Aλōiαs?). After the
victory of Gali, the former amīr of Edessa, the
 затем Armenian Kuroapolac Tūrorus (Theodorous), son of Hērīm, took the citadel. When in
1097-8 Count Baldwin of Bouillon captured Tell Bāqīr, Tūros asked him to come to al-Ruḥā to assist him
against their joint enemies, and received him with
joy, but was shortly afterwards treacherously
murdered by him (Matthew of Edessa, ed. 1898,
260-2 = tr. Dulaurier, 218-21; Anonym. Syriac chronicle
de 1020-1204, in Chabot, C.-R. Acad. Inscr. Lettr. [1918], 431 ff.).

From 1098 the Latins ruled for half a century the “County of Edessa” to which also belonged Sumaysāṭ
and Sarūd (1098 Baldwin of Bouillon I); 1100
Baldwin of Bourg II; 1119 Joscelin (de Courtenay) I;
1131 the latter’s son Joscelin II). The town suffered a
great deal under them, and there was some justifica-
tion for Matthew of Edessa’s comment that Baldwin
du Bourg “hated Christians more than Turks”. Ec-
clesiastical disputes, for instance, on the vexed ques-
tion of the date for celebrating Easter, divided the
Christians, Latin versus Monophysites. Despite their
private jealousies, the Crusaders managed to hold on
to the county of Edessa, largely because of the divided
counsels of the Muslim amīrs, but with the rise of the
resolute and skilful Atabeg of Mawjīl, ’Īmād al-Dīn
Zangī—coinciding in 1143 with the deaths of two of
the strongest figures in the Christian camp, the Byzantine emperor John II Comnenus and Fulk, king of Jerusalem—the days of Crusader control over Edessa had been numbered.

On 25 December 1144, 1 al-Din Zangi took it (a detailed description of these events in the Anonymous Syriac chronicle of 1203-1204, ed. Chabot, in CSOC, series iii, vol. xv, 118-26; tr. Chabot, Une époque de l’histoire des Croisades, in Mélanges: Schlumberger, i, Paris 1924, 171-9). Under Joscelin II and Baldwin of Kaysum, the Franks again attempted to recapture the town in October 1144 and succumbed, entering it by night, but six days later al-Din appeared with 10,000 Turks, and soon occupied and sacked it; the inhabitants were put to death or carried into slavery. Baldwin was killed and Joscelin escaped to Sumaysât (Barhebraeus, 311-12). The fall of this eastern bulwark of the Crusaders aroused horror everywhere; in Europe it led to the Second Crusade. "oration" and two poetic mā'mūr about the destruction of the town. Three similar pieces were written by Basilius Abu l-Fāraǧ b. Shūmānū, the favourite of Zangī; he had also written a history of the town of Orhây (Baumstark, Gesch. d. syr. Lit., 293, 298).

After the death of Nūr al-Dīn, his nephew Sayf al-Dīn Ghâzâūtī took the town in 1174; in 1182 it fell to the Ayyūbīd Šalâh al-Dīn, who later handed it over to al-Mālik al-Kāmil. In 1218, his son al-Mālik al-ṣārif Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsâ became lord of al-Ruḥâ, Harrān and Khiṭṭūs. In June 1234 the town was taken by the army of the Rūm Sa’dījūk ʿAlī al-Dīn Kaykubād and its inhabitants deported to Asia Minor (Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, tr. Blechot, in ROL, v, 88; Barhebraeus, Chron. syr., 468). But it was retaken within four months by al-Mālik al-Kāmil. In 1244 the Mongols passed through the district of al-Ruḥâ and in 1260 the troops of Hūlēgū. The people of al-Ruḥâ and Harrān surrendered voluntarily to him, but those of Sarūḏij were all put to death (Barhebraeus, Chron. syr., 509; Chron. arab., ed. Beirut, 486).

In the time of Abu l-Fīda, al-Ruḥâ was in ruins. Hamd Allāh Mustawfi in ca. 740/1340 could still see isolated ruins of the main buildings. According to al-Kalbāḏī, al-Ruḥâ was numbered had been rebuilt by his time (ca. 1400) and repopulated and was in a prosperous state. In connection with the campaigns of Timūr, who conquered al-Dżazīra in 1393, al-Ruḥā is repeatedly mentioned in the Sīrat-nāma of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (written in 828/1425).


(E. Honigmann [C.E. Bosworth])

3. The Ottoman and modern periods.

Al-Ruḥâ was conquered by sultan Selim I, probably in 923/1517. The first Ottoman tax register was compiled in 924/1518; the tax-paying population at that time consisted of 782 Muslim families and 75 bachelors, 300 Christian families and 42 bachelors, amounting to a total of 1,082 families and 117 bachelors, or an estimated population total of slightly over 5,500. This low figure was probably due to the upheavals of the Ottoman-Ṣafavid War, for only eight years later, in 932/1526, the tax-paying population had increased to 988 Muslim and 334 Christian families, along with 182 Muslim and 89 Christian bachelors. Moreover, 213 Ottoman military men had settled in the town, thus bringing total population to about 8,000 people. A further tax register from the last year of Süleyman the Magnificent (973/1566) records 1,205 Muslim and 462 Christian families, along with 705 Muslim and 221 Christian bachelors; these figures point to a total population of 13,000-14,000 inhabitants. The town consisted of five large mahalles named after the five gates and must have possessed an active textile industry, for the dye houses of al-Ruḥâ and nearby Harrān produced the impressive revenue of 100,000 akçe. At the turn of the 11th/12th century, al-Ruḥâ formed part of the beglerbegi of Diyarbekir, and was located on the caravan route from Mawṣil and Mārdīn to Aleppo. It was therefore visited by several European travellers, among them an anonymous merchant whose travel account was published in 972-2/1564. He mentions the principal features of the town which were to recur in European travel accounts throughout more than two centuries: the strong walls and impressive citadel, the sanctuary of the prophet Ibrāhīm al-Khalīf (Abraham) located next to the sanctuary, and, at a distance from the town, a well frequented by lepers and other sick people. A few years later, al-Ruḥâ was visited by the Augsburg physician and botanist Rauwolf (982/1575), who describes the town as handsome and well-built. The town possessed a lively trade in rugs and carpets, which were sometimes sold to Europeans, and also served as a point of transit for goods from Damascus, Aleppo and Istanbul, which were sold in Persia and ʿIrāk.

The most detailed description of al-Ruḥā/Urfa before the 13th/19th century is due to the Ottoman traveller Ewliya Čelebi, who passed through the town (which he calls Urfa, as do all other visitors of this period) in 1056/1646. His interest in it may have been due to the fact that one of his relatives had settled in a kāfīth there. He describes two fortresses, one the citadel on the hill and the other a fortified settlement (varōğāk). The citadel he links with King Nimrod, and the two Roman columns standing there Ewliya interprets as a catapult with which this ruler supposedly had the prophet Ibrāhīm al-Khalīf (Abraham) thrown into the fire. Otherwise, the citadel contained 20 small houses inhabited by the commander (dżaddar) and his 200 men, in addition to a mosque, an armoury, a barn and a number of cisterns. Ewliya mentions only three gates, partly with names different from those recorded in the 10th/16th century tax register. He claims to have counted 2,600 houses in the fortified section. If his count was accurate and the area outside the fortifications remained uninhabited, the town must have stagnated since 973/1566. As Ewliya’s figures concerning houses are generally more generous than the household data found in late 10th/16th century tax registers, the upheavals of the Djelālī period, particularly the occupation by the forces of Kara Yazdī in 1008/1599-1600, must have taken their toll. Houses were generally built of mud brick, but there were quite a few opulent residences with their own gardens and baths, belonging to pashas and more rarely to kāfīths.

He also enumerates 22 mosques; the mosque
known as Kızıl Djami is considered to be of great age and a former monastery, converted into a mosque by Hārūn al-Raṣīlī. The minaret, undated, often has been dated al-Dur al-Durar, a legend which states that a former minaret actually stood on the mosque site, but according to Gabriel, it is an original minaret. Ewliyā has also picked up a legend of Jesus' visit to al-Ruḥā and his stay in a local monastery. Ewliyā records three medreses; the medreses possessed no waqf revenues, but the traveller comments on the multitude of Kurdish scholars, both in the medreses proper and in the local ders al-taṣawwaf. There were also the zāyijen. Among the public kitchens, the most notable was the 'imedret of Ibrāhīm, supposedly built by the caliph al-Maʾmūn. Connected with the 'imedret was al-Ruḥā/Urfa's major sanctuary, dedicated to Ibrāhīm by Saḥlab al-Dīn Ayvūbī's nephew al-Malik al-ʿAğrāf (608/1211-12), and visited by pilgrims from all over the Islamic world.

Ewliyā was not much impressed with the shopping streets and bazaars of al-Ruḥā/Urfa; but though the Küre Carshisi was not of imposing appearance, quantities of valuable goods were sold there. He records a total of 400 shops and a large number of mills, one of them named for a certain Tāyyāranglu Ahmed Pasha. The town also possessed a tannery; here a superior quality of yellow maroquin leather was manufactured. According to the French merchant Tavernier, al-Ruḥā/Urfa, along with Tōkāt and Dīyarbekir, was the source of the finest maroquin leathers. In addition, the town was noted for its cotton fabrics, and there was also some silk production.

Ewliyā's account is confirmed by the description of Tavernier, who passed through the town in 1054/1644. On his sight-seeing tour, this merchant and traveller saw many houses poorly built or even totally in ruins; there were so many empty lots that Tavernier compared the town to a desert. He also observed rugs and carpets spread out by the side of the fish pond, and commented on the veneration Muslims felt for this site. A church in the midst of a cemetery supposedly had been selected by St. Alexis as a place of retreat; and not far from the town Tavernier was still clearly visible. A valuable record of the town was al-Ruha/Urfa's major sanctuary, dedicated to Ibrāhīm by Saḥlab al-Dīn Ayvūbī's nephew al-Malik al-ʿAğrāf (608/1211-12), and visited by pilgrims from all over the Islamic world.

When Thévenot passed through al-Ruha/Urfa in 1074/1664, the damages mentioned by Ewliyā and Tavernier were still clearly visible. A valuable record of al-Ruha/Urfa's otherwise poorly documented 13th/19th century is found in the accounts of revenues and expenditures pertaining to the mosque of Ibrahim al-Khalīf and the then newly constructed Ridwānīyye madressa. These survive for a few years beginning with 1151/1738-39 (Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul, Malıyeden Müdevver 2004). The register contains a listing of the shops, gardens, mills and public baths belonging to the medressa, and which must have been the Ibrāhīm al-ʿAğrāf. The structure is described as a solidly-built tower of great antiquity. The author also visited a large foundation adjacent to the two fishponds, which he describes as a madressa and which must have been the foundation which Saḥlab al-Dīn had added to the mosque of Ibrāhīm (587/1191). He also made a map of the town and recorded the presence of numerous orchards.

From 1307-8/1890 or slightly earlier dates the description by Cuinet. According to him, the town possessed a population of 55,000, of whom 40,835 were Muslims; about 1297/1880, Sachau had estimated the number of Urfa's inhabitants at minimally 50,000. However, these optimistic estimates were contradicted by Djiedret Pasha's claim (1298/1881) that Urfa had consisted of only 2,380 households or families (1,337 Muslims, 1,003 Christians, 29 Jews).
If we compare the estimates by Buckingham and Sachau-Cuinet, it would seem that population growth in the 13th/19th century was just able to compensate for wartime population losses, and Urfa's population must have been at a low ebb for several decades in the mid-century. Private houses in Cuinet's time were generally built in rough or even regularly hewn stone. The streets possessed wide pavements, while a channel in the centre served for the evacuation of water and household waste. The city walls had deteriorated, but the citadel apparently was in better condition. The town quarter was inhabited by 18,000 students, in addition to a nūdiyya. There were also primary schools for the children of the various Christian churches, so that a total of 2,464 students were receiving a formal education.

At this time, Urfa was a flourishing centre of textile manufacture. The cotton industry survived the competition by factory-woven textiles, partly because manufacturers switched to imported thread which was woven locally. However, to remain competitive, weavers were forced to accept very low wages. By the early 20th century the ancient trade route linking northern Mesopotamia with Aleppo had revived, and Urfa's new prosperity permitted the construction of a town quarter extra muros. This development was, however, cut short when, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire Syria became a French and British Empire Syria became a French and British zone, so that a total of 2,464 students were receiving a formal education. At this time, Urfa was a flourishing centre of textile manufacture. The cotton industry survived the competition by factory-woven textiles, partly because manufacturers switched to imported thread which was woven locally. However, to remain competitive, weavers were forced to accept very low wages. By the early 20th century the ancient trade route linking northern Mesopotamia with Aleppo had revived, and Urfa's new prosperity permitted the construction of a town quarter extra muros. This development was, however, cut short when, after the fall of the Ottoman Empire Syria became a French and later French troops occupied Urfa in 1919-20. After severe fighting, which included a local uprising, the Treaty of Lausanne determined the inclusion of Urfa into the newly-founded Republic of Turkey (1923).

Throughout the Republican period, it has not been possible to re-establish Urfa's former trade links. This situation has emphasised the agricultural character of the vilayet. Grain is the main crop; apart from wheat, barley and beans are also significant. Productivity is often low, as much of the land is subject to erosion. A significant share of the grain grown is not intended for the market. Irrigation is a precondition for increasing productivity, and the regulation of the Firat (Euphrates), the region's only important body of water, is expected to expand the area amenable to irrigation. Reduced opportunities in agriculture and the progress of mechanisation have diminished employment here, so that there has been considerable migration of labour to e.g. Adana, Gaziantep and Diyarbekir in search of work; female labour finds work cotton-picking in the Çukurova. Low incomes have likewise limited the progress of education, and literacy rates are lower than the national average. Since 1980-2, however, Urfa has been the site of a college of Dicle University at Diyarbekir, and the foundation of a local university is envisaged by the town's citizens.

to magic. According to Ibn Khalduin (Mukaddima, iii, 127, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 159), magic (al-suhr) consists in "linking the human world with a celestial wall, which has infected the superior natures in the universe with the impression of spirits (ruhdniyya)." This is a statement confirmed by ps.-Madjriti (Firaydun al-akham, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933, 182), who claims to reveal the techniques by which it is possible to invoke (istidddh) the ruhdniyya of the celestial bodies.

While ruhdniyya is currently used in Sufi texts as a denomination of these "cosmic intelligences," Ibn al-Asakir in the K. al-tadjalliydt (ed. O. Yahya, Tehran 1988, 317) of purified human spirits granted access to the contemplation of ruhdniyya mtufarsa, forthwith identified with the spirits (arwah) of the celestial spheres—it also often denotes the "spiritual entity" of a prophet or of a deceased wasl whose marid receives supernatural assistance. Thus Ibn 'Arabi speaks (al-Fuahal al-Makkiiyya, Bulåk 1329, iii, 43), of his wasl with the ruhdniyya of Jesus. This usage is associated with the notion of sainthood, uwaysiyya, which is characterised by the transmission of a baraka independently of any contact with a physically present shaykh. It is encountered frequently in the literature of the Nakshbandi, where the sîlisa presents numerous cases of this type (e.g. that of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Kharaqâni, d. 425/1033 [q.v.], who is directly linked with Abu Yazid al-Bistâami, d. 324/937 or 361/974 [q.v.]). On the doctrinal justification of these chronological anomalies, see 'Abd al-Madjid al-Khana, al-Hadîk al-alardiyya, Damascus 1306, 9. In al-Sa'da al-ahdabiyâ, Damascus n.d., 27-8, the same author describes the rites which, at the time of ziyya al-kubr, allow the establishment of a connection with the ruhdniyya of the wasl whose body is interred in the tomb that is visited. (On this practice, see the Raqahâsin al-ja'fsî of Fakhî al-Dîn 'Ali Sa'd, Tehran 1396/1977, ii, 468). Paul Fenton has drawn attention to an analogous Jewish practice, that of yiḥâd, which is also conducted over the tomb of a saint. On the beliefs associated with this meaning of ruhdniyya, see M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone (eds.), Naghbandi. Chémoinnet et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman, Istanbul-Paris 1990, index s.vv. ruhdniyya and uwaysiyya. In Imaginary Muslims: The mirage of the Other Râsi and the râsi, analysis of a singular case of the exploitation of traditional data concerning this theme with the appearance in Central Asia, at the end of the 16th century, of a mythical "History of the Waṛayâs." Bibliography: Given in the article.

(R. RUHMI, a name given in early Islamic geographical, travel and maritime literature to an eastern region of South Asia, most likely in the ancient Suhma region in the western part of Bengal [see BANGLA]. There is considerable confusion about its location; readings vary from Ruhmi (al-Yâqobi, 106) to Rahma (Ibn al-Fakhî, 15) and Dahum (Sharaf al-Zamân Fâhr Marawzi on China, the Turks and India, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942, text 35). Of these, the closest to Bengal is Dharma (a spelling used by Sulaymân al-Tâdjîr), a possible reference to a famous Bengali king Dharmapâla (769-801 A.D.). Sulaymân al-Tâdjîr also noticed correctly Dharmpâla's non-aristocratic and humble origin. According to Ibn Khurradâfghîb, 63-7, Ruhmi, a vast kingdom, was bordered by Kâmrîn (Kamrup) not far from China, and was bountifully supplied with elephants, buffaloes and Indian aloes woods. Its coast, according to Hûdîd al-âlam, tr. 87, included areas such as Nimyâs, Samandar, Andrâs, Urink and Harkand (ancient Harikela near Candradvîpa in South Bengal, from which comes Bahr al-Harkand, the early Arabic name for the Bay of Bengal). The kingdom fought constantly with its neighbours, the Ballahârân and the Bâhrân, and was visited by the early Arab explorers and (illegitamy of the Deccan) and Djurâs (Gurjâras of Kanuânâ). It was particularly famous for its fine cotton cloth, later known as muslin. In addition to gold coins, cowrie-shells were used for currency. Trade with the Arabs flourished in the port cities in the south, especially in Shâhîj-dâm (Chittagong [q.v.]) and Samandar. The recent discovery of two 'Abbâsid coins in Bangladesh, one from Pa$hâpur dated 172/788, from the time of Hârîn al-Râghîd (170/208/786-809) and the other from Mainamati minted during the reign of al-Munsârî (247-8/861-2) attests to this early Arab-Bengal trade link which undoubtedly speeded up the Islamisation of the region.

sūra CXI, in which Ābū Lahab is attacked, unless that was an early Meccan revelation. The statement in some sources that the divorces took place before the marriages had been consummated, is probably an invention to keep the holy family free from contamination with the family of Ābū Lahab. After the divorce, Rukayya was married to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [q.v.], went with him and other Muslims to Abyssinia, and returned to Mecca before the Ḥijra. She made the Ḥijra to Medina with her husband, but died while Muhammad was absent from Medina on the expedition to Badr [q.v.]. After seeing in the sky a son, ʿAbd Allāh, but a few years after her mother’s death a cock pecked his eye and he died.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Ḥishām, see index; Wākīdī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 101, 115, 154; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 24; Ibn al-ʿAzhār, Uṣūl al-ḥikāya, v, 456; Lammens, Fātima et les filles de Mahomet, Rome 1912, 3 ff. (W. Montgomery Watt)

**RUKHĀM** [see Suppl.]

**AL-RUKHKH (A.),** a huge, ostrich-like bird (*Aepyornis maximus*), now extinct, probably existing well into historical times as a peculiar species in Madagascar, where it is mentioned by among others Marco Polo. Other aepyornitidae, such as the New Zealand Moa bird, which became extinct only around the 14th century, might have contributed to the genesis of the *rukhkʰ*’s image. Though early Arab seafarers could conceivably have seen the bird-face-to-face, Arabic tradition soon turned the *rukhkʰ* into a fabulous creature embellishing it with all kinds of strange details.

While early references to al-Dāhīz cannot be verified, the first mention of the *rukhkʰ* is found in Buzurg b. ʿShaḥrīyār’s (4th/10th century) *Ṣaḥīḥ b. Ḥind*. Further references are mostly contained in works belonging to the genre of *ṣaḥīḥ* literature, such as Abū Hāmid al-ʿArbānī’s (d. 563/1169-70 [q.v.]) *Ṭuhfāt al-ʿalā inkhād al-Dīmāshkī*’s (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]) *Nukhbat al-dirār fī ʿṣāḥīḥ al-bān wa-l-bahr wa Ibn al-Wardī’s (d. 749/1349 [q.v.]) *Khawdāt al-ṣāḥīḥ*; later summaries are rendered by al-Dāmirī (d. 808/1405 [q.v.]) and al-Bihṣārī (9th/15th century [q.v.]). By way of its mention in the *Ṭaʾrīḵ al-Sinbād* the sailor, itself included in the widely-read *Arabian Nights*, (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vi, 92-3, vii, 12), the *rukhkʰ* became known and was discussed in Western sources.

According to the fabulous accounts of various Arabic authors, the *rukhkʰ* is capable of carrying an elephant while airborne; each of its wings has 10,000 feathers of an enormous size, and it lays eggs as big as an elephant while airbound; each of its wings has 10,000 feathers (or beak) as a tall tale (*kadhib*). For instance, al-Damiri (d. 1624) in his later summaries are rendered by al-Damiri (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]) *Tuhfat al-aldbb*, or Bilād al-Dāwar immediately to the north. These Zunbils remained a hostile force till the second half of the 3rd/9th century, when the Šaffārīd Yaʾkūb b. al-Layḥī engaged in warfare with them [see ŠAFFĀRIDS], and it is only after this that the native dynasty disappears from historical mention and that the Islamic geographers were able to treat al-Rukhkʰād as part of the Dār al-İslām. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʾalam*, 111, describes it as a prosperous and pleasant district. These authors mention as two of its main towns Pandjīwāy and Tigīnbād; for a discussion of the location of these, see KANDAHĀR at IV, 536b. Administratively, al-Rukhkʰād seems often to have been linked with Šīstān; Ibn Ḥawkalī, 425, tr. 412, gives a global figure for the revenues of these two provinces as 100,000 dīnārs plus 300,000 dirhams. After this time, the name al-Rukhkʰād falls out of use; the Ghaznawīd historian Gardīzī (wrote in the mid-5th/11th century [q.v.]) seems to be the last author regularly to refer to Rukhkʰūd. Only the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arūkh preserves its name.

Since Arab seafarers captured many slaves from the pagan region of al-Rukhkʰād, one occasionally meets the nisba al-Rukhkʰādī, e.g. for Hārūn al-Rashīd’s mawāl Abu ʿl-Farādī, who became a very influential secretary and governor for the caliphs of the early 3rd/9th century; see Bosworth, op. cit., 82-3; Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses*, the evolution of the Islamic polity, Cambridge 1980, 190. Whether the vizier of the Büyid amir in Baghdād Muḥarrīf al-Dawla, Muʿayyid al-Mulk Abu ʿl-Farādī (see H. Busse, *Chalīf und Grosskönig*, die Büyiden im Iran (945-1055), Wiesbaden-Beirut 1969, 244), derived his nisba from Afghanistān or from the village near Baghdād of al-Rukhkʰādīyīya (cf. Yākūṭ, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 38—a settlement of persons transported from al-Rukhkʰād in Afghanistān?), is unclear.

**Bibliography** (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, *Eisnahr*, 272 and index; Le Strange, *The eastern lands of the Caliphate*, 345; Bosworth, Šīstān under the Arabs, 28-9, 35, 120-1 and index; idem, *The history of the Saffarids of Šīstān* and the *Maliks of Nimrūz* (247/861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa, Calif. 1994, index; see also KANDAHĀR.

(C.E. Bosworth)

**RUKHṢA (A.),** literally “permission”, dispensation”.

1. In law.
Here, rukhsa is a legal ruling relaxing or suspending by way of exception under certain circumstances an injunction of a primary and general nature ("azima [i.e. rukn]).

The general obligation to fast during Ramadan is, by way of rukhsa, suspended during the days of an illness or a journey, under condition that these days are made up after Ramadan. Similarly, the general prohibition to eat meat that has not been ritually slaughtered is suspended if a Muslim could only survive by violating it. As a rule, one has the choice but not a rukhsa during a journey. The distinction between rukhsa and "azima does not have legal consequences, except that, according to the Hanafis, tacit consensus (idjam sukût) can establish a rukhsa but not a "azima.

**Bibliography:**

(R. Peters)

2. In Sufism.

The way in which the concepts of rukhsa and its counterpart "azima are used in Sufism involves an extrapolation from a juridical to a much more ethical domain. Here they refer to two opposite and differently-valued patterns of behaviour. "Azima denotes a way of life characterised by determination and firmness of purpose, and is consequently of a higher level than rukhsa, which lacks these characteristics. These two words refer also, particularly in their plural form, to concrete deeds in which the two behavioural patterns manifest themselves. E.g. celibacy and tawakkul (trust in God to such an extent that one does not support oneself) are considered to be "azâ'îm, whereas marriage and supporting oneself are seen as rukhsas. The depreciatory valuation of the latter is to be witnessed in the idea expressed e.g. by al-Makki in his Kût al-kulîb that rukhsas are (mean) for the weak, whereas the "azâ'îm are characteristic of the strong. Also, al-Kugayri makes it clear in his Risâla that, with these strong persons, the Sûfis are meant.

On the other hand, in Kût al-kulîb and also in the Kût al-Luma' by Abû Naṣr al-Sarrâjî, the tradition is quoted according to which God loves the use of both rukhsas and "azâ'îm equally well, albeit that in the latter source this tradition is quoted primarily as a warning against denouncing people who avail themselves of rukhsas. Thus the overall picture painted by these sources is that in Sûfî circles a surplus value is attached to the "azâ'îm (as in their Lehrbuch der klassischen Sûfîs, Berlin 1966, 135-7; R. Gramlich, Schlaglichter über das Sûfism. Abû Naṣîr as-Sarrâjî Kût al-Luma' 1990, 240; idem, Das Sendschreiben al-Qusayris über das Sûfism. Einleitung, übersetzt und kommentiert, Wiesbaden 1989, 338).

Nâkhâbîdî Sûfis even claim that their attitude of strictly confining themselves to "azâ'îm and avoiding the use of rukhsas is one of the most distinctive characteristics of their order. Yet even Nâkhâbîdîs have had to take the above-mentioned tradition in consideration, and therefore, according to Bahâî al-Dîn Nâkhâbîd, thîs brotherhood, although abstaining from these practices, yet does not denounce others who observe them (J. ter Haar, Follower and heir of the Prophet. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî (1564-1624) as mystic, Leiden 1992, 80-1, 107). This strong emphasis on "azima is partly a reaction to other Sûfis who used the idea of rukhsas in order to justify certain controversial practices like, say, killing non-Muslims, (see Massignon, La passion d'al-Hallaj, Paris 1922, ii, 779-81). A different and much more positive valuation of rukhsas is to be found in the Kût al-Luma' of Abû 'l-Najîb al-Suhrawardi, where they are considered to be an integral part of a special type of affiliation, viz. the affiliation of the mutâshabhin, i.e. the lay members affiliated to an order, an designation which in this source at least has no pejorative connotation. Their affiliation is admittedly of a much lower level compared to that of the Sûfis proper; nevertheless, it is a valuable one, since, according to a saying of the Prophet, "Whoever makes the effort to resemble a group of people is one of them" (M. Milson, A Sufi rule for novices. Kût al-Luma' of Abû al-Najîb al-Suhrawardi, Cambridge and London 1975, 17-21, 72-81).

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Given in the article.

(J.G.J. TER HAAR)

**RUKHSA — RUKN**

RUKN (.), pl. arkan, literally "corner (as in arkan al-yamâ'î = the southeastern corner of the Ka'ba, support, pillar). The singular rukn occurs twice in the Kur'ân, in XI, 82-80, where Lot seeks for support in a strong rukn, pillar, or, figuratively, a leader or chief, and in L, 39, where Pharaoh and his support, rukn, i.e. retinue, reject Moses.

1. In religious and legal usage.

Here, it is commonly found in the expression arkan al-dîn or arkan al-'ibâda, denoting the basic "pillars" of religion and religious observance. These so-called "pillars of Islam" are usually enumerated as (1) the profession of faith, shahâda; (2) the pilgrimage, hajj; (3) the worship, salât; (4) fasting, sawm; and (5) almsgiving, zakât, sadaqa. To these some authorities add a sixth, personal warfare, dhikhr. A Sufi leader (mutâshabhin) is partly a reaction to other Sufis who used the idea of rukhsas in order to justify certain controversial practices like, say, killing non-Muslims, (see Massignon, La passion d'al-Hallaj, Paris 1922, ii, 779-81). A different and much more positive valuation of rukhsas is to be found in the Kût al-Luma' of Abû 'l-Najîb al-Suhrawardi, where they are considered to be an integral part of a special type of affiliation, viz. the affiliation of the mutâshabhin, i.e. the lay members affiliated to an order, an designation which in this source at least has no pejorative connotation. Their affiliation is admittedly of a much lower level compared to that of the Sûfis proper; nevertheless, it is a valuable one, since, according to a saying of the Prophet, "Whoever makes the effort to resemble a group of people is one of them" (M. Milson, A Sufi rule for novices. Kût al-Luma' of Abû al-Najîb al-Suhrawardi, Cambridge and London 1975, 17-21, 72-81).

2. In natural science and alchemy.

Here, it denotes "cardinal point", "part", "direction" and, in particular, "element".

In the Sîr al-khâlîka attributed to Balînûs (see BALÎNûS), a source that has played a fundamental role in much of Islam's alchemical tradition, the word rukn appears in its literal sense of a corner, side or an extremity (see Lane, i/3, 1148-9). Yet it functions as a
technical term in this text, since it is employed consistently and exclusively in a cosmological context. Thus in a discourse on winds (rijāḥ [see riḥīt]), the author tells us that the ruin which faces the east (mukabbil al-mashrīk) is cold-moist, since it is here that the cold-moist wind blows, stabilising and strengthening the ruin (K. Sīr al-qalāʿa wa-yānʿat al-tābīʿa, ed. U. Weisser, Aleppo 1979, 135). This cosmological idea of strength appears to have subsequently been integrated into the ordinary meaning of the word, for one of the meanings of ruin found in the standard Arabic lexicons (e.g. Tāʿa) is the strongest side (ḍāʿībān) of a thing (see Lane, loc. cit.).

Again, in a discourse on the motion of celestial bodies, the Sīr, 140, uses the term to designate each of the four geographical regions or sides of the physical world—rukn al-mashrīk, rukn al-gharbī, etc. (188). Here is practically employed in the alchemical and cosmological writings of mediaeval Islam.


RUKN AL-DAWLA, ABU 'ALI AL-HASAN B. BŪYA, second in age of the three brothers that founded the Būyid dynasty [see BUWAYHIDS]. His fortunes followed those of the elder brother 'Ali (later 'Imād al-Dawla [q.v.]) up to the latter's occupation of Fās (322/934); Rukn al-Dawla was then given the governorship of Kāzarūn and other districts. But shortly afterwards he was forced by the 'Abbāsid general Yākūt, at whose expense the Būyid conquest of Fās had been made, to seek refuge with his brother; and when Yākūt was in turn defeated by the Ziyārid Mardawīdī [q.v.], the Būyids' former overlord, against whom they had revolted, 'Imād al-Dawla, who then found it advisable to conciliate Mardawīdī, sent Rukn al-Dawla to him as a hostage. On Mardawīdī's assassination in the following year (323/935), Rukn al-Dawla escaped and rejoined 'Imād al-Dawla, by whom he was supplied with troops to dispute the possession of Djiḥāl with Mardawīdī's brother and successor, Wuhmḡīr. Rukn al-Dawla succeeded at the outset in taking Iṣfāḥān; but the first round of his contest with Wuhmḡīr ended in Rukn al-Dawla's ejection from that city in 327/939, when he again fled to Fās.

In the next year Rukn al-Dawla's help was sought by his younger brother al-Husayn (later Muṭizz al-Dawla [q.v.]), who had meanwhile set himself up in Khūzistān, against the Barīdīs [q.v.]; whereupon Rukn al-Dawla, being now possessed of no territory, attempted to take Wāsiṭ but was obliged to retire when the caliph al-Raḍī [q.v.] and the amīr Baṣqār [q.v.] opportunistically took the field against him. However, he succeeded in recovering Iṣfāḥān, owing to Wuhmḡīr's championship of Mākān b. Kākiyā in a quarrel with the Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḥmad [q.v.]; and when the latter ruler died in 331/943, Rukn al-Dawla, who had meanwhile supported the Sāmānīd cause, was able to drive Wuhmḡīr as well from al-Rayy, of which he had momentarily regained possession on the retirement of the Sāmānīd general Abū 'Ali Cagānī.

With al-Rayy, Rukn al-Dawla gained control of the whole Djiḥāl; and for both short intervals (of about a year in each case) retained it for the rest of his days. Up to 344/955-6, however, his position was highly precarious. For not only Wuhmḡīr but also the Sāmānīds continued to challenge it. It was only by playing them off against each other and sowing dissensions between the Sāmānīd princes and the caliph that the latter's commandant against him, Rukn al-Dawla was able to maintain it. Even so (as indicated above) he was driven from al-Rayy, and his representatives were expelled from most parts of the province, once in 333/944-5 and again in 339/950-1, in each case by Sāmānīd forces. Indeed, he was obliged in the end to become the Sāmānīds' tributary (at least two agreements for the payment of tribute being recorded); it was on this basis that he first made peace
with them in 344/955-6, as again in 357/968-9, after he had defeated an attempt on al-Rayy made by the Musafirid or Sallârîd Marzûbân b. Muhammad, whom he took prisoner, he gained control of southern Adhabûbîyân, his ejection two years later from al-Rayy itself (see above) naturally cost him this as well.

Rukn al-Dawla received his lâkab simultaneously with his brothers in 334/945-6, on Mu‘izz al-Dawla’s entry into Bâghdâd; and on ‘Imâm al-Dawla’s death in 338/949 succeeded him as head of the family and amîr al-umâr* (though this title was also held by Mu‘izz al-Dawla). The last two years of his life were rendered unhappy—so much so that he never recovered from the shock induced by the news—owing to the conduct of his son, ʿAdud al-Dawla [q.v.], in taking advantage of an appeal for help sent by ʿizz al-Dawla Bakhtiyâr [q.v.] (son of Mu‘izz al-Dawla and his successor in the rule of Irâk), to imprison the latter, and, in conjunction with Rukn al-Dawla’s own nozîr Abu ʿl-Fath Ibn al-ʿAmîd [q.v.], who had been sent likewise with a force to Bakhtiyâr’s aid, to seize that province for himself. And though ʿAdud al-Dawla obeyed his command to release Bakhtiyâr and return to his government in Fârs, Rukn al-Dawla was only with difficulty persuaded to visit ʿAdud al-Dawla in 365/975-6 at Isfahan, in order that by receiving a confirmation of his appointment as heir, he should succeed without dispute. Rukn al-Dawla died at al-Rayy in Muḥarram of the next year/September.

In the settlement arrangements made at Isfahan just before his death (see above), Rukn al-Dawla nominated his eldest son ʿAdud al-Dawla, at this moment ruler in Fârs and subsequently in Irâk also, as his successor, but provided that Râyî should go to his second son Fâkhr al-Dawla [q.v.], and Hâmaḏân to the third son Mu‘ayyid al-Dawla [q.v. as subordinating to ʿAdud al-Dawla; in the event, Râyî passed under Mu‘ayyid’s control, and Fâkhr al-Dawla, who died to the Ziyârîd and Sâmânîd, was only able to establish his claims there after Mu‘ayyid al-Dawla’s death.

As shown above, Rukn al-Dawla faced considerable difficulties in setting the northern amirate of the Bûyûds on a firm basis, but what success he achieved was largely attributable to the firm backing and wise advice of his vizier, the famous Abu ‘l-Fâlî Ibn al-ʿAmîd [q.v.], who served the Bûyûds for 32 lunar years (328-60/940-70) and was able to contain the violence and rapacity which were the normal attributes of a ruler like Rukn al-Dawla who had begun as a Daylâmî robber chief. Nevertheless, Miskawayh, in Eclipse of the Âbbâsid caliphate, ii, 279, tr. v, 298-9, lamented that Ibn al-ʿAmîd was prevented from establishing the rule of justice by his master’s impetuosity and lack of inherited kingly authority. The circle of scholars and literary men which grew up around him, and which at various times included such luminaries as Abu Ḥâyyân al-Tawâhîdî [q.v.], the philosopher Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-ʿAmîrî [q.v. in Suppl.] and Miskawayh himself, as Ibn al-ʿAmîd’s coadjuvant, made Râyî at this time a dazzling centre of Arabic culture (see J.L. Kraemer, Humanism in the renaissance of Islam. The cultural revival during the Buyid age, Leiden 1986, 210-11, 223, 230, 241-6). It is less easy to estimate whether there was a specifically Persian element within Rukn al-Dawla’s ethos of rulership, but he does seem to have conceived of himself as a monarch in the line of ancient Persia, possibly as an inheritance from his early life in the entourage of Mardâwîdî; a silver medal struck at Râyî in 351/962 depicts the amîr as a Persian emperor and has a legend in Pahlavi “May the medal of the king of kings increase!” (see G.C. Miles, A portrait of the Buyid prince Rukn al-Dawla, ANS Museum Notes no. 11, New York 1964; Kraemer, op. cit., 44).


**RUKN AL-DIN** [see Xllhlq ARLSN II and III].

**RUKN AL-DIN BARBAK SHAH** b. Nâṣir al-Dîn Mahmûd Shâh, Bengal Sultan of the restored Ilyâs Shâhī line, r. 864-79/1460-74. Bârbak was one of the most powerful of the medieval rulers of Bengal, achieving a great reputation from his wars against the Hindu rulers of Orissa and northern and eastern Bengal, regaining Silhêt [q.v.], and also Chittagong [q.v.]. From the Arakanese. He recruited for his armies Habashî military slaves and Arab mercenaries, and popular hagiographical tradition attributed many of Bârbak’s conquests to one of this latter group, the warrior-saint Shâh Ismâ’îl Ghâzi Arabî, concerning whom a Risâlat al-Shâhî was composed in 1042/1633 by Pîr Muhammad Shâhârî, see Storey, i, 990. Bengal prospered under Bârbak; he undertook extensive building work on his palace at Gawr or Lakhnawî [q.v.] and was a great patron of Bengali literature.

**Bibliography**: R.C. Majumdar (ed.), The history and culture of the Indian people. VI. The Delhi Sultanate, Bombay 1960, 212-13; K.A. Nizami and M. Habib (eds.), A comprehensive history of India. V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1526), Delhi etc. 1970, 1153-4. (C.E. Bosworth)

**RUKN AL-DIN KHURSHĀH**, Nizârî Ismâʾîli imâm and the last lord of Alamût. The eldest son of ʿAllâ al-Dîn Muhammad III (r. 618-83/1221-55), Rukn al-Dîn (al-Ḥasan), also known as Khurshāh, was born in Rûdbâr around the year 627/1230; and it was in his childhood that he was designated to succeed to the Nizârî imâm. Rukn al-Dîn succeeded as an imâm, to the leadership of the Nizârî Ismâʾîli community and state upon the assassination of his father on the last day of Shawwâl 653/1 December 1255. His very brief but eventful reign as the eighth and last lord of Alamût coincided with the completion of the Mongol conquests in Persia and the final year in the history of the Persian Nizârî state of the Alamût period.

By the time of Rukn al-Dîn’s accession, the Persian Nizârîs of Kuhîfârân and Kûmûs had already experienced a foretaste of the destructive powers of the Mongol hordes. But it remained for Hûlûgî or Hûlâqû [q.v.] or Hûlûgû himself, leading a major Mongol expedition to Persia, to uproot the Nizârî state centred in Rûdbâr [see Rûdbâr] in the central Alburz mountains of northern Persia. The sources are generally ambiguous on Rukn al-Dîn’s policy vis-à-vis the Mongol invaders. Vacillating between submis-
sion and resistance, he eventually seems to have aimed towards a compromise, perhaps hoping to avert at least the Mongol capture of the chief Nizārī strongholds in Rūdbār. For he did adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Sunnīs who had played a part in spurring the Mongols against the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. Be it as it may, Rūknaḏīn was drawn into an intricate and ultimately futile web of negotiations with the Mongols, from the time of Hūlagū’s arrival in Persia in Rabī’ I 654/4 April 1256. The Nizārī ruler also dispatched several embassies, headed variously by his vizier Shāma al-Dīn Gīlār and his personal bodyguard, the commanding officer of his own brother’s army, Shams al-Dīn, who persistently demanded nothing less than Rūknaḏīn’s total submission and his orders for the demolition of the Nizārī strongholds, including Alamāt, the traditional seat of the Nizārī state.

Having grown weary of Rūknaḏīn’s delaying tactics, Hūlagū soon decided to launch his assault on Nizārī Rūdbār, ordering the main Mongol armies to converge from a miscellaneous conglomeration of former Nizārī-Mongol negotiations followed by a few days of intense fighting, the Nizārī ruler was finally obliged to surrender. On 29 Shawwāl 654/19 November 1256, Rūknaḏīn al-Dīn Khurshāh, accompanied by a group of Nizārī dignitaries and Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, descended from Maymūn-Dīz and presented himself before the Mongol conqueror, marking the close of the Nizārī state of Persia; he had ruled for exactly one year.

Subsequently, Rūknaḏīn al-Dīn was treated hospitably by the Mongols whilst they still needed his cooperation to persuade the remaining Nizārī strongholds to surrender. Rūknaḏīn al-Dīn now issued a general order of surrender to the commandants of the Nizārī fortresses; about forty such fortresses in Rūdbār fell readily into Mongol hands, and they were duly dismantled after their garrisons were taken into custody. Alamāt did not surrender until the end of Dhu ’l-Ka‘da 654/December 1256, and Lanbāsār [q.v.] held out for another year while Gīrdkuḥ resisted its Mongol besiegers until 669/1270. The Persian Nizarīs and drew up Rūknaḏīn’s actual terms of surrender, which may be apocryphal [see A. Pelissier, Paris 1982, 132-7; J.A. Boyle, The Ismāʿīlī and the Mongols, in Ismāʿīlī contributions to Islamic culture, ed. S.H. Nasr, Tehran 1977, 7-22; F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs: Their history and doctrines, Cambridge 1990, 421-9, 435, 444, 697-8 (containing further bibliographical references).]

(F. Daftary)


(F. Daftary)
the end of the 18th century, W. Franklin praises the sweetness and clearness of the waters of this little stream to which the natives attribute medicinal qualities. At the beginning of the 19th century, Scott Waring notes that its breadth was nowhere more than six feet. Ker Porter observes that the canal has become choked up through neglect. The Kuhlgh-nama deplores the disappearance of the groves that surrounded it. At a later date we have the same observation by Gobineau ("Cette onde poétique ne m’apparut que sous l’aspect d’un trou bourgeois"), Curzon ("a tiny channel filled with running water") and Sykes ("a little indefinite stream").

The Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsīrī mentions a second Ruknbād in Fārs: "The source of the warm stream of Ruknbād is part of the district of Bīkhā-yi Fāl (Lāristān); it is over a farāshā north of the village of Ruknbād; having a bad flavour and an unpleasant smell, it is of no use for agriculture; it cooks in a few minutes eggs put into it; one can only bathe in it at some distance from the spring."

RUKYA (A.), from the root r - k - y meaning "to ascend" (cf. Kurān, XVIII, 93, XXXVIII, 10; to this, LXXV, 27, adds the idea of "enchanter", "one who cures" and "magician" rākī, a term often found in the Sīnā in Hadith and in the Sunna), "enchantment". Since casting a spell was usually by means of a magical formula pronounced or written on an amulet of parchment or leather, rākī is to be connected with kānī and rīkī (q.v.). The term tarākī of the preceding verse, 26, from the root r-k-w, y, variously understood by the commentators, means "collar bones" (see TA and Lane, s.v.; Stein-gass, Persian-English dict., 291), and reminds one of the Clavicules de Salomon, a book of magic, printed in 1641 and reissued by Pierre Belfond, Paris 1652; it contains a definition of the idea of a magical nature (notably Solomon’s seal) to element, magical spell. Since casting a spell was frequently prohibited what is harmful and not that which is useful; if it is possible for you to be useful to your brother, then do it" (cited in Bousquet, op. cit., 301 n. 104); whilst Ibn Khaldīn wrote, "The religious law makes no distinction between sorcery, talismans and prestidigitation. It puts them all into the same class of forbidden things" (Mukaddima, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 169).

For al-Ghazālī, who provided Islamic theology with its definitive formulation, magic is based on a combined knowledge of the properties of certain terrestrial elements and of propitious astral risings. This knowledge is not in itself blameworthy, but it could only serve to injure others and to do evil (Ibad, i, 49-50). The privileged place given to such knowledge is justified by a precedent attributed to the Prophet, "The superiority of the believer who also possesses knowledge over the merely pious believer is that of 70 degrees" (cited in ibid., i, 12).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): I. Goldzwe, Zauberer der islamischen Gibe, in Orientalistische Studen Th. Noldeke gewidmet, Giessen 1906, i, 303-29; E. Douté, Magie et religion.
RUKYA — RUM


RUM. 1. In Arabic literature.

Rum occurs in Arabic literature with reference to the Romans, the Byzantines and the Christian Melkites interchangeably. This issue of nomenclature is the first problem that confronts the reader of Arabic literature. Most often, however, the reference is to the Byzantines, which is the meaning followed in this entry.

The sources for the pre-Islamic times include the important Namara inscription. All the literary sources were written in later Islamic times, deriving from the historian Ibn al-Kalbî.

In the Islamic period, the first reference to Rûm occurs in the Kur’ân (Surat al-Rûm, XXX, 1-5): “The Rûm have been vanquished in the nearer part of the land…” Kur’ân exegesis contains several explanations for these verses and provides further information on the Byzantines (al-Tabârî, Dājmî’s bayân fî ta’wil al-Kur’ân, Cairo 1954, xviii, 17-19; al-Âlî, Rûh al-ma’dînî; Ibn Khûrât, Tafsîr al-Kur’ân al-‘Azîm). Rûm also occurs in hadîth literature, where Constantinople, in particular, partakes in apocalyptic traditions. Such is the hadîth in al-Bukhârî stating that Umm Haram had heard the Prophet saying “The first among my people to attack the city of Caesar will see his sins forgiven” (Sahîh, 56, ch. 93) or that found in Ibn Hanbal, “The Da’ârî will not appear until the Byzantines are vanquished” (Musnad, 33-44; idem, al-Kusântiniyya, in particular, the last major siege led by Maslama in 98/716-17 is recounted in detail in the anonymous Kitâb al-Uyûn, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1869, i, 23-33. The conflict between Byzantium and the Islamic state directed the orientation of the sources so that warfare holds a predominant place in the Fâtîhî, chronicles and historical works.

The Rûm figure prominently in the Arabic geographical literature of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries. The geographers of the early “Irákî” school, Ibn Khûrâdâhîbî, Ibn Rûstâ, Ibn al-Fâqîh and Kudâmâ b. Dînâr included in their respective works a chapter on the Byzantines. Ibn Khûrâdâhîbî’s al-Masdîl wa’l-‘imâmidâk provides information on fiscal revenues, itineraries, geographical boundaries, and the make-up of Byzantine population. Ibn Rûstâ’s al-’Alâ’î al-nafîsa includes the most detailed Arabic description of Constantinople. Among the geographers of the “Bâlîkî” school, Ibn Hâwâkî alone, in his K. Sûrât al-ar-‘îd, “A Roman victory in the Byzantine capital of Rûm. Foremost among all Arabic works are the two masterpieces of al-Mas’dî, K. al-Tânbih wa ‘l-‘i’ânâhî and Mûhadî al-ghâbahî, which include not only geographical material and anecdotes on the Rûm but also attempt at a systematic historical treatment of Byzantine history after the rise of Islam. See also Manuela Marín, “Rûm” in the works of three Spanish Muslim geographers, in Graeco-America, iii (Athens 1984), 109-17.

The organisation of the Byzantine administration and the army is referred to in various texts such as Kudâmâ b. Dînâr’s K. al-Khudi (255-7) and Mâfixî al-‘ilmîm al-Khârazmî (see for this last, C.E. Bosworth, Al-Khârazmî on the secular and religious titles of the Byzantines and Christians, in CT, xxxv, no. 139-40 [1987] (= Mêlanges Ch. Pellat), 28-36). Descriptions of Byzantine ceremonial are found in Ibn Rûstâ’s K. al-Imtdâr wa ‘l-mu’dânasâ, where the Muslim prisoner Hârûn b. Yâbyî witnessed several ceremonials of the Byzantine court (123-5). Anecdotes concerning the court ceremonial are found in al-Mas’dî’s (Murûdî, ii, 18) and Ibn al-Fâqîh (Muqâtas K. al-Buldân, 137-8) and other works. Important references to Rûm are made in the context of embassies and diplomatic relations, hence the importance of Ibn al-Fârî’s Târikh al-Rusul wa’l-mulâkî wah- man yasluh li ‘l-sifdra wa-man yasâlib li ‘l-tasfîra written in the 4th/10th century. Special works like the K. al-Dhakhârî wa’l-ta’âfîr of the Kâdî Ibn al-Zubayr, ed. M. Hamîdullâh and S. Munadîdîjî, Kuwait 1959, from the 5th/11th century, deal mostly with exchange of gifts between Muslim and Byzantine rulers and include information on ceremonials.

In works typically referred to as adâb, references to the Byzantines are most often scattered and anecdotal. Important references are found in the works of al-Tânbih (ed. E. Garcia Sanz, RUM. 2. In Byzantine literature.

In the main historical chronicles, in al-Tabârî’s Târikh al-Rusul wa ‘l-mulâkî, for instance, references to Rûm are guaranteed at the end of each year; the account closes by mentioning Muslim raids into Byzantine territory. For Constantinople see for instance, references to Muslim and Byzantine rulers and include information on adâb.

In a typical adâb work such as Ibn Kutaïba’s Usîn al-akhbâr, references are mentioned in several books, depending on the context, whether war, food, morals, etc… In addition to anecdotes, some works of adâb contain statements about the various civilised nations in the context of the Şû’ûbiyya [q. v.] controversy such as the K. al-Imtdâr wa’l-mu’dânasâ of Abû Hâyán al-Tânbihî (d. 414/1023). One should note also Şîdî al-Andalusi’s d. 462/1070 [q. v.] Tabâkât al-umam.
References to the Byzantine language and script imply some mutual knowledge of the rivals' respective languages. Most of the information concerning the literary achievements of the Rûm appears within the intellectual discussion that accompanied the Shu'ubî movement, notably by al-Djayhî in his K. al-Bayûn wa'l-tabyin. The first section of the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadîm describes the four different Greek scripts used by the Rûm in Baghda’d. In poetry, references are scattered in isolated verses. More significant poems are found in Abu Nuwâs and Abu l'-Ashâyi’s as they sing the praises of Hârûn al-Rashîd, while Abu Tâmmâm (Dîwân, ed. Shâhîn ‘Atyiya, Beirut 1889, 289, verse 18 and 35, verses 6-10) and al-Buhtûrî (Dîwân, Beirut, 1911, 24, verses 3-14) focus on the achievements of al-Ma’mûn (verses 6-10) and al-Buhturi (verses 3-14). The capture of Amorium in 233/838 by al-Mu'tam (see also his K. al-Madâjîl wa'l-musdyardt) provides an excellent introduction to the Arab Conquests. Harun al-Rashîd’s efforts, though bellicose but at times on a more peaceful note, played a big part in later Ottoman Turkish folklore. When the new caliph ‘Umar (II) ‘Abd al-‘Azîz abandoned the expansionist plans of his predecessors, the apocalyptic and messianic motives decreased in vigour, and the last effort of the Arabs against Constantinople was that of the prince Hûrûn, later the caliph al-Rashîd, who appeared at Scutari in 165/781-2 but was bought off by a timely offer of tribute from the Empress Irene. The real legacy of these Arab attacks was in the spheres of folklore and hagiography rather than a material one. Thus the tomb of the veteran Medinan Companion Abu Ayyûb al-Ansârî (q. v.), who died during the siege of Constantinople by Yazîd b. Mu’awiyah in his father’s caliphate, became regarded as a source of baraka or charisma for the Muslims, most recently by the Ottoman Mehmed II the Conqueror (q. v.), after his entry into Constantinople, who erected a splendid mosque, the present one of Eyüp, on the tomb’s supposed site. The siege of Constantinople by Mustâlîb b. ‘Abd al-Malik (q. v.) during Sulaymân’s caliphate left behind, it was believed, a tangible memorial in the shape of a mosque, identified in the later popular mind with what is now called the Arab Camii in Karaköy (in fact, this building was given as a church to the Dominicans, as the Church of St. Paul or St. Dominic, in 1292, during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and only became a mosque at the Ottoman conquest). Here, and in reality without issue, played a big part in later Ottoman Turkish folklore, and according to one story retailed by the 11th/17th century traveller Ewliyâ Celebi (q. v.), Hûrûn avenged a massacre of Muslims within Constantinople by hanging the Emperor Nicephorus I in Santa Sophia (see M. Canard, Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l’histoire et dans la légende, in JA, ccviii-ccix (1926), 61-121, provides a good introduction for the references to the Byzantines and, particularly, Constantinople in the genre of folkloric traditions. A. Miquel, La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du XVe siècle, Paris 1967-88, 4 vols., provides a good introduction to the Arab geographers’ view of the world around them including the Rûm. Also valuable is Ahmad Shboul, Byzantium and the Arabs: the image of the Byzantines as mirrored in Arabic Literature, in Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, London 1979, and idem, Al-Mas‘ûdi and his world, London 1979, ch. 6, The Byzantines. See also Aşfar, Banû L’- (Nâdia El Cheikh)

2. Relations between the Islamic powers and the Byzantines.

(a) Military and political aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations

The Muslims, first the Arabs and then, with the incursions of the Turks into Anatolia from the 5th/11th century onwards, the Turks, had close relations, often bellicose but at times on a more peaceful level, for a period of some eight centuries. This extended from the initial Arab conquests of Byzantine imperial territories in the Levant, Egypt and the Mediterranean islands until the final extinction of the remnants of the Byzantine empire, and also of Greek independence, by the falls of Constantinople (857/1453), the Despotate of Morea (864/1460) and the empire of Trebizond (865/1461). The ambivalent relations of the two great world faiths and powers of the Near East and Eastern Europe were thus manifested in both the political-military sphere and also the cultural one (see section (b) below). Constantinople was found to be the natural goal of Muslim arms, as the supreme bastion of the rival faiths of Christianity, and Arab raids were directed at the East Roman capital itself from the caliphate of U’lûmân onwards, with the warriors’ enthusiasm but soon buttressed by apocalyptic traditions looking forward to the city’s capture. Such traditions, e.g. the prophetic hadîth that Constantinople would fall to an Islamic ruler who bore the name of a prophet (in this case, of Solomon) seem to have been a motive behind the prolonged, but ultimately unsuccessful, onslaught on the Byzantine capital begun by Sulaymân b. ‘Abd al-Malik (97/997-1168) (see R. Eiser, Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimân b. Abdullahmakt und seinem Bild in den Quellen, Wiesbaden 1987, 129-37; and see KUSTANTINIYYA).

When the new caliph ‘Umar (II) ‘Abd al-‘Azîz abandoned the expansionist plans of his predecessors, the apocalyptic and messianic motives decreased in vigour, and the last effort of the Arabs against Constantinople was that of the prince Hûrûn, later the caliph al-Rashîd, who appeared at Scutari in 165/781-2 but was bought off by a timely offer of tribute from the Empress Irene. The real legacy of these Arab attacks was in the spheres of folklore and hagiography rather than a material one. Thus the tomb of the veteran Medinan Companion Abu Ayyûb al-Ansârî (q. v.), who died during the siege of Constantinople by Yazîd b. Mu’awiyah in his father’s caliphate, became regarded as a source of baraka or charisma for the Muslims, most recently by the Ottoman Mehmed II the Conqueror (q. v.), after his entry into Constantinople, who erected a splendid mosque, the present one of Eyüp, on the tomb’s supposed site. The siege of Constantinople by Mustâlîb b. ‘Abd al-Malik (q. v.) during Sulaymân’s caliphate left behind, it was believed, a tangible memorial in the shape of a mosque, identified in the later popular mind with what is now called the Arab Camii in Karaköy (in fact, this building was given as a church to the Dominicans, as the Church of St. Paul or St. Dominic, in 1292, during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, and only became a mosque at the Ottoman conquest). Here, and in reality without issue, played a big part in later Ottoman Turkish folklore, and according to one story retailed by the 11th/17th century traveller Ewliyâ Celebi (q. v.), Hûrûn avenged a massacre of Muslims within Constantinople by hanging the Emperor Nicephorus I in Santa Sophia (see M. Canard, Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l’histoire et dans la légende, in JA, ccviii [1926]. 87-106 = Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient, Variorum Reprints, London 1973, no. 1; C. E. Bosworth, Byzantium and the Arabs: war and peace between two world civilisations, in Jnl. of Oriental and African Studies, iii-iv [Athens 1991-2], 1-4).

There was periodic naval warfare along the coasts of southern and western Anatolia and against Byzantine islands like Cyprus [see KUBRUS], Rhodes [see ROSOS], Crete [see KRITIS] and Sicily [see SIKILLIYA], although the Byzantine navy was generally managed to maintain maritime control—with intervals of Muslim successes—over the first three of these islands and over the Aegean islands in general until the advent of Italian, Catalan and French adventurers there, above all, the Venetians and Genoese, in the 12th century A.D. (see, in general, E. Eickhoff, Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland. Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040),
by land, warfare was intermittent between Greeks and Arabs in southeastern Anatolia and its marches for some four centuries. When not distracted by internal difficulties of the caliphate, the Muslims normally mounted summer raids (saudāʿīy, sing. saʿdāʾa [q.v.]), and, occasionally, winter ones (gauṭūdī, sing. gauṭīya), often under the leadership of 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Malik's son, Sulayh b. 'Ali, and other prominent commanders. Quite often, their raids penetrated deep into Byzantine territory, such as the famed sack by al-Muʿtaʾsım of Amorion (Ammuriyya [q.v.]) in 223/838. But on the whole, there were no permanent, large-scale Arab annexations in Anatolia, and in the later 3rd/9th century, the advent to the throne of Byzantium of the vigorous Macedonian emperors set the Christians on the offensive in northern Syria and al-Dżazīra, this impetus only being checked by the appearance of the Turkmens as a factor in the politics of the region and, behind them, the constituting of the Great Saldık Sultanate (see salık). Only then, in the second half of the 5th/11th century, was the stage set for the gradual advance of the Turks to the borders of Asia Minor after the Saldık sultanate of Atqayya [q.v.] was, successively, defeated by Romanus IV Diogenes at Mantzikert and Malagird [q.v.] in 463/1071, thereby gaining control over much of eastern Anatolia. During the next four centuries, Anatolia was to be completely taken over by Turkish dynasties, to be finally unified by the Ottomans [see oğuz], with portentous changes in the ethnic and religious composition and the socio-economic make-up of Asia Minor (see section 3 below).

The interface of Byzantine-Arab land contact was essentially the region of southeastern Anatolia backed on the Muslim side by a line of "strongholds" (wawṣīm [q.v.]), a line of protective fortresses stretching in an arc from Antioch through the Anti-Taurus and the upper Euphrates region to Manbij. Before this line of rear defences lay a stretch of debatable land, much fought over, the wawṣīb al-Rum or "exteriors" of the frontiers of the Caliphate, which witnessed the "gaps" or thughhr [q.v.], the forward strongholds, stretching from Tarsus on the Cilician coast to Malatya and the mountains of eastern Anatolia. For the general course of this frontier warfare, see the standard histories of Byzantine-Arab relations and of Byzantium, such as A.A. Vasiliev, H. Grégoire and M. Canard, Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritime de... (see R.-J. Lilie, Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber, Studien zur Struktursandezung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd., Munich 1976; Bosworth, The Byzantine defence system in Asia Minor and the first Arab incursions, 119 ff.). A further feature of these frontier societies was the development of an epic literature there (although this was not necessarily contemporaneous with the events purported to be described in it), such as the Greek Diogenes Akritas and on the Arabic one in the stories of Siḍī Baṭṭāl [see al-Battāl, sayyid ghazzā] and Dhu `l-Himma [q.v.], whilst, again on the Arab side, we know of an only partially-extant work, the Siyar al-thughhr "Ways of life, conduct, along the frontiers" by the 4th/10th century author al-Tarsusi (himself a native of the thughr of Tarsus [see tarsus]), possession of which oscillated between the Greeks and Arabs until Nicopolis Phocas captured it in 534/945, which treated of life along the Muslim side of the frontier (see Bosworth, The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontier...). 271-2, 280 ff.; idem, Aḥbāʾ Amr Uḥmān al-Tarsusiyya Siyar al-thughhr and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourteenth century), in Graeco-Arabica, v [Athenos 1993], 183-95.

The frontier warfare, and the territorial advances and withdrawals of each side, created in the wawṣīb something like a scorched-earth zone, and, at the human level, brought in plentiful supplies of slave captives for both sides. To make up depleted populations in the frontier territories, groups of peoples were often transplanted from the interiors of the Arab and Byzantine empires and settled there; thus there were to be found, on both sides of the frontier, members from the community of the Mardaites, brought from the Amanus region of northwestern Syria [see al-garajuma, and also zuṭṭ]. At intervals, exchanges of captives might be arranged, and these are enumerated in the Arabic sources as a series of fidāʾ [q.v. in Suppl.] or "ransomings", taking place during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and usually on the banks of the Lamos or Lamass Su river near Seleucia or Silifke (see Bosworth, Byzantium and the Arabs..., 13-16, and lamass-su). (b) Cultural and artistic relations of the Arabs and Byzantines

One should not dwell exclusively on the military aspects of relations without noting that, interspersed between the frontier raiding and warfare, were long periods of peace (even if these last were, in strict Islamic law, periods of truce, hudna, rather than of sulh), during which diplomatic, cultural and commercial intercourse was possible. The two sides, the Arab-Muslim and the Greco-Byzantine, shared a common
world-view, a teleological view of human existence as progressing from the divine act of Creation to the last things (these being, for the Muslims, the vanquishing of Saran or the Anti-Christ (Dadjdjdl [q. v.]), the Resurrection and the Judgement) and the end of human history; both had similar ethical standards, the pursuit of justice in this world and of individual salvation for the next one. Hence despite political rivalry and military clashes, there was the possibility of occasional co-operation in such spheres as artistic, cultural and scientific ventures.

This was favoured, in practice, by the fact that, according to the histories of the Greeks from the religious point of view, the Arabs—in distinction from their view of the Franks or Western Europeans, whom they regarded with contempt as barbarians [see IFRAND]—considered Byzantium as a world power and world culture on a par with themselves. A passage in the Khidż. Ṭabarik al-umam of the Spanish Muslim kādi of Toledo, Sa‘īd b. Ahmad al-Kurjubi (wrote 460/1068), divides the peoples of the world into those concerned with learning and the sciences and those not; in the first category are included peoples like the Indians, Persians, Chaldaeans, Greeks (as Yūnān, i.e. the ancient Greeks), the Rūm (i.e. the Byzantines), Egyptians, Arabs and Jews (Fr. tr. R. Blachère, Livre des catégories des nations, Paris 1935, 36-7, cited in B. Lewis, The Muslim discovery of Europe, London 1962, 68-9). For their part, the Byzantine emperors not infrequently accorded the representatives of their Muslim foes a higher rank at their court and among their society than those of the Western Europeans. In a famous passage of his De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-59) gives ‘‘Saracen (lit. Hagarene) friends’’ precedence at the imperial table over the ‘‘Frankish friends’’ and amongst the Saracens in general, the eastern ones (toī anatolikoi proktonomenos) are accorded the best places (see Bosworth, Byzantium and the Arabs, 17).

When the Arabs overran the former territories of the Byzantine empire in the Near East, they saw numerous monuments to Christian architectural achievement. Above all, in Greater Syria, there were still some forested areas with timber as yet unfelled and plentiful supplies of fine building stone, together with a human tradition of building skills and fine craftsmanship. The presence of these factors favoured the earliest Islamic public buildings and private palaces in the region, of which the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the Mosque of ‘Umar and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem were conspicuous examples. Sir Hamilton Gibb suggested that, in Jerusalem, there was a conscious aim of emulating the ancient Greeks, the Rūm (i.e. the Byzantines), in regard to their view of the Franks or Western Europeans, whom they regarded with contempt as barbarians [see IFRAND]. Oleg Grabar has discussed these questions, in an attempt in ter alia to explain which mosaicists from Constantinople should be necessary when there were clearly, from the evidence of the workmanship of the new Islamic structures at Jerusalem, local artisans who were completely competent in such specialisations. (Islamic art and Byzantium, in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, xviii [1964], 69-88, esp. 82 ff. = Studies in medieval Islamic art, Variorum Reprints, London 1976, no. IV).

Recourse to Byzantium for artistic guidance, and for what would now be called technical aid, was made two-and-a-half centuries later by the Umayyad rulers of Muslim Spain, with whom Constantinople had intermittent diplomatic relations: both powers shared a common hostility to the Arab Hànids. In 839-40 the Emperor Theophilus (829-40) sent an embassy to ‘‘Abd al-Rahmān II [q. v.]’’ in his capital Cordova, seeking to get the amīr to use his influence among the band of Muslim adventurers from al-Andalus under ‘‘Abd al-Haʃī ‘Umar al-Ballūtih, who had established themselves in the Byzantine possession of Crete and subjugated the Christian Greek population there. Then, a century later, the Umayyad caliph ‘‘Abd al-Rahmān III [q. v.]’’ looked to Constantinople for assistance and advice, regarding the Byzantine capital as the outstanding centre of cultural splendour in the Mediterranean basin, and possibly also in an endeavour to counterbalance the cultural impact in Spain of the Islamic East, and particularly of Bagdād. It seems that in the A.D. 950s ‘‘Abd al-Rahmān sent the Mozarab bishop Recemundo or Rabiš b. Zayd [q. v.], who had already been employed on a mission to the Emperor Otto I, to Constantinople in order to acquire objets d’art for the decoration of the new palace, al-Malīnat al-Zahirih [q. v.], which the Umayyad ruler was then building in his capital Cordova. The later Moroccan historian Ibn ‘Idhari records that, keeping up the tradition, ‘‘Abd al-Rahmān’s son al-Hakam I [q. v.]’’ maintained these diplomatic relations with Byzantium, and sent to Nicephorus Phocas for a mosaicist and for materials to decorate the Great Mosque at Cordova (see E. Lévi-Provençal, Un échange d’ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IVe siècle, in Byzantion, xii [1937], 1-24; idem, Hist. Ésp. musulmana, Paris-Leiden 1950, i, 251-4, ii, 146-33, cited in Bosworth, op. cit., 20-1).

Canard, in his article Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin, essai de comparaison, in Byzantion, xxi (1951), 355-420 = Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient, no. XIV, drew attention to similarities between the court practices of the Byzantine emperors (known to us in detail from Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s De ceremoniis) and those of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and mooted the possibility (415 ff. of cultural influences at Fāṭimid Nīl, to Egypt emanating from Byzantium. He found it difficult to produce evidence of a deliberate policy of imitation on the part of the Fāṭimids, but did draw attention to the significant role in the early Fāṭimid caliphate of ethnic groups from various parts of the Byzantine empire, such as the Sicilian (or Dalmatian, or even Greek?)
Qiawhar (d. 381/992 [?]), in whose conquering army was certainly a corps of Rūm. I. Hrbek, discussing the role of the Sakāliba [q.v.] and Rūmīs in the Fātimīd army, opined that the majority of these Rūmīs came from the Balkans, over which Byzantium claimed a general suzerainty, the Balkans being for a long a great reservoir for slave manpower (Die Slaven im Dienste der Fātimiden, in ArO, xxi [1953], 543-81, esp. 567 ff.). We also have evidence of some direct diplomatic contact between Byzantium and the Fātimīd caliph al-Mu‘izz in the shape of an embassy from Constantinople to his palace at Ma‘ṣūrīyya near Kayseri in 340/951 on which later naval clashes in the Mediterranean between ships of the Spanish Umayyads and their Byzantine allies on the one side and ships of the Fātimids on the other (S. Vryonis, The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from Asia Minor, at a time when the Byzantine empire was diplomatically in the Mediterranean). But the defeat of Manuel I Komnenus at Myriocephalon in 572/1176 showed the rising strength of the Sāljuq sultansate in Anatolia, in which interest in further naval ventures was curbed. In the next two decades of the century the Byzantine frontier defences largely crumbled. Also, the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 reduced the Byzantine hold over Asia Minor to its northwestern portion, ruled from their temporary capital of Nicæa for over half a century, and this meant that, even though the rule of the Palaeologoi was restored in Constantinople, the next two centuries were ones of steady decline, with Byzantium reduced to a state of the Ottomans after the mid-14th century.

This last Byzantine rulers formed merely one element, and that of decreasing authority, within a states-system of South-East Europe and Asia Minor which included rising powers in the Balkans like Serbia and Bulgaria, the Italian and other merchant adventurers in Greece and the Aegean islands, but, above all, the Turks of Anatolia. An indication of the Byzantine emperors’ enfeeblement was that, whereas earlier monarchs had disdained to link themselves with lesser families, and certainly not with infidels, the Palaeologoi had to seek allies where they could find them, and this not infrequently involved marriage alliances with Muslim ruling families. Michael VIII (1259-82) had diplomatic relations with the Mongol Golden Horde in South Russia and with the Il-Khanid of Persia, Hülegü, and gave his illegitimate daughter Euphrasyme in marriage to the Djöqid amīr Noghay. The claimant to the throne in Constantinople John Cantacuzenus (1347-54) in 1346 allied with the Ottoman chief Orkhan during the course of a succession dispute within Byzantium, and gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to Orkhan. (C. Imber, The Ottoman empire 1300-1481, Istanbul 1990, 23). In the north the empire of Trebizond, surrounded along its land frontiers with Turkish territory, only survived as long as it did by means of alliances and agreements with the Muslims. Thus the Bayanur Türkmen tribe pressed particularly hard on Trebizond until Kara Oğlm, founder of the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.] or “White Sheep” Türkmen principality, married the princess Maria of Trebizond. Kara Oğlm’s grandson Uzun Hasan married in ca. 862/1458 Despina, daughter of the Trebizond Emperor John IV Comnenus, and Despina’s daughter Martha was to marry Shaykh Haydar Safawi of Ardabil and become the mother of Shāh Ismā’īl I of Persia [see UZUN HASAN, in EP].

The history of the Turkish advance and the gradual take-over of Anatolia, may be followed in anadolu (iii), in “ottomani, in salgık. III. 5, in the articles on the various lejik, and in such standard works (which also discuss such contentious issues as the nature and pace of Islamisation and the relative contribution to Anatolian life and society by what eventually became the Greek and Armenian substratum) as Cl. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330, London 1968; S. Vryonis, The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from
the eleventh through the fifteenth century, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1971; Osman Turan, Selçuklar zamanında Türkiye Sıyası sarılı Alp Arslan’dan Osman Gazi’ye 1971-1918, Istanbul 1971; F. Taeschner’s chs. The Turks and the Byzantine empire to the end of the thirteenth century and The Ottoman Turks to 1453, in Camb. med. hist., iv/1, 737-75; A.G.C. Savvides, Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. c. 1192-1237, Thessalonike 1981; etc.

Finally, it is interesting to note the vicissitudes of usage of the term Byzantium during these later centuries of the empire’s existence. Byzantine Greek sources refer to the empire as Rhōmana or Rhōmaion or Rhōmanskai chōrās from the 9th century onwards. In more recent Islamic usage, Rūm had always had a geographical sense also (see above, (a)), designating the Greek lands of the Byzantine empire beyond the Taurus-upper Euphrates frontier zone. Hence when the Turks penetrated into these regions during the later 9th/11th century, it was natural that a line of beys like those of the Dānāmīndis [q.v.], who were originally based on the Sivas district, should style their territories Rūm, and we find Malik Muhammad Ghāzī (529-36/1134-42) styled on his Greek-legend coins “the Great King of Romania and Anastolia”. The Anatolian Saldjūqs, whose principaliy was based on the region of Konya and southern Cappadocia—territories which were for long strongly Greek in ethics and still in early Ottoman sources called Yūnān wilāyēti: “province of the Greeks”—referred to their state, at least in informal usage, as that of Rūm and themselves as Saldjūqyān-i Rūm, thereby in some measure conceiving of themselves as heirs to the Byzantines in south-central Anatolia (although Rūm continued also, as with regard to the Greeks who had lived within the Arab caliphate centuries before, to denote the Greek Christian population of Asia Minor; towards the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Moroccan traveller Ibn Batfuta records sailing to Alanya in the Bilad al-Rum, “called after the Rūm because it used to be their land in old times, and from it came the ancient Rūm and the Yūnānis. Later on it was conquered by the Muslims, but in it there are still large numbers of Christians” [see also (c)]).

The expansion of the Ottomans in the 8th/14th century eventually made them masters of the former Byzantine territories, gūssā moḍo those of Rhōmania, in both Anatolia and the Greco-Balkan region. Since the territories of the Palaeologi were laterly mainly in Europe, this Rhōmania became for the Ottomans Rūm-eli [q.v.], or Rumelia, the land characterised by its predominantly Orthodox Christian population, the Rūm. The circumscribed remnant of the Byzantine empire was by now rarely in Ottoman sources styled Rūm, nor was its emperor styled Kaysar, the latter office being more commonly referred to by the (originally Armenian) title Tefkīr “king”. It was the Ottomans who took over for themselves, and especially from the times of Mehmed I and II [q.v.], the title of Sulṭān (or Pāšāh or Khan)-i Rūm, regarding themselves as being already, before the final rapine of Constantinople, substantially the successors both of the Byzantine empire and the Rūm Saldjūk sultanate. Thus it was natural that the Timūrid historian Nişām al-Dīn Şāhī [q.v.] should, in his Zafar-nāma (ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-56, i, 257), call the Ottomans of Bāyezīd I, whom Timūr crushed, the Rūmīyān, adducing at the same time the Kur’ānic reference to the Rūm and their defeat XXXI, i, 1, reading ghulāb al-Rūm). See in general on these questions, P. Witte, Le sultan de Roum, in Ann. de l’Inst. de Philologie et d’Hist. Or. et Slaves, Bruxelles, vi.— Mélanges Emile Boisacq, ii (1936), 361-90; Savvides, A note on the terms Rūm and Anatolia in Seljuk and early Ottoman times, in Byzan- tinoturkistika meletemata. Anayptōse arthron 1981-1990, Athens 1991, no. X [171]-[178].

Anatolia in 585/1189, it is recorded by Abu Shama that the Armenian Catholicos of Kal'at al-Rüm (sc. Grigor IV) sent a letter to the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din [q.v.], and another in the following year, asking for help (K. al-Roundatayn, in Rec. Hist. Or. des Croisades. Historien arabe, iv, 435-6, 453-6).

In 1260 the Mongol II-Khan Hülégu [q.v.] crossed the Euphrates by bridges of boats at Malatya, Kal'at al-Rüm, Bira and Karkisiyâ (Barhebraeus, Mughāsār T. al-Duwal, Beirut 1890, 486; idem, Chronographie, ed. Bedjan, 509). Then in the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Mansūr Kalāwūn, an Egyptian army of 9,000 horse and 4,000 foot under Bay sārī as well as Syrian forces under Ḥusām al-Din of Aynṭāb came to Rūm Kāl'esi and laid siege to the fortress 19 May 1280. The sultan demanded that the Catholicos should surrender the fortress and move with his monks to Jerusalem, or if he preferred, to Cilicia. When the Catholicos refused to do so, the Egyptians laid waste the country around the town which was inhabited by Armenians, on the next day forced their way over a wall only 4 metres thick, and under cannon and artillery forces under Ḥusām al-Din of Aynṭāb entered Rūm Kāl'esi.

In the spring of the year 881-2/1247 the Mamluk sultan Kājitbay made a tour of inspection as far as Kal'at al-Mūsīlim (described by Abu l-Bākā Ibn al-Dijān, ed. R.V. Lanzone, Viaggio in Palestina e Soria di Kaid Ba, Turin 1878; tr. R.L. Devonshire, in Bulletin IFAO, xx [Cairo 1921], 1-43). After the battle of Mardj Dābīk [q.v.], the fortress became Ottoman, and in the Mamluks never seems to have recovered from the blow. In 757/1353-4, much damage was done by floods in Kal'at al-Mūsīlim as well as in Aleppo, al-Rūbah, al-Bira and Baghdād (al-Tabrīzī, ed. Ghirshman, in Weijers, Orientaïa, ii, Amsterdam 1846, 435).

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name of the Ottoman province which included this region. The Muslims knew the Byzantines as Rum, and the Turks returned to Anatolia in 1307-11 (see Wittek, Dohna and Drava. Ottoman sultans from Bayezid I [q.v.] onwards considered the peninsula extending to the south of the Danube as their area of sovereignty. Murad II was clearly following this notion when he obtained the commitment from Hungarians not to cross the Danube in the treaty he made with them in 1444 (H. Inalcik, Fatih devri, i, Ankara 1954, 22).

The first settlement of the Anatolian Turks in the Balkans is related to the incident of 'Izz al-Din Kaykâwûs of the Saldjûks fleeing and taking refuge in Byzantium in 662/1264. The emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus allocated the steppe of the Dobruja for him to settle with his men. Following this, a group of 30 to 40 Turcoman clans (she) who supported him, crossed to the Dobruja in the company of Sarî Salûk Bahâ (Baybars), Zabdat al-fikra, ed. W. Tiesenhausen, Tkish tr. Altin-brother Dobrotic shortly before the year 1366 [see cit. DOBRUDJA]. Initially, the centre of this despotate was Christian Comans or Kumans, were established in the Balkans had already become a field of operations for the phâzîs from Anatolia. The phâzî groups which had organised themselves independently, had already started crossing into Rûmeli, taking advantage of the Byzantine civil war and the struggle between Byzantium, the Serbs and the Turks. Cantacuzenos notes Süleymân’s reluctance to evacuate the various places which he occupied in Rûmeli, but he only mentions Tsympé (Djimbi or Djimbi) among these. Ottoman chronicles mention Aya Şîline or Aya Şîlyona, Ödökölek and Eksamîlye among the fortresses which Süleymân occupied in the period 1352-4. The places which Cantacuzenos tried to have him evacuate must be these fortresses. Thus the first settlement of the Ottomans built a base for the raids along the River Maritsa, in the direction of Tekfur Daghi, Corlu and Constantinople; and the third ufa became the base for the raids along the River Maritsa, in the

During the time of the Emperor Justinianus, the northern borders of the Byzantine Empire were the Danube and Drava. Ottoman sultans from Bayezid I [q.v.] onwards considered the peninsula extending to the south of the Danube as their area of sovereignty. Murad II was clearly following this notion when he obtained the commitment from Hungarians not to cross the Danube in the treaty he made with them in 1444 (H. Inalcik, Fatih devri, i, Ankara 1954, 22).

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direction of Ipsala and Edirne. This system was maintained throughout the Ottoman conquest of Rumeli, and as the conquest advanced, the settlements were moved farther ahead in the three directions. Due to Süleyman’s death in 1357 and Orkhan’s old age, there appears to have been a retreat. Various places conquered in Süleyman Paşa’s time were lost. During this time, Hacıççljeh Ilbeyi and Ewrenos Bey had been active in the left-hand branch. Over the course of time, this branch was maintained by the Ottomans to win over the peasant population especially. The feudal lords were either eliminated, or, if they did not resist, were integrated into the Ottoman military cadres under the command of their own overlords. This policy, coupled with the protection of the Church’s organisation, facilitated Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. This came at a time when the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarian Tsardom and Dushan’s empire had already disintegrated. Western feudal practices started to take hold in the Balkans, and due to the weakening of a central power, feudalism began to spread. The local feudal lords, called tekfâr by the Ottomans, strove to strengthen their control over land and peasant labour in the countryside. When the Ottomans arrived, they first ended the local feudal structures by placing agricultural lands exclusively under state control, as mîrî [q.v.]. They systematically abolished the corvées and replaced them with a fixed tax called iâfi resimi [q.v.]. The landless peasantry, who had been the peasants against Ottoman invasion, sought the aid of the Latins and Hungarians invaders of the Balkans under a Crusader banner. The Latins and Hungarians, of Roman Catholic faith, considered the native Greek Orthodox population as schismatics and had been trying to convert them to Catholicism by force. The Ottomans, on the other hand, not only offered recognition and protection to the Orthodox Church but they granted to its priests tax exemptions or even timârs, in order to turn them into employees of the state (see Sûret-i deyîr-i sanâk-i Aravân, ed. İnalcik, Ankara 1954, 58, 73).

The settlement of the Turks in the Balkans.

Mass immigration and settlement occurred especially in the 14th century. Later on, Timur’s occupation of Anatolia gave rise to a big wave of migration from Anatolia to Rumeli. At that point, Edirne became the capital of the empire. As a result of these migrations, Thrace, eastern Bulgaria, the river valley of the Maritsa and then the Dobrudja became thickly populated by Turks. The evidence of the Ottoman population and tax registers reveals conclusively that, in these regions in the 16th century, Turks formed a large part of the population. Although spontaneous migration, continuing from the time of Orkhan, was by no means less important, the state’s policy of deportation was largely responsible for this result. A classification of the place names found in the 15th-century surveys indicates that settlements were associated with nomadic Yörük groups such as the Kayil, Salurli, Türkmen and Akçakoyunlu, or with sedentary or nomadic groups associated with a place name in Anatolia, such as, Sarukhanlı, Menteşeli, İskimawil, which they sometimes identified with the followers of famous military leaders, such as Dâwûd beg and Turakhanlı, or with members of the Ottoman military organisations such as doganlı, taşvîr, damghâtî, mididâris, kâdi and sekkâr, or with a zâviye [see zâviya] or pious endowment. It should also be pointed out that dervish convents played a crucial role in the formation of Turkish villages. Turkish immigrants generally formed independent villages with Turkish names and did not generally mix with the local Christian populations. Even in the towns, Christian neighbourhoods were always separate. In the 14th-15th centuries, Islamisation appears to have been quite sporadic, occuring mostly on the successive military frontier zones on the Via Egnatia, Maritsa valley and eastern Balkan passes. According to the giye registers of 893-6/1487-91, only 253 cases of conversion were identified over three centuries. Levies of Christian boys [see dervîmre] are not included in the figure. The use of the native language can be taken as an indication of Islamisation. Bosnian and Albanian Muslims and Pomaks constitute the largest of such groups. Those Muslim groups who spoke exclusively Turkish or were bilingual, with Turkish as the mother tongue, were definitely of Anatolian Turkish origin. Turks or
Tatars of the northern Black Sea steppe, Turks of the Deli-Orman region, Dobrudja and Varna, as well as those of the Maritsa Valley, were of this category. while there were also Noghays [q.v.] in the Dobrudja and in Bukhārā [q.v.] or Moldavia.

Population of Rûmeli, Ottoman census of 1894

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>Jewish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edirne</td>
<td>434,366</td>
<td>267,220</td>
<td>16,642</td>
<td>102,245</td>
<td>13,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manastır</td>
<td>630,000</td>
<td>228,121</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5,072</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanya</td>
<td>235,948</td>
<td>286,294</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3,677</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Işkodra</td>
<td>330,728</td>
<td>5,913</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,797 Catholic</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girit</td>
<td>74,150</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adalar</td>
<td>30,809</td>
<td>226,590</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2,956</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Çatalağda</td>
<td>18,701</td>
<td>35,848</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selânik</td>
<td>463,000</td>
<td>277,000</td>
<td>1,257</td>
<td>37,206 (2,313 Catholic)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosova</td>
<td>419,390</td>
<td>29,393</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>274,826</td>
<td>1,706 (5,588 Latin)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: K. Karpat, Ottoman population, Madison 1985, 155.

Quite numerous records (ifrād-i) about farms in the newly-opened up agricultural lands indicate the substantial expansion of arable lands in Rûmeli in the 16th century. It was coupled with a significant increase in population. It is estimated that shortly before 1535, the population of Rûmeli had risen to five millions. The Turks introduced or spread cotton and rice cultivation into the Balkans. The establishment of a large centre like Istanbul, with an estimated population of 400,000, in the 16th century, provided a great market for Thrace and Bulgaria and encouraged all sorts of agricultural production. In the Ottoman period, too, there was an increase in mining activities and new mineral workings were exploited. In Novobrodo, Kratovo, Rudnik, Trepče and Zaplanina in Serbia, copper, lead, gold, iron and, especially, silver were being produced. Sidre-Kapsa in Macedonia was the most important silver production centre. Silver and lead were being produced at various places in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The most important iron production sites were Samakov in Bulgaria, and Vlasina and Rudnik in Serbia.

The administrative organisation of Rûmeli.

In Gelibolu, Süleyman Paşa, bearing the official title of commander-in-chief of the main forces of the state, was in practice the Beylerbeyi. Murād I (1362-89) with his Lalā, Şâhîn, conquered Adrianople in 1361. When he ascended the throne he appointed Şâhîn to the middle uşûf to conquer territories in the direction of Filibe. The first chief-lieu was Adrianople or Edirne [q.v.]. Thus Rûmeli emerged as a separate military-administrative region under the rule of a Beylerbeyi. The fact that the empire was divided by the straits and the Sea of Marmara necessitated the division of the realm into two large administrative regions, Rûmeli and Anadolu. The Beylerbeyi of Rûmeli, the first such governorate in the Ottoman Empire, maintained its special position even after other beylerbeyûks were formed [see EYALET].

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the governor of Rûmeli mostly resided in the empire's capital city. Like the vizziers, he bore the title of paşa, and participated in the government deliberations in the divān-i humāyûn. Because the Beylerbeyi of Rûmeli commanded the most important army of the state, composed of timâr-holding sipâhs of Rûmeli, the Grand Viziers Mahmûd Paşa and İbrahim Paşa both held the position of Beylerbeyi of Rûmeli at the same time.

The areas conquered in the 15th century were added to the territory of the Beylerbeyi of Rûmeli; not only the area to the south of the Danube, but also Kilia and Aş Kermân beyond the Danube were assigned to it in 1484. In 1541, however, with the establishment of the governorate of Budin, the number of Ottoman beylerbeyûks in Europe increased. Bosnia became a beylerbeyi in the same year.

In a list of 1475 (Iacopo de Promontorio de-Campis, ed. F. Babinger, Die Aufzeichnungen, Munich 1957), the following seventeen sanjak beys are cited in Rûmeli: 1. Istanbul; 2. Gallipoli; 3. Adrianople; 4. Nikelobou/Nigbolu; 5. Vidin; 6. Sofia; 7. Serbia (Laz-ili); 8. Serbia (Despot-ili); 9. Vardar (Erewen-oghullari); 10. Uskup; 11. Aranawut-ili (that of Iskender Bey); 12. Aranawut-ili (that of Araniti); 13. Bosna (belonging to the king); 14. Bosna (that of Stephen); 15. Arta, Zituni and Athens; 16. Mora; and 17. Manastir. The Beylerbeyi of Rûmeli would raise about 22,000 men from these seventeen sanjaks. In addition, there were 8,000 aqindis (skirmishers or raiders) and 6,000 'aziba (foot soldiers).

In an Ottoman document from the early years of Süleyman I's reign, the sanjak of livas of Rûmeli are listed according to the rank of the beys in charge, with each name of the sanjak followed by the salary (in akken) of the sanjak bey: 1. Paşa; 2. Bosna; 739,000; 3. Mora; 606,000; 4. Semendire, 622,000; 5. Vidin, 580,000; 6. Harsek, 560,000; 7. Silistre, 560,000; 8. Oskhri, 535,000; 9. Awlonya, 535,000; 10. Iskenderiyeye, 512,000; 11. Yanya, 515,000; 12. Gelibolu, 500,000; 13. Kostendi, 500,000; 14. Nikebolu, 457,000; 15. Sofia, 430,000; 16. Inebakhît, 400,000; 17. Tirhala, 372,000; 18. Aladja Hisar, 360,000; 19. Vulcetrin, 350,000; 20. Kepe, 300,000; 21. Prizren, 263,000; 22. Karli, 250,000; 23. Aghriboz, 250,000; 24. Çirmen, 250,000; 25. Vize, 230,000; 26. Izvornik, 264,000; 27. Florina, 200,000; 28. Ibasan, 200,000; 29. Çingene (Gypsies), 190,000; 30. Midilli, 170,000; 31. Karadağ (Montenegro), 100,000; 32. Mâşelêmân-i Kîrk Kilise, 81,000; and 33. Voynuk, 52,000.

Among these, Çingene, Mâşelêm and Voynuk were not territorial sanjaks located in a particular place. Each one of these scattered groups was put under a sanjak-bey, whose main duty was to be the commander of the sipâhs in his sanjak. In a list compiled ca. 1534 (Topkapı Palace Archives, D. 9578, see Belleten, no. 78, 250, 258), we find all the sanjaks mentioned above except Sofya, Inebakhît and Florina. The sanjak of Selânik is added. In general, Selânik was included in the sultan’s îkâls [q.v.] or given to the viziers as a retirement pension. In this
The Ottoman Empire included Sofia, which was initially included in the sultan's khass, or else assigned independently to the administration of a subedar. The sanjak belonging to the Beleyeriye during the early years of Süleyman I included the cities of Usküp, Pirlıpe, Manastır and Kresiya and was spread over a wide region. Afterwards, these towns became the centres for sanjak beyi.

In the list given by ʻAyni ʻAli shortly before 1018/1609 (Kawunun-i Ali-ı 'Oğłam, published in Taşvir-i Efkar [Istanbul 1280] 11-13), Sofya and Manastır were included under the Paşa sanjak. This list includes additionally the sanjaks of Selanik, Usküp, Delvine, Vize, Kırık Kılise, Delvine, 6. Vuketin, 7. Tebriz, 8. Elbasan, 9. Kostendil, 2. Tirhala, 3. Prizren, 4. Yanya, 5. Delvine, 6. Vučetin, 7. Usküp, 8. Elbasan, 9. Awtunya, 11. Dukatın, 12. Okhri, 13. Ablakişar, 14. Selânik, and 15. sanjak of the Vouyuks. In the 18th century, Morea was separated as the new eydlet of Rumeli at the end of the 18th century, administrative divisions of Rumeli underwent numerous changes, and smaller provinces were formed. Shortly before 1263/1847, the new eydlets of Usküp, Bosna, Yanya and Selânik were formed and the main eydlet of Rumeli included only the three sanjaks of Iskenderiyê, Okhri and Kesriye (Sâl-nâmê of 1263/1847). In 1862, the first wilayet of Rumeli was composed of the towns of Kesriye, Okhri and İskenderiyye, with Manastır as the centre of the wilayet (Sâl-nâmê of 1278/1862). Following the formation of the wilayet of Tunca in 1280/1864 with the sanjaks of Rusčuk, Tučca, Vidin, Sofya, Trnovo, Niž and Varna, new wilayets were formed one after another, namely Bosna, İskhid, Yanya, Selânik and Edirne, thereby reducing Rumeli to a mere geographical name. The new wilayet of Selânik included Manastır, Serez, Drama and Usküp. After Bulgaria seceded in 1312/1894, Rumeli was divided into the wilayets of Edirne, Selânik, Kosova, Yanya, İskhid and Manastır (Sâl-nâmê of 1312/1895).


RUMELI HİŞARI, a fortress and village at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus which has at this point its strongest current (called Şeytan for the west). The castle served, together with Anadolu Hisarı [q.v.], to control the maritime passage between the Euxine (Black Sea) and the Propontis (Sea of Marmara). In Ottoman sources it is also called Bogazkesen and Rumeli Orta Hisar kal'esi. Two existing Byzantine towers were taken in 1452 by Mehmed, the future sultan, and within a few months (oldest Ottoman inscription of Istanbul), the castle was completed in Rabī' II 856/June-July 1452, being the result of a division of labour between the sultan and his leading commanders (Seradja, Khalil, Zaghanos), extensively described by Byzantine and Ottoman contemporaries. Only theDonjon of Coucy (Aine) exceeded the three towers in size at this period. At the barbican (hisar-petle), 18-20 guns were
installed. Rumeli Hisarı served as a prison and as a check-point for customs (see ISTANBUL, Plate VII; OTTOMAN, v. architecture, Plate VI).

The term Rumiya went into use as a summer resort, frequented by members of the Ottoman ruling class (e.g. Köprülü-zade ʿAşim and Mekki-zade), who owned waterfront palaces (yali). Rumeli Hisarı preserved its predominantly Muslim character, with more than a dozen Friday mosques and masjid-i, until the early 19th century. There were prominent dervish convents. The Tekke of Shehidler above the castle was an important figure in the Young Turk period. In 1863 Robert Roberts, the first governor of the modern Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, was opened by the American Presbyterian Christophor Rihelander Roberts. There was a small Armenian quarter in the vicinity of Surp Santukht (late 18th century).

Rumis, known as Rume, is a designation for the Turks from al-Rûm [q.v.], which was once under the Eastern Roman Empire. The name Rumi was widespread in all eastern Islamic countries, including the Arab lands, Persia, Central Asia and Indonesia, from the 9th/15th century onwards. The Ottomans restricted the name Rumi to the provinces in the Amasya and Sivas areas. The Rûmis were appreciated particularly for their tactical skills and for skills in making of firearms. Rumi mercenaries were employed by the Mamlûk sultans, the rulers of Arabia, ʿIrâk, and, thereafter, by the Indian and Indonesian rulers (J. Aubin, Mare Luso-Indicum, ii, 175-9).

While employment opportunities with high salaries attracted a great number of individual Anatolian soldiers, who had once been in the service of the Turkoman rulers, the Ottoman sultans also gave permission to friendly rulers to enlist volunteers from their territory. Such Rûmi mercenary groups equipped with muskets, trained in using the sea on three sides, the golden gate and the gate "of the king", the situation of the great market; or through this fairy-like enchantment, marked by an unparalleled display of gold and precious stones (e.g. in regard to the altar of the Lateran church); or, final-ly Ibn Khurradadhbih [q.v.], which is known as the Roman basilicas, in 846 A.D. (furthermore, it is known that an event connected with the legend of the...Syriac tradition, as the analysis of texts (cf. 1. Guidi, in Bibli.) has shown.

This procedure is indeed what is responsible, either through an ambiguous geographical representation, which goes back rather to Constantinople (presence of the legend of the sea on three sides, the golden gate and the gate "of the king"), the name given to the city of Rome by the Arab geographers, with the exception of the western ones (al-Bakri, al-Idrisi and al-Ḥimyarī), who use the form Rûma, as also Ibn Khaldün (only Ibn Rusta writes Rûmiyya, treating it as if it were a nisba).

Rome's fame, both as the seat of power of the Rûm [q.v.] and then as the centre of Christianity, could not fail to be noted by the mediaeval Arabs. In fact, the solicitude, in a critical sense, which they displayed in grasping at every item of information about the city, ended up in a host of pieces of information which is in striking contrast to their almost total ignorance, up to the time of al-Idrîsî, with regard to Christian Western Europe. Unfortunately, this involved only indirect information, with the unique exception of the narrative (in Ibn Rusta, 129-30) of the mysterious Hārūn b. Yâbi, who fell into the hands of the Byzantines and who visited Rome towards the end of the 9th century A.D. (furthermore, it is known that an event as sensational as the sacking of the Roman basilicas, in 846 A.D., has left no trace whatever in the Arabic texts). Again, the pieces of information are drawn from anonymous sources and, going beyond this fic-tion, from the domain of the imaginary and legen-dary, such as the largely facetious picture of mediaeval Rome fixed in the minds of the Arabs. It is as if they had seen its landscape, urban and rural, through the eyes of someone else, in other words, through the intermediacy of the Greco-Byantine and Syriac tradition, as the analysis of texts (cf. 1. Guidi, in Bibli.) has shown.

This procedure is indeed what is responsible, either through an ambiguous geographical representation, which goes back rather to Constantinople (presence of the legend of the sea on three sides, the golden gate and the gate "of the king"), the situation of the great market; or through this fairy-like enchantment, marked by an unparalleled display of gold and precious stones (e.g. in regard to the altar of the Lateran church); or, finally, through exaggerated figures evoking a setting in which thousands of churches are crammed (with 120,000 bells...), as many as 25,000 monasteries, 22,000 markets and 660,000 baths! It should never-theless be remarked that this attitude does not seem to be shared by all the authors. In so far as one can iden-tify the different traditions, one may conclude that only Ibn Khurra-dadhbih [q.v.], on the one hand, followed by al-Idrîsî, al-ʿUmârî and (in part) Ibn Rusta, and on the other hand, Yâkût and al-Kazwînî [q.v.], following the version of Ibn al-Ḥakîm (absent from the abridgment, which alone has survived), devote a considerable amount of space to the marvellous. In this context, one should particularly note the mention of the columns or talismanic statues, of which Yâkût and al-Kazwînî preserve the most complete memory, connected with the legend of the Salvatio Romae, or indeed with that of the birds who bring olives to ensure a sup-ply of oil for the lamps, or yet again, with the belief in the apotropaic power of certain images.

The edition which has recently appeared (see Bibli.)
of the Masdlik of al-Bakri [see ABU 'UBAYD AL-BAKRl],
comes opportunely to allow us to verify, at the same
time as demonstrating the dependence of the Raoud
of al-Himyari [see IBN 'ABD AL-MUN'im AL-HIMYARI],
the existence, in regard to Rome, of a clearly different
tradition, one in which an interest, which may be
called “historical” in the wider sense, is dominant.

Instead of a topography with fabulous features,
such as the enceinte with two walls separated by a
paved-over river (or in some way covered over) with
copper flags, side-by-side with a canal having the
same paving with flags and running through the
marsh, as already the reader might expect, which is
much more realistic, nothing more than the
name of the Tiber, at the side of that of Octavius (with
the reminiscence of the age ‘of bronze” and, on the
other hand, that of Constantine. The sumptuous
description of churches found elsewhere is here likewise
reduced to that of St. Peter, not without some realistic
details. A sequel to this absence, or near-absence, of the
man-made, man-sculptured, man-flowing, or, in attention
beneath the human beings and to their nature (the
Romans are the most cowardly people in the world!)
and to their customs. If al-'Umarî himself knows a lot
about the Pope, and if others (Yakut, Ibn Rusta, etc.)
underline the role, both spiritual and cultural (sic) of
Rome, it is al-Bakrî and al-Himyari above all—and
more than anyone else—who stop at the social and
religious life of Rome’s inhabitants, shown in a
number of remarks: on Sunday and the celebration of
the Eucharist, on monography and adulatory, the laws
of hereditary succession and fasting, oaths and the
number of remarks: on Sunday and the celebration of
the Pope, and if others (Yakut, Ibn Rusta, etc.)
calls “historical” in the wider sense, is dominant.

The great length of the Wadî led to the local
changes of name recorded by al-Hamdânî and Yâkût
and the same phenomenon is noted by modern
authorities. From its head in the Harrat Khbbar
al-Kaşîm, it is called Wadî Râhâ (J.G. Lorimer,
Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, “Oman and Central Arabia,
Calcutta 1908, II, 281-2, 597-8, IIB, 1591, 1601-2).

Great mapping describes the entire course in this area as Wadî al-Rumma (or al-Rimah) from its head in the Harrat Khbbar as far
as the point at which it reaches the Dahhânî [g.e. its
sands to the north-east of al-Kaşîm, and which form a
great natural barrier. In the Dahhânî, the Rumma is
known as Wadî al-Mustâwî (H.R.P. Dickson, Kuwait and her
neighbours, London 1956, repr. 1968, 53), and beyond
the Dahhânî it becomes Wâdi al-Başî, whose course
eventually marks Kuwait’s western border with ‘Irâk.

The western reaches of the Wadî al-Rumma were
first explored by C.M. Doughty (Travels in Arabia
Deserta, Cambridge 1886, ii, 329, 391-3 and passim,
who describes its shallowness, its salinity in al-Kaşîm,
and the sands blocking it to the east. C. Huber
(Journal d’un Voyage en Arabie, 1883-1884, Paris 1891,
I.) also mapped its course around “Unayza. Musil,
op. cit., 38-9 describes the fertility of the alluvium that
ran against the Dahhânî sands there. It became a dam
across the Wadî al-Rumma as the Wadî al-Kaşîm (the Wadî
visually invisible and this is noted by several travellers.
H.St.J. Philby (Arabia of the Wahhabis, London 1928,
repr. 1977, 177 ff.) described wells and springs in the
Wadî al-Rumma channel near to “Unayza, and the
practice of establishing palm groves that tapped
the brackish water beneath the saline sabkha. Doughty
says that the Wadî had not flowed for some 40 years
in his day, but Philby (op. cit., 257) speaks of regular
floods in the west of al-Kaşîm before the early 20th

These would transform the depression known as Zukuşbiyya into a lake. In 1982, the present
writer saw the entire country west of Uqlat al-Shuqr
on the western course of the Wadî al-Rumma turned
by rainfall into a vast shallow lake which fed into the
Rumma.

In the 19th century, the lower course, the Wadî al-
Başî, provided a route from Kuwait into al-Kaşîm
(Doughty, ii, 392; D.G. Hogarth, The penetration of
Arabia, repr. Beirut 1966, 277; Dickson, 60). Here
there were wells, notably at Hafar and at Rıkâî, but
in this lower stretch of its course, beyond the Dahhânî,
the Wadî normally does not flow. By 1936 Hafar had
a Saudi fortress, and today Hafar al-Başî has grown
into a major Saudi military base.
AL-RUMMA — AL-RUMMĀNĪ


AL-RUMMĀNĪ, ABU ‘L-HASAN ALI b. ʿĪSĀ b. ‘ALI b. ʿABD ALLĀH (296-384/909-94). By profession a scholar of exegesis, al-Rummānī was closely involved in the development of tafsīr, the exegesis of the Korānic verses, which was a very active field during his lifetime. Despite the contemporary proliferation of works on tafsīr, only a handful of them survive to the present day. This is largely due to the competitive nature of the field, which resulted in many works being abandoned or neglected. Among the surviving works, two stand out as particularly significant: al-Rummānī’s *Tafsīr al-Kurān*, a comprehensive exegesis of the Korān, and his *Sharh al-Nukat fi Ṭashkīl al-Kurān*, a treatise on the categorical nature and function of the Korānic verses.

(1) *K al-Alfāṣ al-mutaraddīsāl al-muktāsirāt al-mānā* (ed. Faḥth Allāh Shāhī, ʿAlī al-Miṣrī, al-Manṣūra 1407-1987). A short lexical work, it is divided into 142 fāṣil, each fāṣil containing a set of words (or phrases) that are synonymous. The work is representative of a technical genre common during this period.

(2) *K. al-Djāmī fi ilm (or tafsīr) al-Kurān*. A work on Korānic philology, it appears originally to have been very large, only parts of which have survived (as yet unedited). They are: Part 7—Paris, B. N. 6525; Part 10—Tashkent, Akademija 3137; Part 12—Jerusalem, Al-Quds University 1454; G. A. Waddell, *Microfilm Collection* (18 see *GAS*, viii, 113, and, for a discussion of the work, accompanied by citation of select passages, Mubārak, al-Rummanī, 83-8).

(3) *K. al-Hudūd fi l-nahu (in Rasāʾīl fi l-nahw wa l-iṣīla)* ed. Muṭafā Diwādā and, Yaʿqūb Maskūnī, *Slīlasat kutub al-ḥudūd*, 11, Baḥdād 1388/1989, 37-50. A short lexical work, it constitutes a small dictionary of 88 technical terms that commonly occur in Arabic, a compilation of short paragraphs illustrating the subject of the uniqueness or inimitability of the Kurān. In structure, it constitutes a compilation of short paragraphs illustrating the author’s knowledge of the subject (with many arguments given as counter-arguments), and with, sometimes, little contextual continuity. Without abandoning the traditional theological arguments that had been put forth on behalf of the Kurān’s inimitability, al-Rummānī attempts to put the entire issue on firmer ground by logically subordinating the theological arguments to the notion of the Kurān’s incomparable style, which rests squarely upon the quality of its eloquence (balāgah). According to al-Rummānī, balāgah is divis-ible into the following ten categories: (i) terseness (iqāṣ), (ii) comparison (tāḥῑb), (iii) metaphor (isti’dār), (iv) euphony (ta’lām), (v) end-rhymes [of the Kurānic verse] (fawdīl), (vi) parenthesis (baldgha), (vii) transformation of a root into various meanings (mubdīl), and (viii) distinctiveness [of expression] (bustūr). (The Sharḥ Kītāb Ẓibawiyh. This appears to have been a rather large work, only portions of which survive, for the most part unedited (see, however, E. Ambros (ed. and tr.), *Sieben Kapitel des Sharḥ Kītāb Ẓibawiyh von ar-Rummanī in Edition und Übersetzung*, Vienna 1979; *Kism al-sarf, al-ḏīqā al-awwal*, ed. R. A. al-Damīrī, Caīro 1408/1988. They are: Istanbul Feyzullah Efendi 1984-7 (= vols. i-v of the *Sharḥ*), and Vienna, Akademie 2442 (= Part 3 of the *Sharḥ*). This work has been the subject of a number of studies, the most comprehensive of which being Muḥārābāt, al-Rummanī (see also GAS, ix, 112, and Bibi. for further titles).

(8) Tafsīr al-Kurān. An apparently very large work, only a small portion of which has survived (as yet, unedited): Caīro, al-Khizana al-Taymuriyya tafsīr 201 (GAS, viii, 270). It was highly regarded throughout-out the later mediaeval period (for a discussion of the work, with remarks about it from later authors, see Mubārak, al-Rummanī, 96-9).

One thing that distinguishes the Arabic grammarians of this period, from their predecessors, is the patent and increasingly more refined awareness of the importance of distinguishing between purely syntactic phenomena and such stylistic alternatives as are the product of innovative linguistic conventions or are the result of individual literary language (in this case, Arabic), when making judgements about acceptable and accepted usage. Al-Rummanī is representative of this trend.

Theologically, al-Rummanī belonged to the Ihkāhīyya (Yūkūt, Ḳīḥād, V 280-1) after Ibn al-Ikhwāhīyya, the eponymous founder of the school; whence al-Rummanī’s auxiliary nisba, al-Ikhwāhīyya, one of three competing Muḥāzīṣi schools of kalām, in Baḥdād, the other two being the Ḳā Ḥāshimiyya and the so-called “old Baḥdād” school. As a young man, al-Rummanī had witnessed the legendary debate (320/932) between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī [q. v.] and Abū Bīγr Mattā b. Yūnūs over the relative merits of logic and grammar. He would serve as the main source for al-Tawḥīdī’s recapitulation (*Imād*, i, 128) of the events (the other informant, albeit with less of a memory for the details, being al-Sīrāfī himself). As an expert in the field of logical theology, al-Rummanī was appointed, along with al-Sīrāfī, to a judgeship over Baḥdād’s East District, shortly after Abū Muḥammad Ibn Maʿrūf had been appointed chief judge of the city (Krämer, *Philosophy*, 73; al-Ḥamadānī, *Taqsim*, 197; Ibn al-Diāwāṣī, *Muntazam*, viii, 38, 34). Probable is Ibn Maʿrūf’s official witness (*gāḥīd*), al-Rummanī was a member of
a self-appointed delegation of notables (many of them jurists) that appeared before 'īzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār to air the grievances of the populace (Imāmā, i, 151-2).


RUNDA. Sp. Ronda, the chief- lieu of the district (kūta, sometimes iklim) in mediaeval Andalus of Tākurunnā, situated to the north-west of Rayya [q.v.] (modern Malaga).

This is a very mountainous region, well watered by rivers and abundant rain, allowing the development of agriculture and stockrearing. The town of Runda is described in the Arabic sources as an impregnable fortress, and this fact, in addition to its geographical situation, has moulded its history. The northern part of the town was protected by a ravine (taṣdī) formed by the river, a kilometre long and 160 m deep. This natural defence was completed by a powerful fortress. The town of Runda is described in the Arabic sources as an impregnable fortress, and this fact, in addition to its geographical situation, has moulded its history. The northern part of the town was protected by a ravine (taṣdī) formed by the river, a kilometre long and 160 m deep. This natural defence was completed by a powerful fortress. The town of Runda is described in the Arabic sources as an impregnable fortress, and this fact, in addition to its geographical situation, has moulded its history. The northern part of the town was protected by a ravine (taṣdī) formed by the river, a kilometre long and 160 m deep. This natural defence was completed by a powerful fortress. The town of Runda is described in the Arabic sources as an impregnable fortress, and this fact, in addition to its geographical situation, has moulded its history. The northern part of the town was protected by a ravine (taṣdī) formed by the river, a kilometre long and 160 m deep. This natural defence was completed by a powerful fortress.

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The population of Runda and its hinterland comprised, as well as indigenous elements, a strong Berber presence, plus some Arab lineages. Among the Berbers, one notes the presence of the W.lhâsa (of Nafza [q.v.]), as well as the Banu 'l-Khalîl (see below) and the Banu 'l-Zanjâji. These last, of distinguished origin, according to Ibn Hayyân, later installed themselves at Cordova and reached there a high position. The famous poet 'Abbas b. Firmâs (3rd/9th century) belonged to a Berber family settled in the Runda district (the very name of Tâkurunnâ is considered to be of Berber origin). The presence of Nafza Berbers is attested until a late date by the patronyms of persons like the poet Abu 'l-Bâkâ (7th/13th century) and the mystic Ibn 'Abbâb (8th/14th century), both born at Runda. The references to Arabic lineages are much less numerous. According to al-Râzî, cited by Ibn al-Khafîb, a descendant of Saūd b. 'Ubâda [q.v.] settled in the region of Tâkurunnâ. In the 5th/11th century the Banu 'l-Hakîm, an important Arab family of Seville, chose to reside at Runda and thereafter played an important role in the town's history. The Arabic nisâb borne by the natives of Runda are recorded in the biographical sources, but, as elsewhere in al-Andalus, this fact does not guarantee a genuine Arab origin. The existence of a small Jewish community is attested by the presence of a Jew as interpreter in the negotiations which led to the surrender of the town in 1057 and a Jewish physician of Runda is mentioned in the 6th/12th century.

In the Umayyad period, the Berbers of Runda and its district were often involved in rebellions against the amirs of Cordova. However, the Banu 'l-Khalîl, who were clients of the Umayyads of Syria, had given their support to the youthful 'Abd al-Râmân I when he had landed in the peninsula; the lord of the Kâra of Tâkurunnâ, 'Abd al-A'la b. Awghâjja, offered him his help in the face of the 400 cavalry sent by the rear- amir of Hi§ham I, the Berbers of Tâkurunnâ rose in 755/1795-6. This rising was severely suppressed by the amir's army, who killed a large part of the rebels; those who escaped took refuge in regions fairly distant from Runda (Talavera and Trujillo). This first Berber revolt resulted in a depopulation of Runda and its district, which has probably, however, been exaggerated by the Arabic sources. Other Berber revolts are recorded in the region in the 5th/11th century, of the re- amir of Idrîs b. Asad, who escaped took refuge in regions fairly distant from Runda (Talavera and Trujillo). This first Berber revolt resulted in a depopulation of Runda and its district, which has probably, however, been exaggerated by the Arabic sources. Other Berber revolts are recorded in the region in the 5th/11th century, of the re- amir of Idrîs b. Asad, who in 238/852, and in 457/1064, when the Berbers of Runda were strengthened. However, the presence of this family in the region has probably been exaggerated by the Arabic sources.
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final assault on the Granadian kingdom. In 1484 fresh Castilian advances isolated Runda more and more from the rest of the kingdom, and after a short siege (8-22 May 1485), the commander of Runda, Ibrâhim al-Hakîm (the aiguique mayor of the Castilian chronicles) surrendered the town to the Marquis of Cadiz. This led to the loss of the whole surrounding region and that of Malaga and the Mediterranean shores. The population of Runda had to abandon the town to Christian settlers, although the people of the smaller rural settlements were allowed to remain as vassals of Castile.

Runda had never reached the cultural level of other towns in al-Andalus, but there was a certain intellectual development in the 7th/12th and 8th/14th centuries, when persons like Yûsuf b. Mûsâ b. Sulaymân al-Muntahaššîrî, a prolific author and the teacher of Ibn al-Khašîb [q.v.], emerged. But Runda’s most famous sons were the poet Abu ‘l-Bakdî (601-8/1204-85), the author of a renowned kashfîdî on the loss of Córdova, Seville, Valencia and other towns of al-Andalus, and the mystic Ibn ʿAbbâd [q.v.].


-Manuela Marín, shortened by the editors-

**Rūnī, Abu ʿl-Fārāḍī** [see Abu ʿl-Fārāḍī b. Masʿūd Rūnī, in Suppl.]

**Rūpiyya**, an Indian coin, a rupee. In the later 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, the silver tanka [q.v.] of the sultans of Dihāli had become so debased that when ʿShīr Shāh (947-52/1540-5) reformed the coinage, the name could no longer be given to a silver coin. To his new silver coin, corresponding to the original fine silver tanka, he therefore gave the name rūpya = rupee, i.e. the silver coin (Ṣanakṣīt, ṭuqṣa ṭūqṣa), and tanka became a copper denomination. The weight of the rupee was 178 grains (11.53 gr) and it rapidly established itself in popular favour. Under the Mughals it was struck all over India at over 200 mints and with few exceptions, the local mints showed little variation in weight. In the 19th century the British rupee gradually drove the local issues out of circulation, and with few exceptions, the local mints closed. Such native states as still issued their own rupees before 1947 struck them on the same standard as the Indian Government rupee.

ʿAḥmad ʿShāh Durrānī [q.v.] adopted the rupee as his monetary unit on becoming independent, and until the early 20th century it remained the standard coin of Afghanistan. The Hindu kings of Assam also struck the rupee. At present, in South Asia, the rupee continues in use in East Africa (see ADMIRALTY AT-LĀRĀM, AL-ĀMMUTI, ED.), the British and German possessions there. The rupee continued in use in East Africa until 1947/50 struck them on the same standard as the Indian Government rupee. In the Sultanate of Maskāṣ and ʿUmān, until 1970 there was a dual currency of the rupee and the riyāl, the first made up of 64 baṭās and the second of 200 baṭās (see rīyāl and, in general, Krause et alii, op. cit., 1194-5, 1409-13, 1533).

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**Rūs**, occasionally Rūṣiya, the Arabic rendering (and thence into other Islamic languages) of Eastern Slavic *Ryža* (Rūṣ). This was the designation of a people and land from which modern Russia, Ukraine and Belarus derive.

The rapid ethnic, political and social evolution of this term and the people(s) it denoted during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries produced a series of temporally multi-layered, occasionally contradictory notices in the classical Islamic geographical literature. In contemporary Byzantine sources it appears as Ῥως (which may, indeed, be the source of the Arabic form, Barholt, *Arabische ischutte u. rusad*) cf. also *Pōsoa*, the name of the country derived from it and the infrequently noted form (pl.) *Pōσονον*. Modern Russ. Rossiya ("Russia") is taken from the Byzantine ecclesiastical usage. Al-Idrīṣī, 914, mentions "Outer Russia" (bīlād al-rūṣya al-khādiriya). It is not clear if this usage has any relationship to the Ῥως *Pōsoa* noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the geographical contours of which are equally uncertain. The form Uran and its variants, found in a number of Turkic languages (e.g. Karaça-Balkar Oru, Noghay, Kazakh Oru, Çuvaş Vrâc) goes back to the Arabic form. Mediaeval Latin sources record them as (Annales Bertiniani, s.a. 838-9) Rho; (The Bavarian Geographer, 9th century) Rusii; (Liudprand of Cremona, mid-10th century) Russas; (Thietmar of Merseburg, d. 1018) Russia; Old Germ. Rus, Rūs; Old Swed. Ruds. Long-standing attempts to identify this ethnonym with the Ῥως *Pōsoa* mentioned in the 6th century Syriac ecclesiastical history of Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor have generally (with the exception of some Soviet scholars) been rejected (see Łomiański).

**The origins of the Rūs**

The origin and etymology of this term/ethnonym and thus, it is averred, the ethnic affiliations of the people or socio-mercantile group that first bore this name in the Islamic and other sources of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th century, are much debated. It has long been argued (cf. Thomsen) that Rūs is the Slavic rendering of the Baltic Finnic term for "Swede": Finn. Ruotsi, Est. Rootsi, Vot. Rōtsi, Liv. R'otsi (but cf. Volga Finnic: Mari Rūi, Udm. Zū, Kom-Perm. Rot "Russian" and Samoyedic [Nenets] Lūtā, Lūsa "Russian"). There have been two centuries of occa- sionally heated academic debates over the issue of the basis of the ethnonym *Nornanisti* (those favouring a Scandinavian origin of the Rus' and by extension the Rūs' state) and their opponents, the "Anti-Normanists." The Classical Normanist position, from the philological perspective, posits: Slav. Rūs' < Finn. Ruotsi < Old Norse rofer, rofsman, rofskarlar "rowers, seamen" associated with the coastal region of Sweden, Roslagen (see Löw-
mianški, and in Jenkins et al., Constantin Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio. Commentary. Historical evidence in support of the Scandinavian origin of the Rus’ is a Pečenega theory. The Primary Chronicle (also called the Chronicle of Nestor), however, in its introductory genealogical comments places the “Rus’” among the peoples in Japheth’s part of the world, in this case the northern, Finnic ethnic groups. Further on, it includes them in a listing of the “Varangians, Swedes, Normans (Orrmän), Gotlanders, Angles, Galicians, Italians (Välikka), Romans, Germans, etc. Clearly, they are associated with the Germanic North. The Chronicler, often evincing a Byzantinocentric viewpoint, comments (PSRL i, 17) that the Rus’ land began to be so-called at the time of the accession of the Emperor Michael III (852). In another passage (PSRL i, 23) discussing Oleg’s conquest of Kiev, traditionally dated to 882, the Rus’ are again associated with the North: “he (sc. Oleg) had with him Varangians, Slavonic (sc. a tribe associated with Novgorod) and the rest who are called Rus’.” Elsewhere, however, the Chronicle (PSRL i, 25-6), s. a. 898, notes the Polyanhe, the Eastern Slavic tribe most closely associated with the Rus’. While the Rus’ are otherwise generally referred to as “Rus’” (ninë swonagia Rusa’). Still further on, the Chronicler attempts to explain these discrepancies thus (PSRL i, 28): “the Slavic nation (slomn’et’y zyžik) and the Rus’ (rožikly) are one; for it was called Rus’ from the Varangians (ot Varyag bo prozovatša Rou’yu), but first they were Slavs, although they were called Polyanhe, nonetheless, they were of Slavic speech.”

In addition to philological argumentation and to the ethnographic and ethnogetic data offered by our sources, the Normanist position is based largely on the Primary Chronicle’s “historical” account of the genesis of the Rus’ state. According to it, in 859 (the dating, at best, is off by several years), the Varangians “from across the sea” levied tribute on the Finnic Cyuď, the Novgorodian Slovene, the Finnic Merya and the Slavic Krivichi, while the Slavic Polyane, the Gotlanders, Angles, Italiets, and Vyatiti to their south were tributaries of the Khazars. In 860-2, the Varangians were expelled, but the northern groupings proved unable to govern themselves. As a consequence, the Varangians, led by Ryurik, who settled in Novgorod, and his two brothers, Sineus and Truvor, were summoned to rule over them. Ryurik brought with him “the whole of Rus’.” From “these Varangians it was
The Islamic sources, while not providing the conclusive information needed to resolve these questions, shed some light on the early Rus'. Genealogical tradition, as reflected in the anonymous Mudjal al-tawarih, dated 520/1126, presents the eponymous Rus' as the brother of Khazar and the son of Japheth. Dissatisfied with his own place of abode, Rus' wrote to his brother and "asked for a corner of his country." He obtained an island, difficult of access, with soggy soil and foul air. These and other themes are drawn from information that was part of the body of Islamic geographical literature of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries (see below). Balfamí, in his translation of Al-Ṭabarí, s.a. 22643, reports the words of Shahriyar, the ruler of Darband/Bāb-al-ʿAbwāb [q.v.], to the commander of the Arab advance forces, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Raʾf, to the effect that he was "between two enemies the Khazar and the Rus'. These peoples are the enemies of the entire world and, in particular, of the Arabs." The Rus' presence in this region. The Khazars, of course, were already an important factor in the North Caucasus. The pairing of the Rus' with them as enemies of the Islamic world has an anachronistic ring. Nonetheless, some scholars are willing to accept its historicity (cf. Lewicki, Žňôdla arabské do dnešního slovanského čeledi; Togan, Ibn Fadlan's Reiseberichte. Novosel'tsev cites several other references to the Rus' dating to the time of Khusrav I Anūshirwān (531-79), e.g. in Al-Thaʿalibī, who built fortifications against the "Turks, Khazars and Rus." These, too, are most probably anachronistic. The earliest reliable reference to Rus' in the Islamic sources is perhaps to be seen in the "mountain of the Rus'" from which the river drus flows, noted in Al-Khârazmî's Sūrat al-ʿarâf, Novosel'tsev notes.

One of the earliest and most important notices is found in Ibn Khûrradadhbih, writing probably ca. 272/885-6, on the "route of the Rus' merchants" who brought goods from Northern Europe/Northwestern Russia to Baghdad. It interrupts a notice on the route of the Ṭadhānīyya [q.v.], a Jewish merchant company, which appears to have been supplanted by the Rus'. Noonan has recently suggested that the latter may have initiated these contacts as early as A.D. 800. A hoard of coins found at Peterhof, near St. Petersburg, contains twenty coins (Sāsānid, Arabo-Sāsānid and Arab dirhams, the latest dated to 189/804-5) with graffiti in Arabic, Turkic (probably Khazar) runic, Greek and Scandinavian runic (more than half the total). This may be viewed as evidence for the existence of the route described in Ibn Khûrradadhbih by the late 2nd/early 9th century (see T. Noonan, The "route of the Rus' merchants" in the Islamic sources, Novosel'tsev). In Ibn Khûrradadhbih's famous account, the Rus' are described as "a kind (diqā) of the Śakālība," a sentence that has often been taken to indicate that they are a Slavic tribe. The Arabic is much more imprecise. The primary meaning of diqā is "kind, type, variety, species." The term Śakālība (sing. Śakalabī < Gr. Σκαλαβος) while often used to designate the Slavs, was also employed to denote the whole of the fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned population of Central, Eastern and North-eastern Europe. In mediaeval Greek and Latin, sclavus became synonymous with "slave" (the English word < French esclave) deriving ultimately from the ethnic designation (see below). Balasānī, s.a. 22643, fol. 49a, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 2213, fol. 49a, ms. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 783, fol. 65a, see also Golden, Khazar studies), notes *nīy river (variously read/identified as the "Tanais" [Tawag] i.e. the Don (so De Goeje), also yitil, i.e. til (= Volga, see Lewicki, Žňôdla or * Tin = Don, see Marquart, or Siverskii Doneta), see Pritsak, An Arabic text on the trade
route of the corporation of ar-Rus in the second half of the ninth century), the River of the $akaliba. They travel to
Baghdad. $aklab slaves translate for them. They carry their goods from Djurcjjan by camel to
sak has, moreover, put forward an interesting thesis
Al-Mas...
The location of this Rűs kaghanate has been and remains the source of much speculation. Equally unclear are the inception point and ultimate fate of his polity. One might suggest that the Rűs kaghanate was founded by a Khazar ruler who fled to the Rűs' ca. 830-40. He places the kaghanate in the Rostov-Yaroslav region of the Upper Volga. Smirnov, was of the opinion that it appeared only briefly, ca. 830, and was soon destroyed by the migration of the Ugro-Turkic tribal confederation that became the Hungarians in Danubian Europe. Since the latter day on it has not been documented that the Rhos embassy from its return route from Constantinople and forcing its diversion to the Frankish lands, this would appear to have been a very short-lived political phenomenon. On the other hand, the sacral ruler described by Ibn Faḍlān in 309/921-2 (see below) certainly possessed many of the attributes of a holy Turkic Khan. The memory of this institution, in any event, endured into the Christian era of Rűs history, and may have been, and could be summoned for ideological purposes.

The location of the Rűs lands

The tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, Gardizi and others (cf. al-Makdisi, Mūḥammad al-Marwazī, al-Kazwī), Ibn Iyās, in Seippel; al-Bakūwī, see also discussion in Zakhoder, place the Rűs on an island of three days' journey in width in a lake (or a sea). It is densely wooded, damp, soggy and possessing foul, unhealthy air. Gardizi (or rather his sources), followed by al-Makdisi, puts the island's population at 100,000. Ibn Iyās and al-Bakūwī comment that the island is a "fortress" that protects them from their enemies. Some scholars are inclined to place this island in the north. Novgorod, it might be remembered, in Scandinavian tradition was termed Ḥilīmgarb "Island-Garth" (Barthold, Arab. ixv.; Novosel's). Other suggestions include Āldeig-jurbok, North-east Rűs, Kieff, Tmutorokan' and the Taman peninsula (see literature in Golden, Question). Fakhr al-Dīn Mūbārakshāh, simply notes that they live on islands. This, however, may refer to a later period. For example, al-Dimāġī, says that they have islands in the "Sea of Māyuṭas" (text has the corrupted form Maṇīsūs = Maeotis, the Sea of Azov). Pritsak, Orkīn, suggests that the Ḥiṣn Rūs, Tituško/Klaoja noted by Conant, Porph., who mentions that the city is also called Zakpāvā, the meaning of which is unclear (Pritsak, op. cit., 44), derives this term from Balkan Latin sambata "Saturday", the principal market day. He further suggests that Kiess is based on the name of the Khazarian vizierial family of Khārazmian origin Kūyā (< *kaopa "peculiar to the Iranian sacred ruling dynasty Kāwyā + -awā"). This form arose in the late 9th century, and the Caucau of Western sources (Thietmar of Merseburg). Old Norse knew it as Kωmgarθ "Boat-Garth!". This is the southernmost of the Rűs lands ("nearest to the Islamic lands"). It is also closest to and bigger than Bulğār. A Rűs king resides in Kūyā. (2) Salāwiyya (Salāba in the Hudūd). Barely commented on by al-Īṣṭakhrī (who says that it is the farthest from them) and Ibn Hawkal, the Hudūd remarks that it is a "pleasant town from which, whenever peace reigns, they go for trade to the districts of Bulğār." Only Ibn Hawkal notes the presence of a king in it. Al-Īṣṭakhrī says that it is on the top of a mountain. The Salāwiyya are clearly the Slovene of the Lake II'men region and Novgorod. The latter was actually founded ca. 930, the earlier "Novgorod" is perhaps to be identified with the "Ryurikovo gorodishe", to the south which contains some Scandinavian finds (Clarke and Ambrosiani). It continued to have a strong trade orientation towards the Finno-Ugric forest peoples, competing here with Yū<r(see also al-Īṣṭakhrī, 917-18). The Ḥudūd also ascribes to them the production of "very valuable blades and swords which can be bent in two, but as soon as the hand is removed they return to their former state." Al-Īṣṭakhrī locates it four days' travel from both Kūyāba and Salāwā. Arṭhān(iyya) is probably to be located near the Volga or in the Volga-Oka mesopotamia (hence some efforts have been made to identify them with one or another Finno-Ugric people, cf. Swoboda). It might be noted that the name of the Arabo-Jewish documents refer to the Volga as Arṭāb and the furs imported from there were referred to as Ṭarka (Goitein). It is unclear which, if any, of these centres may be identified with the Rūs Kahanate. Al-Īṣṭakhrī gives the names of a large number of cities in "Rūsiyya" and its immediate environs: Lūbānš (Lyubět), Zāka (Sakov), Sūdā, Ghallīsiyya (Galicia, Halte), Snūbī, Turūbi (Turov), Baraźlāw
The Islamic sources paint a largely bellicose picture of their relations with the Rus. The Hudud reports that "they war with all the infidels who live round them, and come out victorious." Ibn Rusta, Gardizi and al-Makdisi, note the Sakaliba as the principal victims. The Rus come by boat, capture them and send them off to the slave markets of Khazarân and Bulghar. They also take their foodstuffs since they have no cultivated fields of their own. Gardizi adds that many Sakaliba agree to take service with the Rus, working as servants (confirmed by the Hudud, loc. cit.: "among them lives a group of Slavs who serve them"). It has often been assumed that these were the Sakalâbi servants who functioned as translators for the Rûs merchants who came to Baghdad noted in Ibn Khurrazâdhîbîh (see above). How these translators acquired Arabic, if this was, in fact, the language to which they translated, is unclear. Ibrâhîm b. Ya'kûb remarks that the commerce of the Sakaliba "frequently comes by land and sea to the Rus and Constantinople." The Sakaliba in question here are probably the Western Slavs. That same author, 5, reports that the Rus also attack the Pruss (Burûs), crossing over to attack them in ships "from the West." These would appear to be Rûs operating in the Baltic. Prior to the 10th century Rûs and Sakaliba were to be found in the Khazar military service and as the servants of the Khâkâân, living in the Khazar capital. The Khazar judiciary made provisions for its ethnically variegated subject population. There were seven judges, each for the Jews, Muslims and Christians and "one for the Sakaliba and Rûs who render judgment according to pagan judicial principles (bi-hukm al-dâhîyîyâ), the judgment of reason" (al-Masâ'ûdî, Murûdî; al-Îsârî). Al-Masâ'ûdî, Tanbh, mentions groups of Rûs, who like the Armenians, Bulgarians (Burghan) and Pescenets, had entered the Byzantine military service. By the last 10th century, these contingents, whose assistance, unlike the free-lance mercenaries already found in Byzantine service, had been requested by Constantinople, were used to suppress domestic rebellions in Anatolia (see below). Rûs-Peçenets relations (the Peçenets entered the Pontic steppe, driving out the Proto-Hungarian tribal union in the late 3rd/early 9th-century) were very complex. In 915, the first of a number of Rûs-Peçenets "peace" were arranged, but by 920, Igor' had launched a campaign against the nomads. Thereafter, the periods of hostility largely overshadowed the periods of more peaceful interaction. As a consequence, Ibn Hawkal's statement, that the Peçenets are the "fighting power" (גָּנֻקָה) of the Rûs and their allies (אָהִי), seems quite remarkable, as does also his statement (see above) that Rûs and Peçenets ships attacked Spanish Mesopotamia. Ibn Rusta, however, suggested that "their companions come and stand armed. The two fight and whosoever of the two is more powerful than the other becomes the arbiter in his case as he

Relations with neighbours

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wishes." A later report, from the 8th/14th century author Naṣḥīm ad-Dīn al-Harrānī (in Seippel, *Fontes*), states that "they do not obey a king or any law (al-‘aqaq)." There is a very distinct tradition found in al-Marwāzī which is repeated and slightly mangled in ‘Awfī. The former remarks that the Rūs king is called Waladīm (bi-waladīmīr). In ‘Awfī this was transformed into "Būlādāmīr" (Kawerau; Barthold, *Novoe musul’manskoye izvestiye o russkikh*). This, of course, is a reference to Volodimīr/Vladimīr I (972-1015), who brought about the conversion of Rūs to Orthodox Christianity. Ibn al-Mas’ūdī, Ibn Khurradābīh, who gives the titles of the various rulers of interest or importance (including those of the Šakālība), makes no mention of the Rūs ruler.

**Economy**

The initial picture presented is that of mobile, urban-based traders/raiders. Ibn Rusta reports that the Rūs “possess no real estate property (‘akdīr), nor villages, nor cultivated lands.” He subsequently notes, however, that they have many towns. Rather than engaging in agrarian pursuits, “their profession is trade (nīghār) in sable, grey squirrel and other such furs which they sell to purchasers. They take the value of the goods in gold and fasten it to their belts.” This strong mercantile emphasis is noted by the other Muslim authors, who universally speak of their involvement in extensive trading relations with their immediate neighbours, the Khazar empire and Volga Bulgharīa (through which their goods reached the Islamic lands), Byzantium, Spain and Central Europe (al-‘Isṭakhri, al-Mas’ūdī, Murūġī). Ibrāhīm b. Yakūb reports that Rūs and Šakālība traders come to “Fārāgha [Prague] from Karākū [Kraków]” for trade. Kiev’s importance as a major commercial centre continued and is reflected in later Muslim sources. Thus al-Ibrāhīm comments that Muslim merchants from Armenia come to Kiev. This finds confirmation in contemporary Georgian sources (e.g. the journey of the “great merchant Zankan Zarabālbi” of T’bilisī who was sent off to Rūs on a diplomatic-marital mission ca. 1184 “by relays of horses”, *K’art’lis ty’khoreba*), using an already well-established route. The importance of this region for trade with the Islamic world would appear to be supported by coinage evidence: Islamic dirhams first begin to surface in what became Russia and the Baltic region ca. 800; on this see Noonan, *Why dirhams first reached Russia: the role of Arab-Khazar relations in the development of the earliest Islamic trade with Eastern Europe*.

The volume of this trade seems to have exceeded that of their commercial relations with Byzantium. Although Sawyer (*Kings*, 123-6) cautions that the presence of these dirhams does not necessarily constitute evidence of a great volume of trade, nor need they have reached these areas solely by trade, Ibn Faḍlān (see below) gives direct evidence of goods being exchanged for Islamic coins. The Rūs, it may be concluded, at least in the early stages of their history, were largely merchant middlemen and on occasion pirates. They produced nothing of their own, but raided, extorted/collected tribute or traded for furs and other commodities of the Northern forest zone which they then brought to the Mediterranean or the Islamo-Central Asian world either directly or through yet other middlemen, Volga Bulgharīa or Khazarīa. However it was obtained, the volume of Islamic coinage entering Rūs’ declined in the late 10th century and had largely stopped by 1015. The causes of this change, much debated, remain unclear. Local sources of precious metals were not unknown. Thus, al-Mas’ūdī (Murūği) mentions silver mines in Rūs territory more or less equal to the silver sources in the Fandūr mountains in Khurāsān.

**Personal appearance and clothing**

Ibn Rusta describes the Rūs as possessed of “long bodies, a (good) visage and fearlessness.” Our sources (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī) stress their personal neatness; some are clean-shaven, others braid or plait their beard. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Hawkal attribute this personal fastidiousness to their mercantile pursuits. Ibn Rusta further remarks that they treat their slaves well. This, too, may be viewed as a higher cultural level. Their clothing is made of linen (Gardīzī) and they wear arm bands/bracelets of gold. Their trousers, according to Ibn Rusta and the *Hudūd*, are made out of 100 cubits of (cotton) fabric, which they gather in at the knee and fasten there. They also wear “woollen bonnets with tails let down behind their necks” (*Hudūd*). Al-‘Isṭakhri and Ibn Hawkal report that they wear short coats. Ibn Fadlān, however, who remarks that they are as tall as date palms, blond and ruddy, says that they do not wear short coats or caftans but a *kīṣā* (a cloak, see Dozy, *Supplement*, ii, 476). He goes on to note that each of them carries an axe, a sword and a knife from which they are never parted. Their women are bedecked with various gold and silver ornaments in displays of ostentation commensurate with their husband’s wealth.

**Customs and religion**

Our sources are impressed with the spirit of independence and enterprise inculcated among the Rūs from birth. Ibn Rusta, followed by Gardīzī, al-Maklāšī and the *Muǧīmal*, reports that “when a baby boy is born to one of them, he sets before the baby boy a drawn sword and places it between his hands and says to him ‘I leave you no goods as inheritance. You have nothing except what you may acquire for yourself by this, your sword.’” Marwāzī (in Kawerau) adds that the daughter receives her father’s inheritance, while the son is given a sword and told “your father acquired his wealth by the sword, imitate and follow him.” This same sense of rugged individualism was reflected in their treatment of the ill. Ibn Fadlān remarks that “when one of them falls ill, they pitch a tent for him, in a secluded place away from them, and they cast him away there. They place with him quantities of bread and water” and leave him alone until he either recovers or dies. Transgressors were dealt with harshly. Thieves, this same source informs us, were hung by the neck from stout trees until dead and then left to rot.

This same author was quick to note their human frailties. He appears to contradict, at least in part, the report of their personal neatness noted above, declaring them the “dirtiest of God’s creations” because of their lack of personal hygiene. To this failing were added inordinate suspicion and covetousness. Ibn Rusta and Gardīzī report an example, in this regard, that they go out to perform their natural functions only when accompanied by several friends to guard against others or man on his own would be killed. So great is their distrust and perfidy that if one acquires even a little wealth “his brothers and friends who are with him crave it, try to kill him and dispossess of it” (Ibn Rusta). How much of this is accurate and how much travellers’ tall tales highlighting the greed of the “barbarian” is difficult to gauge. It is highly doubtful, however, that the Rūs’ could have been as effective a commercial and
military force as they were, given such a state of belum omnium. Ibn Faḍlān was also shocked by their lack of modesty (engaging in sexual intercourse with their slave-girls while their friends looked on).

Slave-girls were much in demand. Al-Masudi further adds that they ‘Lord’ and’servants’, they know much about their beliefs. When ships arrive, they report, they each come out bearing bread, meat, onions, milk and wine. They proceed to a long piece of wood planted in the ground on which has been carved the face of a man. It is surrounded by smaller idols and other long pieces of wood- planted into the ground. They prostrate themselves before the large image, which they address as ‘Lord’. Their pronouncements which goods they have brought. They conclude their devotions by saying ‘I want you to provide me with a merchant who has many dinārs and dirhams, who will buy from me everything that I want him to buy, and he will not contradict me in what I say.’ If business is good, more offerings are made. In especially good circumstances, sheep and cattle are slaughtered, much of which are consumed, at night, by dogs. Ibn Faḍlān, occasionally adopting a mocking tone and anxious to display their ignorance to his readers, reports that nonetheless, he who made the offering says ‘my lord is satisfied with me and has eaten my gift’.

According to the tradition preserved in the accounts of Ibn Rusta and Gardizi, their shamans or ‘medicine men’ (qālib minhum) enjoyed a very high status. They could pass judgment on the king and govern them. They could select as sacrifice to their gods whomsoever they pleased, human and animal. These disadvantages were hung by the neck until death. The commandments of their ‘medicine men’ must be carried out (Ibn Rusta; Gardizi). We have relatively brief descriptions of their funerary customs in Ibn Rusta, Gardizi and the Hudūd. Ibn Rusta reports that ‘when one of their important people (qālib minhum) dies, they dig him a grave, like a spacious house, and place him in it. Together with him, they place his personal clothing (qiyāb hadanith), gold bracelets which he wore, much food, vessels with drink and gold money also. They bury with him in the grave the wife that he loved (best). She, after this (sc. his burial) is still alive. She seals up the door of the grave and she dies there’. Al-Īṣāḥārī and al-Mas‘udī, Murādī, also note that they cremate their dead, together with their wife or slave-girl. Al-Mas‘udī further adds that ‘when the wife dies, the husband is not cremated. If one of the unmarried men dies, he is married after his demise, and the women request that they be cremated (with him) so that they may, according to their own thinking, enter among the souls of paradise.’ Ibn Faḍlān, however, provides us with one of the most extraordinary, ethnographically detailed depictions of the funeral of a Rus chief. The customs were related and explained to him on a number of occasions (‘they told me of the things they did with their chiefs at their death, the least of which is cremation’).

He also appears to have witnessed one such spectacular funeral. The deceased was placed in a grave over which a roof was erected. He remained there for 10 days while new clothing was fashioned for him. When a great man dies they ask his household ‘who of you will die with him?’ Those who are affirmative are duty-bound to fulfill this commitment. The majority of those who agreed to do so were slave-girls. One of the slave-girls was then given this honour. The deceased was to be taken out of his grave and placed in a special structure on a boat which was taken out of the river and mounted on a kind of wooden holding frame. The corpse, because of the cold was remarkably well-preserved. An old woman called the “angel of death,” was now put in charge. The deceased was placed in the special structure. Food (bread, meat, onions) was placed before him. A dog was sacrificed, cut in half and thrown on the boat. Two cows were also sacrificed (as well as other animals). The slave-girl who was to die with her master then had sexual intercourse with her master’s relatives or boon companions and she was given copious amounts of wine so that she became dull-witted (tabālatadat). The men outside began to strike their shields with wooden sticks in order to drown her cries as she was strangled. The corpse of the deceased man, completely naked, set fire to the wood under the boat. The sacrificed slave-girl was placed beside her master. In response to Ibn Faḍlān’s questions, one of the Rus explains their views: ‘You Arabs are stupid. You take the most loved and distinguished among you and dump them in the earth. The earth consumes them (as do also) insects and worms. But we cremate them in fire, in the flick of an eye, and he enters Paradise immediately.’ A small burial mound was then set up on the site in which the boat was burned. A large piece of khdadang wood was placed on the spot and the deceased’s name was written on it as well as that of the king of the Rus. This khdadang wood was especially associated with the Rus lands (see Tūsī, Surih mabkhabīrat). The corpses of slaves were simply abandoned to dogs and birds of prey.

Although Artharvathania was famous for its inhospitality to strangers, killing all outsiders who came to it (al-Īṣāḥārī and al-Harrānī), the areas of Rus’ were not. Ibn Rusta says that they were generous to their visitors. They were ferocious, however, in exacting revenge (Mudjmal).

The Rus Caspian raids and the fall of Khazaria

It was undoubtedly the lucrative trade routes of the Volga that first drew the Rus to Eastern Europe. The Rus both traded with and raided the Islamic lands. As early as the era of the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (250-70/864-84 [q.v.]), leader of the Zaydi Shīʿī principality in Tabaristan, the Rus attempted to raid the region. A second raid took place in 297/909-10, aimed at Ābakūn [q.v.]. A third raid took place in 299/911-12 and a fourth one, according to al-Masʿūdī ‘sometime after 300/912’ (Djalil minhum). Alīev, Aliev, Vinerovsky; slightly different dates, 308/919). The purpose of this last raid the Rus in return for being allowed passage through Khazar lands in order to raid the Caspian coasts, offered half of the spoils to the Khazar ruler. The raid caused much devastation, especially in the regions of Bardha’a, al-Rān, Baylakān, Adhar- baydān, Shirwān and the city of Bakhū. The Rus then returned to the Volga estuary. Here they were attacked, apparently with the acquiescence of the Khazar ruler, by Khazar Muslims (the Urusiyya and others), as well as some Christians, desirous of revenge. According to al-Masʿūdī, those that escaped were finished off by the Burūs and Volga Bulghars. An even more ferocious eruption of the Rus into the Caspian Islamic lands took place in 332/943-4. In that year Bardha’a [q.v.] was again a target. It was taken and the Rus settled in, showing every intention of remaining here. They were strengthened in this resolve by some months. The Khazar-Byzantine entente by this time had come to an end. The Rus now figure prominently in actions that were overtly hostile to Khazaria. According to the “Schechter” document, when the Khazar ruler Joseph, responding to Byzantine persecutions of Jews under the emperor Romanus I (920-44), “did away with many Christians” in his realm, Romanus retaliated by inciting “Helgu
King of Rusia against Khazaria. "Helgi" was forced to flee by sea where he and his men perished. The Letter of the Khazar ruler, Joseph, to Haakon the Harang (Shapur), the Jewish courtier of the Spanish Umayyads, reports, ca. 960, that the Khazars were continually at war with the Rus. "If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Bagdad" (Kokovtsov)

The main confrontation appears to have taken place in 354/965. The immediate causes for the Rus assaults on Khazaria are not elucidated in our sources. Given the ongoing hostilities reported in the Letter of Joseph, however, Byzantine involvement in inciting revolts within the Khazar sphere of influence, the Rus attempts to gain unrestricted passage through the Khazar-controlled Volga route to the Caspian, these may be easily conjectured. Khazaria was a fading power. The Rus formed an alliance with the Oghuz Turks and together they advanced on Khazaria. The Primary Chronicle has a very laconic notice reporting only that in 358/968-9, the Rus ruler, Djurdjan who captured the Khazar ruler. He subsequently heard that "an army from Rum, called Rus, Oghuz allies followed a similar pattern 20 years later, thus all Oghuz and Volga Bulghars were still very much on the scene. Thus the Crimean Tatars had raided and burned Moscow in 1571, but another raid the following year was repulsed. Ottoman materials for the history of the later Eastern Slavic peoples have been relatively little investigated (cf. Ewliya Celebi's comments on the Tmutorokan'. He also conjectures that shortly thereafter, the Rus, operating in the Caspian, may have provided some military assistance to the Oghuz in a power struggle in Khazarm. Khakani tells of a Rus raid ca. 569/1173 or 570/1174. These Rus appear to have been Volga pirates who came in 73 ships. At the same time, although it is unclear if their actions were coordinated, the Kipchaks [q.v.] attacked Darband and went on to take Shabaran as well. The Shirwânghâh, Akhsitan/Aghsartan I turned to the Georgian king, Giorgi III (d. 1184), for aid. Together they defeated both the Rus and the Kipchaks. The Georgian sources, however, only mention attacks of the Khazars of Darband. Completely anachronistic, of course, is the tale of Alexander's wars against the Rus found in Nizami's Iskandar-nâma. The Rus king, called Knâtâ, is presented as the ruler of the Burtâs, Khazars, Alans and (W)sû (Vepsi).

Later sources offer little new historical or ethnographical information regarding the Rus, being largely compiled based on the earlier sources. We have a brief description of the Mongol conquest of Rus' in Qiwâynî, lacking in specific details. Other sources, e.g. Djûzçâdînî, merely note them in passing. There are occasional references to the "Rûs", here designating the Russians/Muscovites, in later Ottoman-Šafawid era Islamic sources, e.g. kânûs Ivan (Russ. kânts 'Ivan = Ivan IV "the Terrible")

mentioned in a discussion of Russo-Crimean Tartar relations s.a. 980/1572-3, in Hasan Rûmî, 584-5. The Crimean Tatars had raided and burned Moscow in 1571, but another raid the following year was repulsed. Ottoman materials for the history of the later Eastern Slavic peoples have been relatively little investigated (cf. Ewliya Celebi's comments on the Rûs-i menhûs "inauspicious Rûs" Ukrainian Cossacks).

The conversion of the Rus

The Islamic and Arabic-writing Christian authors provide useful data on the conversion of the Rus to Islam and Arabic-writing. The Islamic and Arabic-writing Christian authors provide useful data on the conversion of the Rus to Islam.
Orthodox Christianity. In 987, the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025) was faced with the revolts of Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas. The latter, having double-crossed Sclerus, with whom he briefly joined forces, proclaimed himself emperor on 14 October 987, as we are informed by Yaböy of Antioch (d. ca. 1066). Basil, now desperate, sent to the Rus, “even though they were enemies,” for assistance. The Rus ruler, Volodimir/Vladimir, agreed to send troops in return for a marital alliance. He was to marry Basil’s sister, a reference to writing on birchwood bark, well known in later Kievan Rus’. The Byzantine missionary Constantine/Cyril was bilingual, in Greek and Slavic, it could only have been the latter tongue, whose writing system he was able to assimilate so quickly. Needless to say, there is much debate over the significance and indeed historicity of this passage. The existence of calendrical and other types of markings among the Eastern Slavs by the 2nd-4th centuries A.D. is posited by some Russian scholars (Riibakov).

The use of a “proto-Cyrillic” alphabet based on Greek, which was already employed in Danubian Bulgaria, was adopted by the Rus’ (Istrin). The oldest Cyrillic monument dates to 863 (from Preslav, Bulgaria). The earliest writings in Cyrillic in Rus’ are dated to the early 10th century. There is still some debate over whether Constantine/Cyril invented the “Glagolitic” alphabet, itself perhaps derived from a Greek or Cyrillic base, but quite different in appearance from “Cyrillic”, or the script that now bears his name.

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**Writing systems**

Ibn Faḍlān speaks of wooden grave markers on which the Rus inscribed the name of the deceased and that of the Rus king. Similarly, al-Nadim writes that one of his informants “believes that they have writing inscribed in wood, and he showed me a piece of white wood with an inscription on it.” This may perhaps be a reference to writing on birchwood bark, well known in later Kievan Rus’. The Byzantine missionary Constantine (Cyril), before his famous mission to the Slavs of “Moravia” journeyed, ca. 860, to the Khazar empire. According to the *Vita Constantinii*, the Karasianese he found a Psalter and book of the Gospel written in the Rus’ or Rush script (roš'ki *frus'kimi, roughkimi* *pizməl pisanon*). He also encountered someone who spoke this language and found that he could understand him. Indeed, he quickly began to read and speak this tongue (Grivec et al.; Istrin). Since, Constantine/Cyril was bilingual, in Greek and Slavic, it could only have been the latter tongue, whose writing system he was able to assimilate so quickly.


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19; R.J. Jenkins et al. (eds.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio. Commentary, rev. ed. Oxford 1984, 76 n. 1, 152-3, 211, 246-7, 248 n.3; T.M. Kalinina, Strednye era waist'kikh otrostkov i pokhodakh Rusi temennykh Svyatooslava ["The information of Ibn Hawkal on the campaigns of the Rus' of the time of Svyatooslava"], Drevnoest' i gosudarstva na teritorii SSR. Material i issledovaniya 1975 g. [Moscow 1976, 90-101; F. Kmitowicz, "The term ar-Rus'dniya in the work of Ibn Haradhib in, Folia Orientalia, xi (1969), 165-73; F. Kruze (Kruzie), O prorokah 967-867 [Kievan Rus'] in 2. al-Rusafa, the name of a quarter of the city of Baghdad [q.v.] founded soon after the caliph al-Manṣūr [q.v.] built his Round City. The caliph ribabiya, the name of several places in the Islamic world, from Cordova in the west to Nishapur in the east (see Yakhuti, Buldan, ed. Beirut, ii, 46-50). Amongst the Rusafa settlements of 7th c. were: 1. Rus'fat Abi 'l-Abbās (Abd Allāh al-Saffāh), begun by the first Abbāsid caliph in lower 1907 by the banks of the Euphrates, near al-Anbār [q.v.], and probably identical with that town al-Hāghimiyah.

Bibliography: Ya'kūbi, Buldan, 237, tr. Wiet, 9; Yakhūṭ, Buldūn, ii, 46. 2. al-Ruṣāfa, the name of a quarter of the city of Baghdad [q.v.] to the great military commanders (see al-Diṣr, Baghdād [q.v.], Buldan in. whose obvious function was not completed till 159/776, by which time al-Mansur began the construction of the Round City, for his son and heir al-Mahdi [q.v.]. When the latter returned from Rayy in northern Persia in Shawkāl 151/November 768 it combined a palace complex, with protective rampart and moat, and an army encampment with a review ground (maydan [q.v.]) and with various estates granted out as kniaz' to members of the Abbāsid family and to the great military commanders (see Ya'kūbi, Buldūn, 249, 251, tr. 31-2, 35-6). From this last function as a military centre, it was originally known as 'Askar al-Mahdi. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 365-7, tr. H. Kennedy, Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdi, Albany 1990, 56-9) plausibly explains that the caliph wished to separate his Arab supporting forces by the river which divided the two sides of Baghdād, so that if one section of the army rebelled, he could call upon the forces on the opposite bank.

The building of al-Ruṣāfa took seven years, and was not completed till 159/776, by which time al-Mahdi had (in 159/775) succeeded to the throne. The new quarter was connected to the western side of Baghdād by a bridge of boats, al-Anbār, whose obvious strategic importance was such that each end was guarded by a police post of the şūrta [q.v.]. Lassner has suggested that al-Manṣūr began the construction in al-Ruṣāfa of a palace complex of such splendour in order to buttress his son's right to succeed to the caliphate against his nephew 'Īsā b. Mūsā [q.v.], thereby asserting al-Mahdi's claims.

As caliph, al-Mahdi made al-Ruṣāfa his official residence for the remainder of his reign.
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residence, but towards the end of his reign preferred
to spend much of his time at a new palace and
pleasure ground, that of clsab§dh, also on the eastern
side of the city but away from al-Rusafa. His successors Harun al-RasJild and al-Amln [q.vv.] chose,
however, to reside at al-Khuld on the western side;
and eventually, al-Muctasim [q.v.] moved his seat to
the new military centre of Samarra [q.v.] some 100
km/60 miles upstream from Baghdad.
The foundation of al-Rusafa was the starting-point
for the expansion of Baghdad into such suburbs as
Shammasiyya to its north-east and Mukharrim to its
south; in later times, the tombs of the cAbbasid
caliphs were located along the river bank above alRusafa.
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the historical topography of Baghdad by al-Khatib
al-Baghdadi, 95 ff.).
(C.E. BOSWORTH)
3. In Syria.
This place, distinguished as RUSAFAT HISHAM,
RUSAFAT AL-§HAM, is now a ruinous site 30 km/19
miles to the south of the Euphrates in a depression
near the Djabal Bishri, on the ancient desert route
from Hims-Salamiya to al-Rakka or al-Rahba, containing the pilgrimage place of the "Arab" Saint
Sergius, martyred here in the early 4th century, after
which it was officially named Sergiupolis in Byzantine
times. Archaeological excavations have shown it to be
a Roman site, which in the 6th century was embellished with four churches inside the impressive rectangular city walls; among them, the basilica of the
Holy Cross, founded in 559 and housing the relics,
shows by inscriptions a continuous building tradition
until the 12th century. Also inside the city walls, three
large cisterns and an ingenious system of supply and
distribution of the spring rain water remained famous
throughout mediaeval sources. It seems to be referred
to in the K. al-^Uyun wa 'l-hadd^ik: "It had been a
Byzantine city of ancient foundation with cisterns and
a 'water way' (tank li 'l-md7) from the margins of the
desert" (in Fragmenta, 101). Outside the north gate a
church or praetorium (?) is connected to the Ghassanid
prince al-Mundhir b. al-Harith (569-82) by an inscription, and literary sources point to the presence of
the Crhassanids as well: al-Nucman b. al-Harith b. alAyham is mentioned as a governor there, and is said
to have repaired the cisterns destroyed by a Lakhmid
and to have constructed a large new one (Yakut, ii,
955, 784 (according to the Akhbdr muluk Ghassdri):
Hamza al-Isfahanl, Ta^rikh, Berlin 1340/1921-2, 79
(and quoted by Ibn al-cAd!m, Bughya, i, 114), as well
as Abu 'l-Fida°, Mukhtasar, Cairo 1325, i, 73, only
mention the restoration).
Al-AsmacI mentions, besides the B. Djafha of
Ghassan, the B. Hanlfa (of Bakr b. Wa'il, Ibn alKalbl-Caskel, ii, 156; Kahhala, KabdW, i, 312-13) as
inhabitants (quoted by al-Bakri, Mu^am, i, 441); it is
he who gives a further name of this, Rusafa al-Zawrd^
(compare Bakrl with Yakut, ii, 784, 955; Musil,
Palmyrena, 267; the "Byzantine" name for al-Rusafa,
K.tamfla, supposed by Ibn al-cAdim, i, 113, remains
lamiya, 35 mils from it?). Earlier, the city was within
the region of the Tanukh (al-Baladhuri, Futuh, 145; I.
Shahid, Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century,
Washington 1984, 405, 465), and—after them?—of
the Taghlib (al-Tabari, i, 2072; Rotter, Die Umayyaden
und der zweite Biirgerkrieg, Wiesbaden 1982, 131). This
may have led to the occasional attribution of al-

Rusafa to Diyar Mucjar (e.g. al-Tabari, iii, 2219). In
the cAbbasid period, it came under the control of the
B. Khafacjja b. cAmr, a branch of the (North Arabian)
c
Ukayl (al-AsmacI, in Yakut, ii, 284; Caskel, ii, 338;
Kahhala, Kabd^il, i, 351); al-Bakri alone connects this
Rusafa with a verse by al-Akhnas b. §hihab alTaghlibl on the extended animal-hunting of the
(South Arabian) B. Bahra0 (? sharafc"1 ldhibun, 56;
Yakut, ii, 782). Ibn al-cAdIm mentions some B. $alih
of Haghim here at the time of Harun al-Rashid
(Bughya, iii, 1467-8, vii, 3446).
Administratively, al-Rusafa belonged to Kinnasrln
or Aleppo in Umayyad and later cAbbasid times (Ibn
al-cAdim, i, 113-14), under Harun al-Rashid it was
added to the ^awdsim province (Ibn al-Fakih, 111), but
some transmitters were uncertain about its district
(Rusdfat al-Rakka, even al-Rusafa in the Djazira, Ibn alc
Ad!m, v, 2103 with correction; Ibn cAsakir, iv, 259;
Ibn Khurradacjhbih mentions it twice, apparently
with its closer neighbours, 74, and together with Balis
in the cawdsim, 75). From Zangid until Mamluk times
it seems to have mostly been known as a Christian
suburb or in the district of Kalcat Djacbar, which was
also called Kalonlkos/ Kallinikos—in this way a
remark by Barhebraeus, Chronography, ed. Budge,
120, tr. 2111, could be understood: "Hisham died in
Rusafa of Kallinikos" (cf. ibid. tr. 2218; Syriac Chronicle, ad a. 1234, i, 215), and it would fit the reading of
an Arabic inscription on the silver goblet from the
Rusafa treasury suggested by R. Degen, "This is
what Zayn al-Dar, daughter of ustddh Abu Durra,
bestowed to the church of the protected Kalcat
Djacba[r]," probably meaning al-Rusafa (before
1243, in Ulbert, Resafa, iii, 72; for Kalcat Djacbar as
a district (a^mdl), cf. Ibn al-Dawadari, vii, 283, year
624/1227).
Nothing is reported on the Islamic conquest of alRusafa, and the sources rather convey the impression
of its lying in ruins until the building activities of
Hisham (Ibn al-cAdIm, i, 113). But it is mentioned as
being on the march of the Kaysl Djahhaf b. Hakim
from the Djazira against the B. Taghlib with their
poet al-Akhfal and their "day" at Djabal Bishri in
73/692-3 (al-Baladhuri, Ansdb, v, 329; Aghani, Bulak,
xi, 59; Ibn al-cAdim, i, 431 ff.; Khizdnat al-adab,
Cairo, ix, 4); and also, before 724, a Bishop Abraham
of al-Rusafa is documented (Degen 70-1, quoting
Wright, Cat. of Syriac mss., ii, 796 ff.).
The main information on al-Rusafa in Muslim
sources pertains to the caliph Hisham (105-24/72443), whose residence it became at least in summer and
who was buried there. While these sources
unanimously locate the residence in or next to this alRusafa (e.g. Ibn FaoU Allah al-cUmari, Masdlik, Cairo
1342/1924, 332-3), some modern authors have
doubted this and identified it with the ruins of Kasr alHayr al-Sharkl [q.v.] (Sauvaget, Remarques sur les
monuments omeyyades, inJA [1939], 1-13). This theory
was finally rejected by O. Grabar (City in the desert,
1978, 1-2, 31). It is not very easy to recognise the
original tradition within the several additions
transmitted by the historians; the news of the death of
his predecessor and the regalia were brought to
Hisham at al-Zaytuna, where he possessed a small
dwelling (duwayra), and he then rode from al-Rusafa
to Damascus (al-Tabari, ii, 1467); perhaps because of
the unexplained leap, later sources locate either the
transmission of the news and the regalia to al-Rusafa
(al-^Uyun wa 'l-hadd^ik, 82; Abu 'l-Fida°, Mukhtasar,
Cairo 1325, i, 203) or from al-Zaytuna to al-Rusafa
(Yakut, ii, 784). While O. Grabar still thinks of an
identification of al-Zaytuna with Kasr al-Hayr al-


shark (City in the desert, 13-14), a hint by Ibn Bujlan (q. v.) possibly gives the clue to understanding the sequence of residences: Hishām was fleeing from the Mosques on the banks of the Euphrates to al-Rusafa (in Yākūt, ii, 789); this fits the surroundings of the straitened dimensions of his princely residence at Zaytūna, perhaps in the vicinity of his further possessions near al-Raṣṣa. Another often-embellished story mentions him avoiding the Syrian cities in favour of his residence in al-Rusafa, and erected two castles there (kasrayn, Al-Ruṣafa, vii, 1378; al-ʿUyayn wa ʿl-hadrāʾīk, 101; Ibn Butlan, ibid.). Whether their descriptions as possessing a pool and textile manufacturing (Yākūt, ii, 284-5; still in al-İdriṣi, ed. Rome, 549, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 113-14, and Hāǧǧī ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughira al-Namūd, 594, without any contemporary observations). Apart from the cisterns and the walls the city is especially famous for its Christian monuments, which do not seem to correspond with reality, as already noticed by Musil (Palmreyna, 268; cf. the story connected to the visit of al-Mutawakkil in 244/858, Ibn al-Adīm, iii, 1436; al-Himyārī, Rawd (Beirut 1975), 253; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, i, 114, quoting the K. al-Deḥyarī to al-Shimḥaṭī; for the cīnah of the monastery, see L. Conrad, in The quest for understanding, ed. S. Seikaly et alii, Beirut 1991, 271-2). Only the Christian Ibn Butlan was interested in the great church, of which he describes the external gold mosaic in 440/1048-9 (cited in Yākūt, ii, 785). Judeo-Arabic inscriptions in the building, dated 1102 and 1127, prove the presence of a Jewish community there (A. Caquo, in Syria, xxxiii [1955], 70-4).

Ibn Shaddād gives an account of the end of habitation in al-Rusafa, added to a long quotation from Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. A.-M. Terrasse-Édédé, 394, tr. 21-2): the Mongols had spared the inhabitants on their march in 658/1260, and after the Mamlūk reconquest, a governor was left there until 668/1270, when the inhabitants left for Salamiyya, Hāmāt and other places, apparently because of the destruction, which is also archaeologically evident. Since then, the site has been deserted.


4. In Muslim Spain.

Munyat al-Rusafa, in Spanish Arriaza, Arruzafa, is the name of the country residence founded by ʿAbd al-Rahmān 1 (138-72/756-88 [q. v.]) to the north-west of Cordova and to which he gave the name of the Rusafa in Syria (see 3 above) founded by his grandfather Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

The first Umayyad amir of al-Andalus purchased lands which had belonged to a Berber chief of Tārīk's army, built a palace and gardens (ṣāfīr) and gardens. The Arabic sources class the Cordovan Rusafa amongst the three most important constructions of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I's reign (the other two being the Grand Mosque and the palace of Cordova). The amir enjoyed living there very much and spent most of his time there. In the course of his residence at al-Rusafa, he ordered the execution of three rebels: his nephew al-Mughirī b. al-Walid, Wahb Allāh b.
Maymūn and Abūyūh b. Sulaymān al-ʿArābī. Their corpses were dragged as far as Cordova and gibbeted on the banks of the Guadalquivir. In his reign, it became, in some measure, the seat of power, since at the time of his death, his son Ḥāshim, who happened to be at Mērida, hastened to arrive there before his brother Sulaymān (who was at Toledo and who was disputing with him the right of succession).

Moreover, Abū al-Raḥmān I made the gardens at al-Rūṣafā the first botanical gardens in the history of al-Andalus. He had planted in his grounds exotic plants, mainly brought from Syria, to which he sent envoys to contact his sisters. The most famous of these fruits imported from the East was the so-called safaṭī pomegranate, whose name is connected with Saḥīf b. Kaydād al-Ifrānī in 335/946. Al-Nāṣir’s son and the North African chief Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥādī al-Mukhlīd during his reign, al-Rūṣafā is mentioned as a residence of the counts of Hornachuelos. Later, a monastery was established on the site.

The Rūṣafā of Cordova early became a favoured subject of the court poets. Some very famous verses on its solitary palm tree are attributed to the founder, Abū al-Raḥmān I (according to other version, its author is said to have been Abū al-Malāk b. Bishr b. Abū al-Malāk b. Marwān). A poem of ʿAbbās b. Fīrānā on al-Rūṣafā, reproduced by Ibn Ḥayyān [q.v.], describes at length its buildings, streams, plants, birds, etc. After its destruction, Rūṣafā became, like Cordova, a poetic subject for the expression of nostalgia for departed splendours (texts of Ibn Ẓaydūn and Ibn Burd, given by Ibn Bassām, Ibn Khākān and al-Makkāri; this same Ibn Ẓaydūn mentions the existence of a garden of marguerites, raṣāl al-ṣukhwān). In Almodāh times, poets still gathered before the site of al-Rūṣafā in order to drink and to recite poetry. The poem of al-Ḵāsim b. ʿAbbād al-Raḥmān moves the title of ʿubi ʿsunt.

The second al-Rūṣafā in al-Andalus was situated at Valencia, between the town and the sea (the place-name is still preserved under the form Ruzafá, a quarter of the modern town). There is no information on the foundation of this Valencian Rūṣafā. E. Lévi-Provençal was the first to suggest the name of the Umayyad prince ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansi, son of Abū al-Raḥmān I, as its possible founder, at the same time warning of the lack of documentary evidence. This hypothesis has nevertheless been commonly accepted by Spanish and Arab scholars. The Arabic sources stress above all the beauty of the grounds of al-Rūṣafā, considered as the most attractive pleasure-ground in the vicinity of Valencia (together with the nurra of Ibn Abī ʿĀmīr). The poet Muḥammad b. Ḥālib al-Raḥmānī (d. 572/1177) was originally from there and devoted some poems to it. In 480/1087, Castilian troops commanded by Alvar Fáñez, giving aid to the prince al-Kādir, installed themselves at al-Rūṣafā. It was likewise there that king James I of Aragon encamped with his army, besieged the town and conquered it in 636/1238. Like its Cordovan homonym, this Rūṣafā became a literary subject in the poetical or rhymed prose texts written on the occasion of the loss of Valencia (texts of Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn ʿAmīr preserved under the names ʿAlī al-Samārī and al-Makkāri).

Between the residential palace complex and the city of Cordova there developed a suburb (rabāt), equally attractive, with no real basis in truth, by some Arabic authors to a palm tree at al-Rūṣafā. Abū al-Raḥmān I’s successors continued the tradition of periods of residence at al-Rūṣafā. It was probably in the reign of Abū al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52 [q.v.]) that the poet ʿAbbās b. Fīrānā tried, at al-Rūṣafā, to imitate the flight of birds, dressed in a garment of silk covered with feathers and bearing wings. But above all, it was the amīr Muḥammad (238-73/852-86), known for his zeal as a builder, who enlarged and improved the buildings and the gardens of this residence, where he loved to take rest and where he organised hunting parties. The amīr transferred from Cordova to al-Rūṣafā accompanied, whilst he was still young, his grandfather Abī al-ʿĀzīz with the construction of a new madjālis at the Umayyad court. He charged his wāzir Ḥāshim b. al-Raḥmānī with the construction of a new madjālis at the Umayyad court. He charged his wāzir Ḥāshim b. Abī ʿAlī b. Marwān. The poet ʿAbbās b. Fīrānā on al-Rūṣafā, reproduced by Ibn Ḥayyān [q.v.], describes at length its buildings, streams, plants, birds, etc. After its destruction, Rūṣafā became, like Cordova, a poetic subject for the expression of nostalgia for departed splendours (texts of Ibn Ẓaydūn and Ibn Burd, given by Ibn Bassām, Ibn Khākān and al-Makkāri; this same Ibn Ẓaydūn mentions the existence of a garden of marguerites, raṣāl al-ṣukhwān). In Almodāh times, poets still gathered before the site of al-Rūṣafā in order to drink and to recite poetry. The poem of al-Ḵāsim b. ʿAbbād al-Raḥmān moves the title of ʿubi ʿsunt.

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This text seems to be a historical document discussing various topics such as literature, poetry, and history. It includes references to specific dates, places, and authors, indicating a historical context. The text appears to be discussing the historical and cultural significance of various regions, possibly in Arabic-speaking areas. It mentions the city of Ruse in Bulgaria, its history, and its role during different periods. The text also discusses the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture on the region, including the presence of mosques and the role of Islamic scholars. It seems to be an academic or historical record, possibly used for research or education purposes. The text is written in a formal style, typical of scholarly works, and includes detailed references to other works and publications. The overall tone is informative and descriptive, providing insights into the historical context and cultural traditions of the region.
in 1640 found in Ruse 3,000 Turkish houses with 15,000 inhabitants and 10 mosques of stone (fate de piatra bianca), and 200 Armenian houses with over 1,000 inhabitants and a citadel with five towers (cf. Eug. Fermendžin, Acta Bulgarica ecclesiastica — vol. xviii of the Monumenta sanctitatis et meridianalitatis, Zagreb 1887, 74). In 1659 Filip Stanislawow counted 6,000 Turkish wooden houses with 20 mosques (ibid., 263; cf. also 7, 10, 26, 31, 88, 137, 299 [Russi o Ruščik: 1655], 300 with further particulars). Ewliyā Celebi (Şeyhâ-
name, v. i, 313-14; cf. the Bulgarian tr. by D. G. Gadjanova, in Periodiško spisanje na bbugarskoto knizevno družestvo v Sofija, lxx, Plovdiv 1909, 654-5) about the same time mentions 2,200 houses of wood, also three Christian quarters, the mosque of Rusehma Paša, baths and three caravanserais in "Urucšuk". The only Jews, he says, were those who visited the place on their trading journeys. The people, whom he praises for their hospitality, lived by commerce and spoke Bulgarian as well as the "language of Wallachia and Moldavia". Ewliyā Celebi says the melon (kawun) there was particularly good, 10 being sold for 1 pen(e)x (5 of which = 1 Vienna groschen or 3 kreuzers, 150 = 1 taler).

Ruščuk is regularly mentioned in the many records of travel on the Danube in the following centuries. References to the town in the 18th and first half of the 19th century are in general agreement. The inhabitants seem at all times to have conducted a busy trade in wool, cotton, silk, leather and tobacco, which was partly undefended. Turks, Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians in some 7,000 houses and conducted a busy trade with Turkey (cf. R. Walsh, Narrative of a journey from Constantinople to England, London 1828, 207). Helmhout von Moltke who visited Ruščuk in 1835 and described it (cf. Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei, Berlin 1877, 11 ff., 132 ff., 424 ff.), was surprised that "this important Turkish fortress with its long, dominated and enfiladed lines without outer works, half armed and defectively planned" could offer the enemy such resistance. As an important fortress, Ruščuk was a military prize in the Russo-Turkish wars. Besieged in 1773, it was the site of a great battle on 4 July 1811. The fortunes of war favoured the Turks, led by the Grand Vizier Ahmed Paša, after which the Russians, commanded by Kutusov, constructed fortifications and fell back on the "language of Wallachia and Moldavia". Ruščuk was the birthplace of the Grand Vizier Celebi-zâde Sherif Hasan Paša (d. 1205/1791), of the kaššâ Amâni Celebi (d. 1000/1591) according to von Hammer, G.O.R., iii, 83, and of the famous Ottoman author Ahmed Sherif Hasan Midhat Bey (1841-1912, cf. F. Babinger, G.O.R., 389-90), not forgetting the novel of Sephardic Jewish origin and writer in German, Elias Canetti, the Nobel Prize-winner for literature in 1981.

The post-Ottoman history of Ruščuk, which became officially Ruse, begins in 1878. The Westernisation begun by Midhat Paša increased in momentum under Bulgarian rule. In accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, the fortifications were partly demolished, an urban plan transformed the main Muslim cemetery into a public garden, and numerous mosques disappeared (Kanitz numbered them at 29 in 1874; there were no more than seven in 1936). The eclectic architectural style of Central Europe triumphed. The Muslim population, despite being socially reduced in status and weakened by the exodus of its elites, nevertheless managed to maintain a certain cultural life. Thus eight journals in Turkish appeared up to 1910, essentially on account of the activity of Ahmed Zeki. Turkish education remained active, with two secondary schools in 1921-2; from 1932 to 1957 there functioned in Ruščuk the sole Turkish lyceé for girls in Bulgaria. After the 1960s, the policy of national assimilation pursued under the régime of Todor Zîkov gradually stifled all signs of a specifically cultural and religious life. The town's population, which had risen from 26,000 in 1880 to 49,500 in 1934, grew rapidly with industrialisation, actively promoted by the Communist régime. The former centre of the Turkish community of the region managed to maintain a massive influx of rural Bulgarians. In 1985 the town had 195,000 inhabitants; nevertheless, the villages of the administrative district of Ruščuk have a 25% Turkish population.

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(F. BABINGER-[B. LORY])
AL-RUSHATI, ABU MUHAMMAD CABD ALLAH B.
c
ALi b. cAbd Allah b. c All'b. Khalaf b. Ahmad b.
c
Umar al-Lakhmi al-Marl al-AndalusI, traditionist
and historian of Muslim Spain.
He was born in 466/1074 at Orihuela (Murcia). His
nisba al-Rushati is of Romance origin and refers to a
physical characteristic. One of his ancestors had on his
body a mole (shama) of the type known as "rose" (warda) called by the Christians "rusha"; the Romancespeaking servant (khddim '•adjamiyya) who cared for
him as a child called him "Rushatelo", from which
the nisba of the family derived. When he was six years
old, al-Rushati's family moved to Almeria, where he
completed his studies and where later he taught.
Having witnessed the conquest of the town by the
Almoravids in 484/1091, he himself died a martyr
when the Christians conquered Almeria in 542/1147.
His teachers were the two most famous traditionists of
the time, Abu CAH al-Ghassam (d. 498/1104) and Abu
C
A1I al-$adafi (d. 514/1120), the roi**n°Abu '1-Hasan
Ibn AkhT '1-Dush and his maternal uncle Abu '1Kasim Ibn Fathun (d. 505/1111), author of a K. alWathd^ik. Al-Rushati also obtained the idjaza from
Abu cAbd Allah al-Khawlanl (d. 508-1114), author of
a fahrasa, and from his famous contemporary Abu
Bakr b. al-cArabI (d. 543/1148 [q.v.]). Like many
other scholars of his time, al-Rushati did not perform
the rihlafi talab al-^ilm abroad. His most famous work
is the Iktibds al-anwdr wa-iltimds al-azhdr ft ansablasma?
al-sahdba wa-ruwdt al-dthdr, a book praised by Ibn
Kathlr and one similar in methodology (uslub) to the
genealogical work by al-SamcanI (d. 562/1167 [tf.y.]).
The only extant edition of this most important
genealogical tract is the partial text by E. Molina

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Lopez and J. Bosch-Vila, restricted to the entries
related to al-Andalus. According to H. al-Djasir,
c
Abd al-Rahman al-cUthaymm is preparing a complete edition of the preserved text. The Iktibas contained five parts, of which only parts one, three and five
have reached us (the mss. are found in Tunis and
Karawiyyln; their description can be found in
Molina-Bosch Vila's and al-Djasir's works). Part of
the missing contents can be restored by means of the
preserved abridgements (a list in Molina, 541-3, and
al-Djasir, 623-38) written by later authors, among
them, Ibn al-Kharrat al-Ishbfli (d. 581/1180) and
Madjd al-Din Ismacil b. Ibrahim al-BilblsI (d.
802/1399), in whose talkhis he added what Ibn al-Athir
had added to the Ansdb of al-Samcani. The parts of Ibn
al-Kharrat's Ikhtisdr dealing with al-Andalus have
been incorporated by Molina-Bosch Vila into their
partial edition of al-Rushati; they have also used material from al-Bilbisi's abridgement.
Al-Rushati's other works are the Kitdb al-IHdm bimdfi Kitdb al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-mu ^talif li 3l-Ddrakutni min
al-awhdm and a refutation of the famous mufassir cAbd
al-Hakk b. c Atiyya (d. 541-2/1146-7), who had
criticised certain passages of his own genealogical
work. Although he is remembered as an expert in ansdb and cilm al-riajal, al-Rushatl also studied grammar,
adab, fikh and hadith. In the last field, he transmitted
the K. ^Ulum al-hadith by al-Hakim al-Nlsaburl [q.v.].
Among his numerous pupils, we find especially traditionists (some with an interest in Cz7m al-ridjal and
history) like Abu Bakr b. Abl Djamra (d. 599/1202),
Abu 'l-Walld b. al-Dabbagh (d. 546/1151), Ibn
Bashkuwal (d. 578/1182 [q.v.]), Ibn Kurkul (d.
569/1173), Ibn Hubaysh (d. 584/1188 [q.v.]), two
authors offahdris, Abu Muhammad b. c Ubayd Allah
(d. 591/1195) and Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179 [q.v.]), as
well as the grammarian Ibn MadaD [<?.y.].
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RUSTAK, Arabised form of M. Pers. rustāk, meaning "rural district, countryside", and given the broken pl. rustāk.

(1) In the mediaeval Islamic usage of the Arabic and Persian geographers and of the Arabic writers on finance and taxation, rustāk is used both as a specific administrative term and in a more general sense. Thus, reflecting the more exact usage, in Sāsānīd and early Islamic šrāk, each šāra [q.v.] or province was divided into tassāqūs or sub-provinces, and these last in turn divided into rustāks, districts or cantons, last centred on a madina or town. According to Hīlāl al-Sābī, K. al-Wuzārād, a tassāqūt might contain up to twelve rustāks, and a rustāk might contain up to twelve villages (cited in F. Lokkegaard, "Islamic taxisation in the classic period", Copenhagen 1950, 164-7).

Al-Mukaddasī's usage, however, is less neat and formal. Thus the rustāk which he gives for the šīlīm [q.v.] of Syria are extensive rural districts, such as the six ones of Damascus province (šīrā: al-šuţiya, the Hawrān, al-Bājaniyā, al-Djāwlān, al-Bikād and al-Ḫula (text, 154, Fr. tr. A. Miquel, Ahsan al-şaqūṣin ... (La meilleure répartition ...), Damascus 1963, 160, cf. also 23 and 51), thus, the šīlīm speaks of rustāks as administrative subdivisions, but in a vaguer sense (see tr. Minorsky, index at 324).

(2) In wider literary usage, the rustāk/rustā or countryside may be contrasted with the urban centres, and its populations regarded as country bumpkins compared with the more sophisticated town-dwellers, so that in Persian, rustāb "having a rustic nature" was a contemptuous expression. Thus the šīlīm in this case, the small country town of Mayhana [q.v.] in northern Khūrāsān; cf. C.E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 152.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-RUSTAK, the name of a town and area in "Umān [q.v.] which finds no place in the classical Arabic geography. The town is situated about 112 km/70 miles west, as the crow flies, of the chief town of the Sultanate, Muscat [see MAŠKĀT], on the northern side of the range of al-Djābal al-Aḫdar. The district, according to Lorimer (Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Calcutta 1908, IIB, 1603-4), is the region of western Ḥadjar from al-Humz with all the villages thereof.

The word itself is universally defined as Arabised Persian (see the previous article) meaning "village", "market-town", "encampment of tents or huts", "rural area". The Arabic lexica invariably gloss it with the word sawūdī "rural district", "environs of town" (Fīrūzābādī, al-Kāmīs al-muḫātī, L4). The town was the centre of the province during the pre-Islamic Sāsānīd period, with Šuḫār [q.v.] as the port. The massive fort which can still be seen, and was known even in the 20th century as Kalʿat Ibn Šahrān (i.e. Anūshirvān), had, one assumes, a pre-Islamic predecessor, though the present building dates in all probability from the times of the Yāʿarība (11th-12th/17th-18th centuries). The early and late Yāʿarība imāms, as well as the Āl Bū Saʿīd imāms [q.v.] (also 12th/18th century), regarded al-Rustāk as their capital.

The district today comprises 150 villages, including al-Humz, and has an estimated population of 7,500.

It is the centre of the Oman date industry and also produces limes, grapes, quinces and mangoes. Al-Rustāk has its own research apiary and is a centre for the production of honey in the Sultanate. The exports later attributed to Rustam would be the result of a blend of the legends of Kārsāsāp with historical memories of Gondophares, the ruler of the Indo-Parthian empire in the first century A.D. It is now generally accepted, however, that in the Avestan tradition Zal and Rustam did not yet belong to the cyle of legends about the Kayanid kings. Some scholars (in particular Nōdeke) assumed that they had their origin in the legends of the original populations of Drangiana and Arachosia; others assigned them to the traditions of the Sakas people who came to the same lands (later known as Sīstān and Zābulistān) in the late 2nd century B.C. (cf. Camb. hist. of Iran, iii, 454-6).

The oldest form of the name known is the Middle Iranian Rōštadah (in Pahlavi writing, laštām), from which the Soghdian rotṣmy was derived. It is likely that tales about Rustam were given a place already in the Khvādīyā-nāmag, the synthesis of various legendary cycles compiled in the late Sāsānīd period. This lost source is reflected in the works of Muslim historians and writers of adab works, who already mention a few stories about Rustam, in particular his guardianship of Siyāḵwakh, his combat with Ḫisāndīyār and his death. These stories are, however, far less elaborate than they are in the Şāh-nāma. Relatively close to the Persian rotṣmy is the pre-Islamic name of some epic content. Rustam's father Zal, who especially in the Arabic sources is also called Daštān, married Rūdāba (Rūdāsawdād according to al-Thaʿalībī [q.v.], written in the early 9th/11th century, but also in this source many of the best known adventures are missing. Indications of Rustam's popularity in early Islamic times are the occurrence of his name in the 1st/7th century, both as that of a Sāsānīd general and of Christian monks in Mesopotamia (cf. Nōdeke, 11). Fragments of his legends are to be found in the work of the Armenian Moses of Khōrēn (7th or 8th century A.D.) and in a Soghdian manuscript found at Turfan which relates Rustam's fights with the demon (see Camb. hist. of Iran, iii, 457, 1229, with further references).

Only Firdawī's Şāh-nāma contains a continuous story of the hero. His ancestors were local rulers of Sīstān and Zābulistān, who were vassals to the kings of Iran. Among them Gārgāsh and Narīmān are mentioned, but only his grandfather Sām is a figure of some epic content. Rustam's father Zal, who especially in the Arabic sources is also called Daštān, married Rūdāba (Rūdāsawdād according to al-Thaʿalībī), the daughter of the king of Kābul who was descended from the "dragon-king" Daḏhāk. This indicates a demonic streak in Rustam. His body, commonly compared to that of an elephant, was already at the time of his birth so enormous that he could only be delivered with the help of the miraculous bird.
Simurgh. When he grew up, he besought God to reduce his weight so that he could walk without sinking into the ground. In Arabic, a common epithet to his name is al-ghadib, in Persian he is called tahamtan, "the one with the mighty body". Rustam's steed Rakhsh is as formidable among horses as his master among humans. In Arabic, a common epithet to his name is tahamtan, "the one with the mighty body". Rustam's steed Rakhsh is as formidable among horses as his master among humans.

His earliest deeds are the killing of a white elephant escaped from his father's stables, and the conquest of Shdh-ndma, his grandfather Nariman. The philological evidence points out that these two narratives were later added to Firdawsi's text (cf. Shh-nama, i, 273-81). With the assignment to bring Kay Kubd down from the Alburz mountains, in order to become the king of Iran, begins his service to the Kayanid dynasty. He rescues Kay Kawûs from the hands of the White Demon in Mazandaran and, another time, from his captivity with the Hamawaran of Yaman. Conspicuous is his role in the wars with the arch-enemy Afrasyâb (Frâyîyî in Arabic sources) of Tûrnân. Major tales in the Shh-nama with Rustam as a prominent character are the revenge for prince Siyâwakhsh (or Siyâwush), his fight with the demon Akmân, the story of Bihân and Manîhûz and the duel with his son Suhûrûsh. The Herculean Seven Deeds (kht bhrdn) of Rustam were in all likelihood copied from similar deeds ascribed to Faramurz.

The final episodes tell about a tragic controversy with the last Kayanid kings. According to the version of al-Dinawari, the cause of this conflict was Rustam's refusal to accept the new religion, which king Gustâshp (Avestan Vistaspâ; in Arabic, Bishâbûs or Bîshtrîsûf, the protector of Zarathustra, had embraced. Other sources only mention Rustam's refusal to fulfill the duties of a vassal. Gustâshp sends his son Isfandiyâr (Avestan Spanô-dâta; called Isfandiyâhad by al-Dinawari) to capture the disobedient Rustam, who kills the prince in a man-to-man fight. Finally, the hero himself falls victim to the treachery of his own brother Shâghâd, who lures him into a trap during a hunting-party. In a last effort before he dies, Rustam manages to kill his murderer by a miraculous shot from his bow. Isfandiyâr's son Bahman takes revenge for Rustam's family and has his son Farâmûrzs executed.

Heroes modelled on Rustam appear many times over in Persian epics written after Firdawsi. The characters in those works often bear the names of his ancestors or descendants. In lyrical poetry, comparisons drawn with Rustam are particularly frequent in the panegyrics of Farrûghî (q. v.), who himself came from Sistân and was a near contemporary of Firdawsi. He was also used as an exemplum by mystical poets, notably by Sanâ'î and Djâlâl al-Dîn Rûmî (q. v.), especially in the latter's Dîwân-i Khâtîb.


2. In Islamic art.

The earliest representation of Rustam in Islamic art is probably that in the Edinburgh University Library manuscript of Rashîd al-Dîn's Dâmî al-tawârîsh (1306; ms. Arab 20, fol. 6b). He is there represented seated before King Mikû'ârî, wearing a headcloth and tiger-skin morocco shoes, and grasping a mace; he is bearded and has long horizontal moustaches. In the celebrated Demotte Shh-nâmâ (ca. 1330), Rustam wears Mongol dress or armour, but in the 14th century manuscripts of the epic produced at Shïrâz under the Indjû'îd and Mu'azzâfardr rulers he is once more distinguished by a tiger-skin surcoat, and this convention, once established, persisted throughout Persian painting.

The next stage was the addition of a leopard's head or mask fixed over his helmet, and this originated under the patronage of Iskandar Sultan, its earliest appearances being in the British Library Miscellany of 1410-11 (Add. 27251, fol. 298b) and a fragment dated to 1413 in the Topkapi Sarayi Library (B. 411, fol. 161b). It seems not unlikely that this very effective addition to the hero's panoply was due to the initiative of the young prince himself; it could easily have seemed or been told of, classical or Hellenistic portrayals of Heracles in the skin of the Nemean lion with its mask on his head. It took a little time for this complete panoply to be universally established. In Bâysungur's Shh-nâmâ of 1430, Rustam always wears an ordinary helmet with his tiger-skin surcoat, but in the copy made a year or two later at Shïrâz for his brother Ibrahim Sultan (Bodleian Library; Ouseley Add. 176) the leopard's head appears in several miniatures. In the Royal Asiatic Society Shh-nâmâ of Muhammad Djûkî (ms. 239, Herat, ca. 1440) it appears in only one miniature (fol. 145b). Shh-nâmâ manuscripts produced under Turkman patronage in the middle years of the 15th century also present the hero sometimes with, and sometimes without, the leopard's mask on his helmet. But in the numerous copies of the epic illustrated in the Commercial Turkman style, and in Rustam manuscripts produced under Shïrâz during the last quarter of the century, the leopard's mask is invariable.

Thus by the beginning of the Shâfawid dynasty, Rustam's full panoply is well established, and to this period (ca. 1505) belongs the most splendid portrayal of Rustam in the whole of Persian painting: "Rustam lassoing the King of Shäh" in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Leipzig, in which the leopard's head helmet is topped by a magnificent seven-fold plume, and the hero's moustache and beard are red. This miniature is probably the work of Sultan Muhammad in his young days. Later in the Shâfawid period, attempts were made to represent Rustam as an old man in the latter stages of his career, but at the same time painters sometimes failed to show him as a child in his earliest exploits; thus, in depicting his killing the mad elephant, artists sometimes show him in full panoply with moustache and beard.

In the 17th century, the languid and slightly decadent style of Ridâ 'Abbâsî (q. v.) was ill-suited to epic illustration, and Rustam sometimes presents an awkward and distinctly unheroic figure. His late appearances under the Kâdjârs show him with the wasp waist and luxuriant black beard of Path 'Ali Shh (q. v.). But the traditional panoply survives to the end.

Bibliography: B. W. Robinson, Persian painting
and the national epic, London 1983, and references there given. (B.W. Robinson)

RUSTAM B. FARRUKH HURMUZD (thus in al-Tabi'arī, al-Mas'ūdī, b. Farrukh, Persian general and commander of the Sā'ānid army at the battle of al-Kādisiyya [q.v.] fought against the Arabs in Muharram 15/February-March 536 or Muharram 16/February 637, the battle in which he was killed.

His father is described as the ispabadh [q.v.] of Kurhārān, for which province Rustam was deputy. In the lengthy account by al-Tabi'arī of the battle of al-Kādisiyya, derived mainly from Sayf al-Dīn al-Umar, there is much folkloric material, doubtless derived from materials used by the kusdās [q.v.s], in which the Persian Emperor Yazdagird III and Rustam try to dissuade the Muslims from battle by a use of verbal parables and a show of superior splendour and luxury; but these are of no avail, and Rustam leads his forces into battle and is killed by Hilāl b. Ullafa al-Taymi (See F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 397, for the various traditions concerning this episode).


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**RUSTAMIDS** or RUSTUMIDS, an Ibdāi dynasty, of Persian origin, which reigned from Tāḥart (in what is now Algeria) 161-296/778-909.

The birth of the Ibdāi principality of Tāḥart is bound up with the great Berber rising begun by Maysara (called, as a tribute from his enemies, al-Hakir "The Vile") in 122/740. As a result of this rising, the greater part of the Maghrib fell away definitively from the control of the caliphate in the East, with the exception of the principality of Kāraywān (Kairouan), which only achieved virtual independence with the coming of the Aghlabids in 234/848-9, "broke up the circles of innovators (ahl al-bida") (M. Talbi, *Biographies Aghlabides ..., Tunis 1968, 104), and for-bade them to spread their "deviations" (zayghahum). In 135/752, like others, he took the high road towards the East (riḥla) in order to complete his education at Baṣra, at that time the spiritual centre of Ibdāism, at the feet of Abū 'Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Kairma, the greatest and most learned of his age, who gave him instruction in which political theology necessarily played a large role, conformable to the general principles of Ibdāism which had itself arisen from of a succes-sion to power crisis. Five years later, in 140/757, together with Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb, he was one of five mis-sionaries, the ḫamalat al-'ilm (lit. "bearers of knowledge"), who set out for the Maghrib in order to pass on to the phase of the Khāridjī, i.e. open insurrec-tion, with the aim of installing a just Islamic regime con-formable to the Ibdāi ideas of an elective and equilibrarian theocracy, considering that all the previous existing authorities had more or less betrayed true Islam since the time of the arbitration (sakāīm) at Sīffin (37/657) (see IBADIYYA).

The conjunction of affairs was at that moment especially favourable. Khāridjīte propaganda had been introduced into the Maghrib some decades previously, and it found there its most fertile ground. The Sufīs were the first to enter the lists and, thanks to some resounding victories, had founded three prin-cipalities: at Sidjīlimās, at Tlemcen and in the region of Salē on the Atlantic shores. The Ibdāīs had the am-bition of assuming for themselves power over the eastern Maghrib, and nearly succeeded.

However, Baghdād was not yet disposed freely to relinquish its position of first-rate competence, Yazīd b. Hātim al-Muhallabī, and then decided to found their own principality in the Tāḥart region where 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had already found refuge. There, in 151/768 he besieged, without success, the chief town of the Zāb, Tubnā, the ancient fortress of Tubunda, which had become an advance bastion protecting Ifīrīya.

The Ibdāiyya in the end had to renounce the cap-ture of Kāraywān, firmly held by a governor of first-rate competence, Yazīd b. Hātim al-Muhallabī, and then decided to found their own principality in the Tāḥart region where 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had already found refuge. There, in 151/768, "on a slope which dominated, from a height of a thousand metres, the steppes and their pasture-grounds" (Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, ii, 34), and in a place where there was abundant water, they con-structed their capital, New Tāḥart or Tṛḥart (9 km/6 miles to the west of present-day Tīhert, founded in 1663, the administrative centre of a wilāya or province in modern Algeria), around which was built a protec-tive wall with four gates. The Ibdāīs had the advantage at the same time for sedentaries and nomads alike, and constituted a natural fortress.

After his return from Baṣra, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam had already been in charge of various respon-sibilities, whence the uncertainty of the sources regarding the date of his investiture as Imām. This probably did not take place officially till after the foun-dation of Tāḥart, sc. in 162/779. Ibn Rustam evidently-ly combined in himself the conditions of knowledge and piety required by the Ibdāiyya for the election of their Imām. But the main reason which tipped the balance in his favour was that, if disputes should arise, he had "no tribe to bring him aid, and no clan to sup-port him" (Ibn al-Saghir, *Akbār ..., in CT*, nos. 91-2 [1975], 321-2).

Externally, Ibn Rustam practised a pacific policy with regard to his neighbours, the 'Ašābādī governors of Kāraywān, the 'Aalīthīs ('Abd Idrīsīs in Fis or Fez and the Sufī Midrāmīs in Sidjīlimās. Internally, he devoted his efforts to strengthening his power and to furthering the economic prosperity of his principality, thanks, in particular, to financial support from the Ibdāiyya of the East, to the impulse given to trans-Saharan trade, and to agricultural and urban develop-ment. Tāḥart speedily became a rich and...
cosmopolitan metropolis, and the Sunnī Ibn al-$aghlr observed a host of people there, people stemming from Baṣra, Kūfa, Kayrawān and other places, all attracted by the justice and order which prevailed there.

Before his death, which probably took place in 171/788, ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Rustam appointed a council to choose a new Imām. The choice fell on his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Till the end of the kingdom of Tāḥart, the succeeding Imāms all came from his line, but with a chronology more or less uncertain and with many troubles which often took on the character and form of schisms. In a theocracy guided by religious leaders no less pious than himself, in a theocracy which was in principle equalitarian, austere and puritanical—ʿAbd al-Rahmān is depicted as perched on the roof of his modest house, finishing off its construction with the help of a slave—such an evolution was inevitable. In Tāḥart, wrote Julien, c. cit., ii, 37, "people lived in a permanent state of religious exaltation". The following is the most likely succession of the Imāms, theoretically elected but in fact succeeding by virtue of the dynastic succession rule against a background of schisms and political crises:

\[\text{Abd al-Rahmān b. Rustam, 161-71/788-88} \]
\[\text{Abd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, 171-208/788-824} \]
\[\text{Abū Bakr b. Aflāḥ, 258-60/872-74} \]
\[\text{Abū ʿIyākūn Muhāmmad b. Aflāḥ, 260-81/874-94} \]
\[\text{Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muhāmmad, first reign 281-2/894-5} \]
\[\text{Yaʿṣūb b. Aflāḥ, first reign 282-6/895-9} \]
\[\text{Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Muhāmmad, second reign 286-94/899-907} \]
\[\text{Yaʿṣūb b. Aflāḥ, second reign} \]
\[\text{Yaʿyān b. ʿIyākūn, 294-407/909-7} \]

The first schism (jītrīd) broke out as soon as ʿAbd al-Wahhāb came to power, with his election contested by a splinter group of the Ḳabāʾiyya. It took shape as the Nukkārīyā [see also Ṣukkārīā], who had their hour of glory under the command of Abū Yazīd [q. v.], the "Man on the Donkey", who almost succeeded in putting an end to the Fāṭimid caliphate of Mahdiyya. Towards 195/811, a conflict broke out between the Ḳabāʾiyya of Tāḥart and their Zānātā Berber neighbours, who professed Muʿtazilism in its Wāṣili form. It is related that the controversy preceded the open conflict which was finally resolved in favour of Tāḥart, thanks in particular to intellectual and military support from the Nafūsa [q. v.]. Berbers of southern Tripolitania.

The second schism which broke out amongst the Ḳabāʾiyya was that of the "Hafṣaliyya, from the name of Ḵalāf b. al-Samb, a grandson of the Imām Abū ʿIyākūn, who succeeded his father as governor of the Ḳabāʾiyya, to the south of Tripoli but without the agreement of the Imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who rightly feared that a new dynasty would become inextricably enmeshed in the internal affairs of the dynasty, who was thereby plunged into the perpetual schisms of the Ḳabāʾiyya. The accession of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to the throne when the troops of Abu Bakr b. Aflāḥ's reign was relatively peaceful. He was able, by a combination of pliant policies and largesse, to impose his authority on the nomadic tribes, which were quartered by nature.

His successors were less fortunate or skilful. The Tāḥartic principality had fluid frontiers, more human than geographical ones. It was very little urbanised, and had no cities or frontier march supported by a line of powerful fortresses. The Imām's territory had no other frontiers except those of the tribes which considered themselves Ibnātā and, consequently recognised his authority, and this ultimately on the spiritual rather than the temporal level. This was the case e.g. of the Ibnātā within the Aglabid principality. Moreover, the principality was a mosaic of very differing ethnic elements: Berber tribes, predominantly nomadic and having divergent interests, Persians who had got rich in the shadow of Rustamid power, and factions of the Arab qurūd—through their profession, bellicose in nature—who had fled from Ifrikiya. Once the religious bond became relaxed, all these ingredients became a typically explosive mixture. Hence the internal history of the Rustamid state was full of ups and downs, especially after Aflāḥ's death.

Armed clashes forced Abū Bakr to yield his power to his brother Abu ʿIyākūn, who was supported by the Arabs. The latter was nevertheless not able to take up residence at Tāḥart until 268/882, thanks to the support of the Lawāriya and Nafūsa Berbers. Having learnt from these occurrences, he followed, it is recorded, a policy of justice, tolerance and balance, on an indispensable foundation of piety, austerity and erudition.

During his own lifetime, Abu ʿIyākūn appointed his son Abū Ḥātim to succeed himself, a procedure not at all, at least in principle, in accordance with the Ḳabāʾiyya tradition. It is true that the make-up of Tāḥart had, meanwhile, changed considerably. Henceforth, at the side of a cosmopolitan plebs or ʿamm, there were all sorts of groups of people, including a great number of Māliki and Ṣhīʿīs, whose weight began to be felt on the checkerboard of politics. In these conditions, an uncle of Abū Ḥātim, Yaʿṣūb b. Aflāḥ, preferred to leave the capital and settle amongst the Zuwayḥa Berbers who formed part of the Khulafiyā. Civil war raged. In 286/899, Abu Ḥātim was driven out of Tāḥart and his uncle Yaʿṣūb took his place. But this was not for long, and political alliances, from now onwards no longer reserved for the Ibnātā community, were made and unmade according to shifting interests. Yaʿṣūb, in turn, lost his capital, and Abū Ḥātim returned to power, supported by the ʿamm, a mixture of both Ibnātā and non-Ibnātā. Disorder got worse and the central power became more relaxed. Abū Ḥātim was ruler only in name, and was assassinated by his nephews, who merely added to the disorders. Yaʿyān b. Abū ʿIyākūn was on the throne when the troops of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣhīʿi came to extinguish the Rustamid principality; Tāḥart offered no resistance.

Wedged between two hostile regimes, that of the ʿAlid Irīsids on the west and that of the ʿABBĀSID governors, and then the Sunnī Aglabids on the east, the Rustamids practised, by force of circumstances, a policy of rapprochement: to their south, with the ʿUffī Midrārids of Sidjīlma, who, moreover, controlled the vital route by which gold came; and to their north, with the strongly Māliki Umayyads of Cordova, disregarding, in the interests of practical politics, the fact that Mālik had condemned to death the Ibnātā heretics (Ṣahmīn, Mudawwana, Cairo 1323/1905, ii, 47).

To the east, after vain attempts to seize Tripoli
from the Aghlabids, the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhab, who had directed the battle in person, relinquished the town itself to the Aghlabids, and contented himself with the hinterland, having been neither conqueror nor vanquished, and with a reversion to the status quo ante. In 239/853-4, the Aghlabid Abu 'l-Abbas Muhammad I built a town in the neighbourhood of Táharta, which he provocatively called al-Abbâsîyya in honour of his suzerains. The Imam Aflâh burnt it down and informed the caliph in Cordova of his action; the latter sent him 100,000 dirhams. Finally, in 239/853 Ibrâhîm al-Rustami II inflicted a severe defeat at Mâna, near the sea and to the south of Gabbès, on the Nafusa, the spear-head of Ibacjl power. In the west, the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhab allowed Idrísl I to capture Tlemcên in 173/789 almost without any adverse reaction.

Across the seas, the Ibacjl Imams of Tahart and the Mâlikî amîrs of Cordova had extremely amicable relations, despite their doctrinal differences, united by a common political interest. In 207/822, 'Abd al-Rahmân II gave a warm welcome to three sons of the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhab arriving at Cordova on an embassy, probably to greet the amîr on his accession to power. In 229/844, 'Cordova informed Táharta officially of its victory over the Northmen' (Lévi-Provencal, Hist. Esp. mus., i, 245), and in 239/853 Muhammad I sent a sumptuous present to the Imam Aflâh on his accession. Furthermore, members of the Rustamid family, installed in Muslim Spain, held high offices in Cordova, up to the ranks of commander and vizier. Possibly one might think, as did Lévi-Provencal, of links of vassalage (loc. cit.).


Rûstem Pasha (906-968/1500-1561) Otto- man Grand Vizier. Born ca. 1500 in a village near Sarajevo, Rûstem Pasha came of a family most probably of Bosnian origin (though some sources mention Croation or possibly Albanian ancestry), whose pre-Muslim surname had been either Opuković or Gigalic (cf. Albéri, Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato, ser. iii, vol. iii, 89; C. Truhelka, Bosnische Post, Sarajevo 1912, no. 80). A register from the kâdî's [q.v.] court at Sarajevo, dated 974/1561, records the sale of a house by Hâdimî Ali Beg b. Khayr al-Dîn, muteswâli of Rûstem Pasha's bedesten in the city, on behalf of one "Neftîa Khaman, daughter of Mustafâ and sister of Rûstem Pasha". A brother, Sinân Pasha (d. 961/1554), was also in the service of the Ottoman government, rising to the rank of Kapudân Paşa [q.v.].

Educated both in the palace school, Rûstem Pasha's first recorded post was as îlâhdâr on the Mohâcs [q.v.] campaign, and then as mirâkdâr-i ewvel. The date of his appointment as beglerbegî [q.v.] of Dîyar Bâr is unknown, but it was from this post that he was appointed beglerbegî of Anatolia in 945/1538 (Peçêwi, Tarih, Istanbul 1281/1861, i, 206). The following year, he became third vizier and was married to
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Mihrimah, the daughter of Kanuni Süleyman and Khurrem Sultan. In 948/1541 he was promoted to second vizier, and in 951/1544 succeeded Khodim Süleyman Paşa [q.v.] as Grand Vizier. Dismissed in 960/1553 during the outcry caused by the execution of Süleyman's eldest son Mustafâ. Rûstem Paşa spent two years in retirement before being re-appointed Grand Vizier in 962/1555, following the execution (at which he is said to have connived) of Kara Ahmed Paşa [q.v.], grand vizier since 959/1553 (of Kara Ahmed Pasha, Siajill-i 'Othmdni, ii, 377-8, iii, 106).

F. Babinger, Rûstem Pasha; St. E. Forster, Istanbul, the Rûstem Pasha mosque, at least four medreses, khatirûns, and other structures throughout Anatolia and Rumeli. Many of these were also designed by Sinân. However, it is now thought that the historical work Tavârîkh-i Âlî: Oğlûmân (or Ta‘rîkh-i Rûstem Paşa) for long attributed to Rûstem Paşa's authorship, is in fact part of the Dâmini ul-tawârîkh of Maâyâkâl Nâshû [q.v.], compiled at Rûstem Paşa's request (L. Forrer, Die Osmanische Chronik des Rûstem Paşa, Leipzig, 1909, by H.G.YS.)


Bibliography: For further references in addition to those in the text, see the bibl. to S. Altundag and Ş. Turan, IA, art. Rûstem Paşa; F. Babinger, E.T., art. Rûstem Paşa; Süğîli-i Oğlûmân, ii, 377-8, iii, 106).

Rûstem Paşa was Süleyman's longest-serving Grand Vizier (a total of fourteen-and-a-half years in two periods of office), but one whose reputation, both contemporary and historical, was mixed. During his first period of office a major treaty was concluded with the Hapsburg Emperor (in 1547) stipulating the annual payment of 30,000 ducats' "tribute" by the latter. Internally, his tenure was marked throughout by his successful efforts to build up government finances, neglecting no possible sources of income, even, according to the Habsburg ambassador Busbecq, selling vegetables and flowers grown in the grounds of Topkapı Sarayi [q.v.] (Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, The Turkish letters, tr. E.S. Forster, Oxford 1968, 30).

On the other hand, Rûstem Paşa was held largely responsible for introducing the sale of government offices and for allowing imperial hâdiyât [q.v.] to be given out in tax farms, thus paving the way for the bribery and corruption detected by later Ottoman historians. He amassed an immense personal fortune (see the inventory of possessions on his death given by PecevT, Ta^nkh-i Rîistem, iv, 21-2) and was accused of greed and avarice both on his own behalf and that of the state (for several complaints against him, see M.T. Gökbilgin, Rûstem Paşa ve hakkndaki tıtkamlar, in Tarit heserisi, viii/11 [1955], 11-50).

Rûstem Paşa appears to have enjoyed the sultan's full confidence, due partly to his abilities and partly to the mutual agreement between himself. Mihirimâh Sultan had named her son Khürrem Sultan to be his successor, however, his positive achievements as Grand Vizier were overshadowed by his involvement in the conspiracy leading to the execution of the popular prince Mustafâ, which cleared the way for the eventual succession of one of Khürrem Sultan's two surviving sons, Selim II [q.v.] (Gökbilgin, op. cit., 20-4, 38-43). Rûstem's dismissal in 960/1553 may have been at his request, in order to forestall demands from supporters of Mustafâ for his own execution.

Busbecq's description of Rûstem Paşa as "a man of keen and far-seeing mind" is largely borne out by Ottoman sources, who attest his capable administration and loyal service, stressing his financial acumen and the fact that even where offices were sold these were only to worthy people who were never thereafter dismissed. Whereas to Busbecq he seemed "always gloomy and distrustful" and "âlî criticized his dislike of dervishes and poets, Peçevi stresses his correct manners, sobriety and piety (Busbecq, Turkish letters, 29, 190; J. Schmidt, Pure water for thirsty Muslims: a study of Mustafâ Âlî of Gallipoli's Kânhû l-âkhabâr, Leiden 1991, 133, 89, 159; Peçevi, Ta‘rîkh, i, 21-2). He was nevertheless a master of political intrigue and a controversial figure.

As a patron of architecture, Rûstem Paşa commis-
philosophical interest, he founded the bi-monthly Ish-rdk, a journal devoted to the dissemination of philosophical ideas. It appeared for the first time on 5 May 1886 and was edited by poets who, for the most part, were of Ruswa’s kind. However, it was short-lived, and had to be discontinued after one and a half years due to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of Urdu readers. In addition to his original contributions, Ruswa published in this journal his Urdu translations of two of Plato’s works, namely the Apology and Grito. At a later date, while working at Haydarabad, he translated several works dealing with philosophy and psychology. He also translated into Urdu, and composed some works on these subjects. Among his other accomplishments was his participation in the development of a system of Urdu shorthand and a keyboard for the Urdu typewriter.

In the literary field, Ruswa is known primarily for his novels. He was also a poet of a minor sort, writing conventional verses. His first poetical work, a recognizable entity, the reading public (“Sphang”), appeared in 1886. He also composed a verse drama, in the maghawwi form, under the title Murakkki-i Layla Maftun (“An album of Layla and Madjnun”), which was completed probably in 1887. He used the penname of “Mizrā” for his poems, reserving the pseudonym “Ruswa” for his novels. In the beginning, his mentor in poetry was the respected contemporary poet of Lucknow, Darbīr (1803-75). As a novelist, Ruswa was the author of five original works, namely Afshār-i āzi (“Exposed secret”), Umrā’s Dān Adā, Dāhi-i sharif (“A perfect knave”), Sharif-zāda (“Of good breed”), and Akhtarī Begum. Afshār-i āzi (1896), of which only the first part seems to have been completed, represents Ruswa’s earliest attempt at novel-writing. Its theme, dealing with the decadent culture representative of the Muslim upper class in society and providing an insight into the traditional lifestyles of society, was longed to the same free society. In addition to the Adharbaydjan and Azeri Turkish served as the literary language among the Rutuls. Since that time, Russian has been the primary literary language used by the Rutuls of Daghistan, and Azeri by those in the Rutul region around the 5th century B.C. Later Christiantion, and a number of these peoples, especially early Christian influences penetrated the Rutul region from the Caucasus starting to the late 1930s, Lezgin and Adharbaydjani influence, and until the Soviet period. The Rutuls traditionally inhabited 20 villages in Rutul district in southern Daghistan (18 of which are in the Samur valley and 2 others in the Aghjai valley) and 2 villages across the border in neighbouring Agdharbaydjan. The Rutuls lived under very strong Lezgin and Agdharbaydjan influence, and until the Soviet period. The Rutuls lacked a common free society or clan federations found in Daghistan prior to the Soviet period. This is one of the few cases where all of the members of a given ethnic group belonged to the same free society. In addition to the Rutuls, who dominated this free society, a number of Turkic villages were also members of the Rutul Magal. The establishment of a distinct Rutul ethnic group during the Soviet period.

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ed among the Rutuls and other southern Daghstani peoples with many Christian, Zoroastrian, and polytheistic holdovers. During the 18th-19th centuries conservative Sūfī movements were active among the Rutuls and during this period many of the pre-Islamic cultural rituals and beliefs were eliminated. The Rutuls today are Sunni Muslims. As among all other Daghstani peoples, and many other North Caucasians, pre-Islamic clan vendetta laws are still common among the Rutuls to this day.

Until the mid-20th century, patriarchal-clan endogamy and clan exogamy predominated among the Rutuls in the Rutul region by young people developed during the Soviet period. Derbend and Makhaczala in the Rutul region are the largest and most powerful tribe in the northern Arabian desert. Shaykh Faysal b. Fawwaz Shaṭṭān estimates there to be about half a million, most of whom are in northern Saudi Arabia, with a few in Syria and Jordan.

Incon sistencies, noticeable in the sources, in the precise relationships of the Ruwala to other parts of the Dania and to the other parts of the group, locations and numbers, may be understood by reference to Ruwaylii genealogy. The genealogy is seen as a way of talking about political and jural relationships of closeness and distance between constituent parts of the group, not actual descent. The shaykhi family often personifies the tribe in historical and political discussion; this encourages a shift in political focus to be seen as a migration from one area to another which is not justifiable when more detailed information is available. The Ruwala say they have always been, concerned with living their lives in their own terms; they see their shaykhs as ambassadors, or agents, between them and the agencies of other governments, rather than leaders as such. From this point of view, the movement northwards in the late 18th century is a political and economic shift on the part of the Ruwala and those Ruwala who saw the shift as a useful option.

The Ruwala say they are from ʿAnaza, who was the brother of Maʾaz, the sons of Wāʾil. This ʿAnaza b. Wāʾil genealogy is not totally consistent with the information of Hishām b. Muhammad al-Kalbi in his *Dhamarat al-nasab* on ʿAnaza b. Asād, “after Stamm, später zu Rabīʿa gerechnet” (tr. Caskel and Strenzki, Band ii, 189, and Band i, tables 141 and 172).

The Ruwala and Bakr b. Wāʾil tribesdominate the recorded history of northern Arabia in the early and mediaeval periods. Yakūt, iii, 644, records the ʿAnaza in Khaybar, as does Abu ʿl-Fidāʿ, *Tawqir*, tr. Reinard, 120. Sections of the Ruwala continue to own date gardens there and in Tayma (Lancaster, 1981, 128). The Djas (identified with the Ruwala by Burckhardt, *Notes*, i, 6), and other ʿAnaza, are mentioned in the early Islamic tax registers of 1558, as wintering around Safad (A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Burckhardt*, Princeton 1979, 160). The Ruwala are, as they have always been, concerned with living their lives in their own terms; they see their shaykhs as ambassadors, or agents, between them and the agencies of other governments, rather than leaders as such. From this point of view, the movement northwards in the late 18th century is a political and economic shift on the part of the Ruwala and those Ruwala who saw the shift as a useful option.

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Musil, quoting other tribes in the region, says the Ruwala were the “most Bedu” tribe in northern Arabia. At this date (1908-16), “being Bedu” meant camel-herding. The camel herds provided subsistence and enabled the Ruwala to provide services of protection and restitution to those parts of the wider population unwilling or unable to protect themselves, to provide guides and protectors to caravans, and to sell camels in the markets of Syria and Egypt for meat, transport animals and for agricultural work. Camel herding, in conjunction with tribal political processes, permitted a system of government (hukūma—based on mediation and consensus) that was an alternative to that of states. Raiding (ṣawāṣ) took a variety of forms (Lancaster 1981, 140-5), the purpose being the acquisition of booty and personal reputation.

Burchhardt, Wallin, Guarnani, the Blunts, and Musil provide a partial history of the tribe during the 19th century and up to the First World War. During this period the Ruwala became pre-eminent among the ‘Anaza tribes. Although opposing Wahhābi political ambitions, in 1809 they defeated a Turkish government army outside Baghdad in pursuit of the Wahhābi forces; thus the Ruwala achieved independence of both Ibn Su‘ūd (who relieved them of the obligation to recognise his overlordship) and of the Turks (Lancaster, 1981, 128-9). Relationships with their northern bedūin Damascus were always ambivalent shifting between open hostility and uneasy compliance (Euting, 1896, i, 93; Musil, 1928). In 1909, Nawwāf b. Nūrī Sha‘lān, with his father’s reluctant support (Musil 1927, 1928) retok Dīwāf from Ibn Rāshīd of the Shāmmar, whose political fortunes were in decline [see Rāshīd, A]. After the First World War, Nawwāf had plans for the Sha‘lān kingdom of northern Arabia, to which Nūrī was opposed. The rise of the power of Ibn Su‘ūd, and the French and British mandates over Transjordan and Syria, together with the death of Nawwāf in 1921, ended any possibility of this, and amīr Nūrī handed over Dīwāf and the Wādī Sīrān to Ibn Su‘ūd in 1926, signing the Treaty of Hadda. Amīr Nūrī, according to one of his great-grandsons, Shaykh Faysal b. Fawwāz, was conscious of the contradictions inherent in his role as a traditional beduīn ruler. The present amīr Mi‘shīḥ b. Fawwāz, and his generation of Sha‘lān shaykhs, see their function as maintaining freedom of access for tribemen to the economic and political resources of the various states in which the Ruwala live.

The increasing use of motor transport exacerbated a trend signalled by the opening of the Suez canal in 1870 and the Hijārī railway in 1908, to the point where there was little market for surplus camels, except for meat and some agricultural work. This was the real cause for the ending of raiding. The Ruwala had lost, between a declining market for camels, and the loss of services now provided by the Mandate governments or Ibn Sa‘ūd, a substantial part of their income. They managed, between the late 1920s until the 1950s, by having vastly increased herds, and employment in the Arab Legion, as Mēḥārātis, and with Ibn Su‘ūd. Some Ruwala became herders, while a few, under Firbān al-Maḥbūrī, were involved in the likhān revolt of Faysal al-Darwīsh of the Mūṭayr (Glubb papers; Philby papers). There were also problems with the authorities of the French and British Mandates, and with Ibn Su‘ūd, over whether the Ruwala were a Syrian or a Saudi tribe. As their amīr was based near Damascus, and many Ruwala used Syria in the summer, it was decided the Ruwala were a Syrian tribe, while those who stayed in Saudi Arabia in summer and paid taxes to Ibn Su‘ūd were Saudi citizens. The Treaty of Hadda guaranteed the Ruwala their traditional markets and grazing areas. During the thirties, al-Awrens b. Trād Sha‘lān based himself outside H4 (IPC pumping station) in eastern Jordan from where he advised the Iraq Petroleum Company and developed an extensive political network. The amīr Nūrī, and after 1936 his grandson amīr Fawwāz b. Nawwāf, were members of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies.

With the escalation in oil wealth in Saudi Arabia, together with the drought of 1958-62, many Ruwala joined the newly-formed National Guard in Saudi Arabia or became employed in the oil companies. The rise of the Ba‘th party to power in Syria in the 1960s, and the resulting political and economic difficulties for particular tribes, encouraged the Ruwala to concentrate on options in Saudi Arabia. At this date amīr Nā‘īf b. Nawwāf filled a position similar to that of Speaker of the House of Commons in Saudi Arabia. After the Sha‘lān lost their assets in Syria, many of them, under the leadership of Shaykh Nūrī b. Fawwāz, together with Ruwala tribesmen, collected at al-Riṣā in eastern Jordan and began smuggling from Saudi Arabia into Syria as a political action (Lancaster 1981). The antagonism to Syria was simultaneously expressed as active support for King Husayn of Jordan in the troubles with the Palestinian Fiddiyin.

The smuggling ended with some reconciliation between the Sha‘lān and the Syrian authorities, together with pressure from the Jordanian government. The closing of the desert roads between Syria and Jordan by the Syrian authorities during the 1980s ended the viability of al-Riṣā as a base for trading (legitimate and otherwise) by the Ruwala and others. Profits from smuggling were invested in sheep herds, gardens, property and businesses, especially in Saudi Arabia but also in Jordan and in Syria. The Ruwala are an important group in the National Guard of Saudi Arabia, and are represented in the Army and Air Force; they play an active part in government, the professions and business in Saudi Arabia. Their political influence is apparent in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria.

While they say they are no longer Beduīn, as they do not depend on the bīḍiya or desert as in the past, they maintain their strong tribal identity.


Other important sources include: J.L. Burchhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabis, London 1831; G.A. Wallin, Narrative of a journey from Cairo to Nejd, in JRGS, xxiv (1854), 115-207; C. Doughty, Travels in Arabia deserta, London 1885; Lady Anne

**RUYÄ (a.),** derived from the Semitic root *ru^yd* which gives rise to formations expressing “sight” (*ru^ya*) and “vision” (*ru^yaft*), one of the aspects of vision being nocturnal vision, the dream.

1. In the meaning of dream.

On relations between “seer” (*ro^e* = Aram. hâzâ = Ar. ḥâzî), “soothsayer” (*kâhin, *arrâf, etc.) and “prophet” (*nâbi*), see the articles *kâhin, kîhâna, nubuwâa.

The Semitic terminology of the dream and of the vision evolves in two fundamentally different semantic zones:


(2) The second is situated in a specific period of life, sc. puberty, a period marked by the development of sexuality (*TÂ*, viii, 355). The dream is then expressed in all Semitic languages through the root *h-l-m*, which indicates, in the adolescent, a degree of physical maturity (becoming fat, ugly, expansion of the sexual organs, nocturnal pollution) and of intellectual maturity (acquiring good judgment, being kind and gentle, patient and master of oneself).

Concerned to distinguish the true dream, rendered by *ru’yâ*, from the false dream, resulting from the passions and preoccupations of the soul, or furthermore the dream inspired by God from that inspired by Satan, Muslim tradition adopted *h-l-m* for the expression of the latter, on the basis of the following tradition: “The *ru’yâ* comes from God and the *hulm* from Satan” (cf. *Concordance*, i, 504; al-Buhârî, ii, 324 = *Khdîd*, 11; Ibn Khaldûn, *Mukadimah*, iii, 8 ff., tr. Rosenthal, iii, 103 ff.; other references in Goldz., *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 110). However, the lexicographers continue to treat them as synonyms, as is the case with Ugaritic *h-l-m*, Hebr. *hîlôm, Aram. hîlâm/Syriac helmô*, etc., which refer to the prophetic dream as much as do the derivatives of *r-r-y* and of *h-z-y* (cf. Ehrlich, op. cit., 1).

The Kurânsk seldom uses *hulm* in a pejorative sense with the meaning of dream; *ahlâm appears twice, in XII, 44 and VII, 102, in the sense of “confused dream”, and once unqualified in the former of these verses, in the expression *ta’wil al-ahlâm*, “interpretation of dreams”, while the innumerable verbal and nominal forms of *r-r-y* are used to denote all kinds of vision, whether it be real, intellectual or metaphorical (see *Concordance*, s.v. *ru’â*). The verb *ru’â* and the substantive *ru’ây* convey the dream of Joseph (XII, 4-5) as well as that of his fellow-prisoners (XII, 36) and that of the Pharaoh (XII, 43). The order communicated to Abraham to sacrifice his son (XXXVII, 102, 105) was given to him in a dream; Allâh fulfilled the dream (*ru’ây*) of Muhammad that he would return to Mecca (XLVIII, 27); the dream of the *sîr* and of the *mi’âd* which he had before the emigration to Medina, were given to him to test the faith of those who had followed him; this, in a sense, the “Tree of Temptation in the Kurânsk” (XVII, 60).

After *ru’ây* the Kurânsk uses *manâm* (XXXVIII, 102), of which it makes a divine sign (XXX, 23) a summons before God, analogous to death (XXXIX, 42) and an instrument of divine direction, used by God to guide His Prophet and the believers step by step (VIII, 43-4). The *Sirâ* and historiography relate a large number of dreams which marked the major events of the Prophet’s life, those of his contemporaries and of his successors (cf. *La divination arabe*, 255 ff.).

Shortly before his death, the Prophet is supposed to have said: “Nothing remains of prophecy other than the good dream; the just man sees it or it makes itself seen by him” (Ibn Sa’d, *Tabâkid*, iii, 18). This gives an impression of the importance accorded by him to the dream which he saw it, as well as of the梦见 of intervention (on dream and prophecy, see *Nubuwâa*).

As a result of the conduct of the Prophet, which consecrated a pre-Islamic usage, the study of dreams was developed considerably under Islam. The oneirocritics, of whom Abû Bakr, the first caliph was one, proliferated and Arab oneiromancy was born, nourished, at the outset, by the inexhaustible sources of the oral tradition, in which certain symbolic constants, certain techniques and even an oneirocritical style and clichés began to be established; they are to be found dispersed in the *Sirâ*, the *Maghdâr*, in *Hadîth* and before long in the *Tabâkid* of Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845), secretary of al-Wâkidî (d. 207/823), where there is a list of dreams interpreted by Ibn al-Musayyab, who lived in the time of the Umayyad caliph *Abd al-Malik b. Marwân (65-86/685-705). This was the first attempt at the compilation of an literary genre which was to undergo a considerable expansion (*Tabâkid*, v, 91-3; list quoted in full in *La divination arabe*, 310-12).

Ibn al-Musayyab was succeeded by Ibn Sirîn (*q.v.*), whose renown as an oneirocrit has survived to this day (cf. Abdel Daim, *L’oniromancie arabe d’après Ibn Sirîn*, Damascus 1958; *La divination arabe*, 312 ff.; Fahd, *L’oniromancie orientale et ses répercussions sur
l'oneirocritica de l'Occident medieval, in Oriente e Occidente nel Medioevo: Filosofia e Scienze, Rome 1971, 347-74). His name figures among the ancestors of onirocritalogy in the earliest treatise of Ta'bir which is known, the Dastûr fi l-ta'bir of Abû Is'hâk Ibrâhîm b. 'Abd Allâh al-Kirmanî who lived under al-Mahdi (158-69/775-85), a treatise which has not survived, but the existence of which is confirmed by Abû Bakr al-Anbârî (d. 328/940); it served as the basis for numerous later works, in particular for al-İshâra illâ al-İshârâ al-kulûmî (cf. La divination arabe, 315, 345, 352).

At this stage, oneirocritics used the classification of dreams, according to precise categories, illustrated by concurrent examples which would make clearer the significance of symbolic constants in a secular spirit. The Arabic translation of the Oneirocritica of Artemidorus of Ephesus (cf. Le Livre des Songes, Arabic tr. by Hunayn b. Is'hâk, ed. Fahd, Damascus 1964), commissioned by al-Ma'mûn, and al-Kâdirî fi l-ta'bir, composed by Abû Sa'id Nâbir b. Ya'kûb al-Dinawârî for the caliph al-Kadir bi 'llah cld Nasr b. Ya'kûb al-Dinawârî (d. ca. 400/1009). It is the most ancient Arab oneirocritical treatise which has survived in its entirety, in spite of its substantial length. It exploited all the information from the Book of Dreams by Artemidorus that was susceptible of adaptation to its milieu.

The introduction to this treatise, composed of 30 chapters (fâsîhs), divided into 1396 bâsîs, comprises 13 sections: the yardsticks of the states of the dreamer, the modalities of the dream, the angel of the dream, the nature of the dream, the varieties of true and of false dream, the times and seasons of the dream, the definition of interpretation, the rules to be followed by the narrator of the dream and by the interpreter, the omens to be observed at the time of interpretation, interpretation and the days of the week, and the types of sleeponeirocritics (cf. La divination arabe, 356-7; for more detailed information, see Les songes et leur interprétation en Islam, 133-47).

Finally, it may be noted that incubation, practised by the ancient Semites (cf. Ehrlich, op. cit., 13-55; Oppenheim, loc. cit., index s.v. Incubation dream, 352; A. Haldar, Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites, Uppsala 1945, 81-2; Sources orientales, ii, 39-41 (Egypt), a tradition, the time of interpretation, interpretation and the days of the week, and the types of sleeponeirocritics (cf. La divination arabe, 356-7; for more detailed information, see Les songes et leur interprétation en Islam, 133-47).

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Krenkow, The appearance of the Prophet in dreams, in JRAS (1912), 77-9 (completed by I. Goldziher, in ibid., 503-6); J. de Somogyi, The interpretation of dreams in ad-Damiri’s Ḥayāt al-Hayawan, in ibid. (1940), 1-20. (T. Faun)

2. In its philosophical-mystical meaning.
In its philosophical-mystical meaning, the term, like manām, describes the dream as a means to transmit fictitious observations or, in the best instances, information and knowledge which convey another, higher reality. As such, this information has its origin in God or in persons near to God, such as prophets and Sufis. Starting points in this interpretation of dreams are found in the Kurān (sūras VIII, 43/45; XII, 43; XXXVII, 102/101; etc.) and in the tripartite subdivision of dreams, found in Islamic hadith and in other cultures (see Gätje, Traumlehren, 258): true dreams, which have their origin in God and bear a prophetic character; false dreams, which come from Satan; and dreams connected with man’s nature and therefore unable to predict anything about the future. In Sufi literature, the dream mainly appears as a means for having a dialogue with deceased Sufis and holy men, or even with the Prophet, and to receive messages, warnings or pieces of advice (see the works by Schimmel and Smith, in Bibl.).

Islamic philosophy, going back to the Kurānic-mystical interpretation of the dream, considers it as a means to transmit the truth, its prophetic-divine origin serving as a criterion. This criterion, however, caused discussions about the postulates of dreams. Galen’s explanation that they originate from a mixture of the fluids in the human body, and his localising (as against Aristotle) fantasy and thought in the brain and not in the heart, is often drawn into the argumentation. Beyond this, with reference to the Neoplatonic philosophy of the divine emanations as well as to the Aristotelian-Persipathetic doctrine of the soul and of the divine intellect, the dream is given an important part in the process of human perception. This development culminates in the precedence of divinely-inspired prophetic knowledge over human knowledge (see Daiber, Abū Hātim, defended by the Isma’ili Abū Hātim al-Rāzī [q.v.], against Abū Bakr al-Rāzī [sec al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr], and in the transmission of this prophetic knowledge by way of portentous dreams, which owe their existence to the divine active intellect. The latter view is represented by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [q.v.].
The origin of this development can already be found in Abū Yusuf al-Kandī [q.v.], who links up with Aristotle (De anima), but puts new accents, which he owes to the Alexandrian exegesis of Aristotle and which presuppose a Neoplatonic-hermetic concept of the soul (see Genequand, in Bibl.). In his Fi Mīḥāṣat al-na‘um wa ‘l-nuyūd (= Rasdīl, i, 293-311), which was translated into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona (ed. Baeumker, 12-27), and in his as yet unpublished treatise on the anamnesis of the soul (see Endress, Al-Kindī’s theory), the soul appears in an intermediate position between the perception of matter and the eternal ideas of the divine intellect; in the process of its purification, and in its endeavour to return to its divine situation, the soul’s “shaping capacity” (al-ka‘uwa al-maṣawwūra), i.e. of the fantasy, the carrier of the dreaming activity, which increasingly liberates itself from sensory perceptions. After that, the soul remembers more and more its originally divine situation i.e. the world of the intellect. In its most complete form, the dream is no longer confused dreams (adghāth), or mere opinion, but the remembrance of the shape of sensible objects, or of the genus

and species of intelligible objects. Thus the soul is capable of anticipating the future in a dream (al-Kindī, Rasdīl, i, 303).

Al-Kindī’s doctrine of the dream is part of his doctrine of the intellect (see Jolivet, L'intellect, esp. 128 ff.), in which the cogitand constituent appears as being integrated in a Neoplatonic doctrine of anamnesis. This accentuation was not continued by al-Fārābī. In the latter’s doctrine of the dream, the remembrance of intelligible is not mentioned. On the contrary, in a newly created terminology al-Fārābī speaks of the “imitation” (mudāḥā) of perceptible particulars (al-maṣāḥa), and of the “exalted intelligibles” (al-maṣāḥākh al-maṣāḥkhah) which ensue in a dream. The imaginative pictures in the dream are thus the result of a cooperation between perception, imagining imitation or fantasy, and the divine “active intellect”. If this imitation is not limited to sensible phenomena, if it is not solely oriented towards the activities of nutrition and desire, and if it is not shaped by the constitution of the body (see Galen, De dignatione ex insomniis), then the dream represents “exalted objects” (maṣṣaḥ-lū‘a sharī‘ah), i.e. the intelligibles of the divine “active intellect”; the point at issue then is prophecy, prophesying “divine things”. From this al-Fārābī, while modifying Plato’s doctrine of the philosopher-king, deduces his well-known thesis on the sovereign of the Ideal State, who should be both philosopher and prophet. His starting-points in literature are first of all Aristotle’s works, in particular, De anima, the Nicomachaean ethics and the theory of the dream and divination in the Parva natura, and also the exegesis of Aristotle by Alexander of Aphrodisias. The parallel between al-Fārābī and the new accentuation of Aristotelian doctrines, found in the transmitted Arab version of the Parva natura, is remarkable. Deviating from the Greek text, the latter emphasises the divinity of the intellect, which causes the “images” (jwar) which come into being in “true dreams” (see the Arabic ms. Raza Library, Rāmpūr, no. 1752, dating from the 11th/17th century, fols. 7a-54b, of which fols. 44b 1. 11-fol. 47b 1. 25 deal with the dream; cf. Davidson, 340 ff.; Pines, Ravitzky).

Above all, al-Fārābī is convinced that, as Aristotle said, the soul thinks in images, and for this needs perception; its imaginative power imitates reality and produces imitating images. The most perfect imitations of the particulars and intelligibles, which originate in the divine active intellect and are realised in a dream by the imaginative power, are made into statements about the future and into prophecies. They are then transmitted to mankind by the sovereign, either in the form of philosophical arguments or in the form of prophetic “warnings”. At this, al-Fārābī, in his thesis on the perfect “religion” as imitation of “philosophy”, presupposes the reciprocal dependence of the two. Religion is an indispensable “instrument” of philosophy because, in the Ideal State (al-madinah al-fāḍilah), it realises the practical part of the latter, namely ethics. In agreement with Aristotelian epistemology, according to which the soul does not think without the images of perception, its imaginative power imitates reality and of philosophy and of the intelligibles, which experience their realisation in the most perfect form in the prophetical revelation (for further details, see Daiber, Prophetic, Rule). And so prophetic revelation in a dream is not only a perceptive representation of what had been pre-existing in the mind, and what has been inspired by the active intellect; for by transmitting laws and prescriptions of “religion”, this revelation also clears
the way for realising the practical part of philosophy, namely the ethics of every single person in the Ideal State.

Later philosophers, above all Ibn Sinā and Ibn Rushd [q.v.], were decisively influenced by al-Fārābī’s doctrine of the divine active intellect as the cause of prophetic dreams. They took up al-Fārābī’s Neoplatonic attachment of separate intellects to certain heavenly spheres, a doctrine which had further developed Aristotle’s conception of the spirits of the sphere, as well as al-Kīndī’s doctrine of the active intellect. In their works, the divine active intellect (al-šāli al-fās’ilāllāh-fās’il), the tenth and last member of these intellects, appears as an emanation of the ninth intellect which rules the sphere of the moon. However, Ibn Sinā and Ibn Rushd did not adopt al-Fārābī’s idea of religion as being the visualisation of philosophy. Contrary to Aristotle, but in consequent continuation of al-Kīndī’s Neoplatonism, they maintain that thinking does not need perception through the senses; the active intellect leads the thinking soul out of the stage of potentiality.

Ibn Sinā’s explanations in his Kitāb al-Shajā‘a and in his Risāla al-manāmīyya show that al-Fārābī’s doctrine of dreams was modified. He gives more attention to the elements mentioned by Galen, and al-Fārābī’s explanations are completed; in the common sense (hiss muḥayarad), the dream is the representation of the forms which have been abstracted from the matter. This representation has been realised by the preserving ‘forming power’ (masawawai‘a), together with the combining ‘fantasy’ (mutakhabayyila). The interpretation of dreams (ta‘bir al-rū‘a) deals with the ma‘ānī, the intentions of these abstractions, which belong to the realm of the perception, of the intellect of or of the heavenly world. In Ibn Sinā’s work the function of the prophetic dream appears, in a modified form, as providence (‘inā‘a) of the ‘divine power’, or of the ‘intellectual’ and ‘heavenly angels’; the ‘inā‘a becomes their tool, and is allotted to just rulers, to outstanding scholars and, beyond them, to all mankind; it is no longer a privilege of the prophet.

Ibn Rushd, in his Épisteme of the Parva naturalia, essentially follows Ibn Sinā and does not bring any new element. The dream is a spiritual process and gets its bearings from the ma‘ānī, which are deposited in the faculty of memory (hāfiza, ḥākira), abstracted by the faculty of thought (al-mufakkirīn) from the individual perceptions, which at first have been united in the common sense, then preserved by the imaginative power (musawwai‘a, mutakhabayyila). Beyond that, the prophetic dream is an activity of the active intellect; in as much as the sensual representations and their ma‘ānī are already potentially present in the soul, the dream enables the actualisation of the potential intelligence of the human being, of his ‘material’ intellect, that is, by the active eternal intellect. Certainly, the possibility of scientific knowledge through dreams, admitted by al-Fārābī and, to a certain extent, also by Ibn Sinā, is limited by Ibn Rushd (as already had been the case with Ibn Badājnī (see Davidson, 342 ff.)); the inspiration given by dreams is limited to what is useful or harmful, and to a few practical arts; it does not extend to theoretical science. Prophetic revelation recedes here into the background.

Instead, Ibn Rushd propagates a connection between the form of the soul, understood as eternal potentiality of the ‘material’ intellect, and the divine, eternal, active intellect. This connection is said to be the road to the most perfect form of human knowledge. For Ibn Rushd, the universality of this general form of the soul excludes all individuality (and thus also the individual immortality of the soul). Here, too, can be detected a basic tenet of Islamic philosophical thinking, which had become apparent with al-Kīndī and which could appeal to the Kur‘ān, to mystics, and to the religious tradition of Islam, namely tracing human knowledge back to God, considering prophetic knowledge as superior to human knowledge, and dreams as the road along which God transmits knowledge to mankind. However, Ibn Rushd limited the traditional appreciation of this road.


where it is said that on the Day of Resurrection faces will be ilā nabiḥā nāẓira, "their Lord regarding". To which the Mu'tazzils reply that nazarā is equivalent here to ināzāra, and the expression is metonymical. It is the reward of their Lord which they "will wait for".

The Sunnis also have recourse to VII, 143: since Moses, a prophet, asked to see God, it follows, they say, that God can be seen. To which the Mu'tazzils reply, following al-Djubā'ī, that it was not for himself that Moses made this request, but for his incorruptible people, who demanded it in this world.

The Sunnis also base a major part of their argument on a well-known hadīth according to which the Prophet, on a night of full moon, is said to have promised his Companions "You shall see (tāra'ama) your Lord as you see this moon" (al-Bukhārī, masā'ib, 16 and 26; taṣawwīd, 24, 1-3). For the Mu'tazzils, either the hadīth is inauthentic or else tāra'ama is to be understood in a figurative sense, as a synonym of tā'lamāna.

In the realm of rational controversy, the Mu'tazzils place the greatest emphasis on the argument that, in order to be seen, a thing must be either substance or accident, and God is neither one nor the other. The solution proposed by al-Āsh'ārī (and also adopted by the Māturīdīs) is that visibility is not confined to substances and accidents; it is a necessary characteristic of all existing things—and God exists.

RUYyat ALLAH, the vision of God. It is usually qualified by the phrase bi 'l-ābyār, "through perception", to distinguish it from a metaphorical concept, sometimes acknowledged, of vision "through the heart", cf. al-Ash'ārī, Makāli, 157, ll. 10-13 and 216, ll. 11-13.

Whether it is or will be possible for men to see God with their own eyes is one of the questions which have deeply divided Muslim theologians. Sunnis of all persuasions (Hanbalis, Kullābiya, Ash'āris, Karāmiyya and Māturīdīs) maintain that it is so. The earliest theologians (Hishām b. al-Hakam, Abu 'l-Yusr al-Mughni, Djabbar, 216, ll. 14-15; al-Māturīdī, cūt, 139, ll. 4-6; Abu 'l-Yusr al-Mughni, Djabbar, 216, ll. 14-15; al-Māturīdī, cūt, 139, ll. 4-6; Abu 'l-Mu'tamad, Beirut 1974, §§ 147-53; ʿAbd al-Djābbār, al-Mughni, iv, 139, ll. 4-6; Abu 'l-Yusr al-Pazdawī, Usūl, 78, ll. 6-7). Among the Imāmī Shīʿīs, only the earliest theologians (Ḥāfiz b. al-Hakam, etc.), adherents of a "corporalistic" conception of God, acknowledged His visibility; but early theologians such as al-Kalaynī and Ibn Bābawah (thus, even before the "conversion" of the Imāmīs to tazīlīs, also, it is not the notion was absolutely refuted, on the other hand, by God denies that perceptions "comprehend" Him, not that they "see" Him.

The Sunnis, for their part, invoke LXXV, 22-3,
The earliest Muslim astronomers adopted a simple Indian visibility condition, namely, that the difference in setting times of the sun and moon be at least 12 equatorially degrees (or 48 minutes of time). Using this, they calculated tables displaying for a specific latitude and for different solar longitudes the minimum elongation between sun and moon necessary for visibility (see PI. XXXVI). More complicated tables involved directly the lunar latitude or served a series of different latitudes. Some later astronomers used conditions so complex that they had to calculate by hand the various astronomical quantities involved and then investigate whether these satisfied their visibility conditions, not always explicitly stated (see PI. XXXVII). The results of their labours were circulated in astronomical ephemeredes [see Ta'kwim], in which for each day of a given year the positions of the sun, moon and planets would be tabulated and for each month the lunar visibility calculations and predictions, as well as astrological prognostications, would be recorded (see PI. XXXVIII) and occasionally-illustrated (see PI. XXXIX). There are no known mediaeval records of conflicts with the 'alamāt, who favoured actual sightings of the crescent (see HIlāl. i) and used simple arithmetical procedures (based on alternating months of 29 and 30 days) when adverse weather conditions prevailed.

This is a subject on which a great deal of work remains to be done. First, there are numerous astronomical discussions of the subject yet to be studied. Second, there are even more legal discussions awaiting study (see, for example, the volume by 'Abd al-Wahhāb cited below). And third, there are references to actual practice scattered throughout the historical literature. Of particular historical interest are various šīfi treatises.

In the modern world, with instant communications between places where the crescent can be seen and others where it cannot, as well as less mutual understanding between religious scholars and scientists, there is occasionally some confusion about the beginning and end of Ramadān.


RUYĀN, a district of the Caspian coastlands region of Persia comprising the western half of Māzandarān [q.e.].


Geographical studies. According to Ibn Rusta, 150, and Ibn al-Fakīh, 304 (the latter cites Bālahārī as authority, but the passage is lacking in the Futūḥ al-balūḍ), Ruyān was at first an independent kāra attached to Daylam. It was conquered by ‘Umar b. al-ʿAlī (after 141/758), who built a town there with a minbar and attached it to Tabaristān. Ruyān comprised an extensive area the districts of which lay between two mountains (Ibn al-Fakīh: “between the mountains of Ruyān and Daylam”); each township could supply from 400 to 1,000 soldiers (Ibn al-Fakīh: in all 50,000). The khrādād levied on Ruyān by Hārum al-Raḥīd was 400,050 dirhams. The town of Ruyān called Kadhīja was the headquarters of the wūlī. Ruyān was near the mountains of Rāy and was reached via Raya. The text of the two authors above quoted suggests that Ruyān and between it and Daylam, was a region which formed the military zone from which operations were conducted against Daylam. To this zone belonged Shāhūs or Čālūs, a town called al-Kabība (situated opposite Kadhīja), another (?) town called al-Muḥbatha and lastly Mūzn. (But on these frontiers, see the Hudād al-ʿilām and Zahīr al-Dīn.)

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 206, enumerates the mountains of “Daylam (in the broad sense) as the following: Đibāl Kārin, Džibāl *Fāshubān* and Džibāl al-Rūbānd (according to Barthold, *al-Rūyānd = Rūyān*). In these last-named highlands, there were formerly kingdoms (mamlākā); in the part adjoining Tabaristān the kings were of Tabaristān, and in the part adjoining Rāy they were of Rāy. According to the Hudād al-ʿilām (written in 372/982), tr. Minorzky, 133, comm. 387, Nāṭīl (according to Jāzīrāt, 217, one mahala west of Ámūl) Čālūs, Rūdīhān (= Rūyān) and Kalār (west of Čālūs) formed a province of Tabaristān, but the authority there belonged to a king named Ustândūr. Rūdīhān produced red woolen materials for waterproofs and blue gilim (a kind of carpet material).

Rastomdār. From the Mongol period we find the geographical term Rastomdār. According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhāt al-ʿulāmī*, ed. Le Strange, 161, the greater part of its territory was irrigated by the
The crescent visibility theory of Abū Dja'far al-Khārizmi [q.v.] from the early 3rd/9th century. The table, which serves the latitude of Baghdād (taken by the author as 33°), displays the minimum distance between the sun and moon for each zodiacal sign. From ms. Cairo Tal'at falak fārisi 11, fol. 61a, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.
Calculations of the possibility of crescent visibility on the first day of the civil months of the year 1125 AH [~1713-14]. The tables, part of a set for the years 1125-30 AH and serving Cairo, show the lunar longitude and latitude (but, alas, for the purposes of analysis not the solar longitude), the apparent distance between the sun and moon, the altitude of the moon, the difference in setting times of the two luminaries, and then at the end of each line a prediction. If the crescent cannot be seen, the new month will start on the next day. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub jinda 166,2, fol. 40a, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.
In these extracts from a Yemeni ephemeris for the year 808 AH [≈ 1405-6], the information at the top of the double-page for a specific civil month relates to the astrological implications of the full moon in the middle of that month and to the new moon on day one, for which the prediction is that it will not be seen (īḍyrā). The main tables show the ecliptic positions of the sun, moon and five naked-eye planets, as well as the implications of the relative positions of the moon and the other celestial bodies, for each day of the month in question. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub Taymūr 274, pp. 104-5, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.
In this Egyptian ephemeris for the Djalālī year 936 AH [ = 1614-15], the position of the crescent relative to the horizon of Cairo is shown for each month. From ms. Cairo Dār al-Kutub miḥāi 141,3, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.
Shah-rud (?) and Ābī b. Shams al-Dīn Lahidji, Ta^nkh-i Khdnt, ed. Dorn, 298, says that Talakan (on the upper Shah-rud) adjoined Rustamdar. On the other hand, Zahr al-Dīn gives the term a larger connotation and uses it sometimes as a synonym of Ruyān and sometimes with a special meaning. An examination of the passages led R. Vasmr, Die Eroberung Tabaristdns durch die Araber, in Islamica, iii/1 (1927), 115-25 (a detailed analysis of the sources); H.L. Rabino, Māzandārān and Astarābād, London 1928, see index; idem, arts. listed in the Bibl. to Māzandārān; W. Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 233-4. (V. V. Masoudi)

Rūzbihān b. Ābī Naṣr al-Fāsī b. al-Daylami al-Bākli al-Shārazi, Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Bākli al-Shārazi, ed. Nurbakhsh, Tehran 1349/1970, and Rūzbihān-ndma, Ghalatdt al-sdlikin (both ed. Dj. Nurbakhsh). The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, e.g. H. Corbin, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Paris 1913, 79-108; (v) Mantik al-asrdr (commentation and a lexicon of shathiyydt). He recorded his spiritual experiences with directness and power, using a prose style of great rhetorical density. Although the tarika Rūzbihānīyya did not endure as an institution, his writings, particularly his mystical Qur’ān commentary, have been studied, preserved, and commented on by a select group of readers in the Ottoman regions (e.g. ʿAyni Simbā), in Central Asia (Qāmī [q.v.]), and in India (Dārā Shukūk [q.v.]), as well as in Persia proper, up to the present day.


Bibliography:
See that to Māzandārān; F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, s.v. Patkospdn, ʿUstādān, and 453-5; J. Marquart, Ermlahr, 131-35 (Rosm); G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 373-4; R. Vasmr, Die Eroberung Tabaristdns durch die Araber, in Islamica, iii/1 (1927), 115-25 (a detailed analysis of the sources); H.L. Rabino, Māzandārān and Astarābād, London 1928, see index; idem, arts. listed in the Bibl. to Māzandārān; W. Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 233-4. (V. V. Masoudi)
Arabic and Persian, plus numerous other works on standard religious subjects such as hadith, exoteric Qur’an commentary, and Shafi'i jurisprudence, some of which have only been preserved in excerpts in his biographies.


**Rûznamedji** (Ş.-Tish.), the Ottoman term for the keeper of a daybook (rûzname or rûznâmé), referring principally to the official in charge of the register of daily income and expenditure of the central treasury, *kahân*.

From its place(s) of origin in India or China ca. 3,000 BC., the use of rice spread to the Middle East, where it was also cultivated in pre-Islamic times, albeit in limited areas such as Mesopotamia and Jordan. Knowledge of rice spread slowly among the known varieties of wild rice, although several types may well have been employed in addition to the domesticated kind.

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In the ‘Abbâsid caliphate’s financial departments, the rûznâmé was the day-book (*kiyûb al-yawm*) in which all the financial transactions of the day—incoming taxation receipts, items of expenditure—were recorded before being transferred to the awûrâdâ, the register showing the balance of taxation in hand. The form rûznâmé points to an origin of this practice in Sâsânî administration. Later, in Fâtimid and early Ayyûbid Egypt, rûznâmâ was used in a sense contrary to its etymological meaning and its usage in the eastern Islamic world, sc. for the rendering of accounts every ten days.

Bibliography: C. E. Bosworth, Abû ʻAbdallâh al-Khûwârizmî on the technical terms of the secretary’s art, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 121-2. (C. E. Bosworth)

In the sense of almanac, calendar [see TAKWIM].

**Rûznâméddî** (p.-Tkish.), the Ottoman term for the keeper of a daybook (rûzname or rûznâmé), referring principally to the official in charge of the register of daily income and expenditure of the central treasury, *kahân*. From the diminutive form rûznâmâ, this official was known alternatively as rûznâméddî, a title often contracted to rûznâmé and identical with the name of the daybook itself. The rûznâméddî and his scribal staff formed part of the financial bureaucracy headed by the başî defterî [q.v.]. The late-15th century kânînânâmé of Mehmed II assigns a relatively high status to the rûznâméddî. This, together with the essential nature of such a register, indicates that the post probably dates from the earliest period of Ottoman administration.

By the mid-10th/16th century, the rûznâméddî’s office was developing two relatively distinct branches. The rûznâméddî-yi ewwel, later bûyûk rûznâméddî (chief daybook keeper), was the senior official with overall responsibility for recording all kinds of income and expenditure; the rûznâméddî-yi qâfî, later küçük rûznâméddî (second, or lesser, daybook keeper) became specifically concerned with recording expenditure on the wages and salaries of palace servants and lesser officials of the central administration.

The designation rûznâméddî was also applied generally to the daybook clerk(s) in various other offices of the central and provincial administration, e.g. keepers of timâr rûznâmeleri, registers of appointments to timâr and zemânet [q.v.] holdings. During the 19th-century Tânzimât [q.v.], the kâhzîne daybook was retitled synonymously yeþewînîye defterî, and the rûznâmêddî as yeþewînîye kâhzîne. Bibliography: Pakhalîn, iii, 60-2; I. H. Uruççarî, *Olmalî devletînîn merkez ve babriye teyûlûkî*, Ankara 1984, 336-9 and passim; K. Rörborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973, 36-9; H. Sahîhîîlî, *Rûznâmê*, in [M. Kütûkoğulları (ed.)], *Tarih boyunca paleografi ve diplomatik semineri*, 30 nisan - 2 mayıs 1986: bildiriler, Istanbul 1988, 113-39, 333-46. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)
that rice bread produces thick humour, causes obstructions in the intestines and has an astringent effect upon the stomach.

The general medical view of rice itself was that it inclined towards the "cold" element by nature which, it was said, could be modified when cooked with milk or fat and eaten with sugar. When cooked with milk, oxymel was recommended to be drunk afterwards to counter obstructions in the stomach caused by it.

Food preparation with rice was not, however, confined only to bread among the lowest classes. The mediaeval Arabic culinary manuals, which reflect the urban milieu of a rich, sedentary society, give several recipes where rice is employed in a number of ways. The following is a representative selection taken from the anonymous work of probable Egyptian provenance of the 7/13 or 8/14 century (see anon., Kanz, index).

These include rice as an alternative to cornstarch as a thickening agent in stews made with meat and vegetables, where the rice is added in the last stage of preparation. In another receipt, washed rice cooked in milk, milk and sugar, with dates and cinnamon appears to be close to the modern popular rice pudding dish, muhallabiyaa. The mediaeval version of muhallabiyaa, by contrast, was made with meat or chicken, sweetened with honey and seasoned with spices to which saffron-coloured rice is added. Indeed, the most common way of using rice in a substantial dish was to cook meat and/or vegetables with it in the same pot. A variation called al-aruzziyya, containing meat and leeks or onion is cooked in milk (laban) together with a little powdered rice. A dish called al-aruzziyaa contains meat and seasonings (pepper, dried coriander and dill), into which a small amount of powdered rice is added during cooking and washed (whole) rice towards the end of the preparation. A further use for rice is found in the well-known Egyptian spiced beverage sabiyya, which could be made with either wheat or rice. And, as with certain other beverages, this could have been made in both an intoxicating and a legal, non-alcoholic, version. The method of preparing rice flour is given in one receipt for use in another preparation called waqihan, a perfumed (powdered, pasty?) mixture for washing and scenting the clothes and hands. Finally, rice was also used in making vinegar.

The remaining extant mediaeval Arabic cookbooks contain recipes similar in style to these just mentioned. One, aruz muulfal, which appears in several versions, was evidently very popular and resembles a type of Turkish pilaw. Made with spiced meat and/or chick peas or pistachio nuts, the dish may contain rice coloured with saffron, white rice alone or a combination of both. A variation of this dish, called al-muqaddara, made from lentils and plain rice, is similar to the modern preparation of the same name. Modern uses of rice which may not go back earlier than the 8th/14th century include rice presented alone as an accompaniment to other dishes and as a filling for vegetables such as courgettes and the leaves of the cabbage and vine.


Ruzzik did not have time properly to put into practice his reforms since he could not make firm his own power. Talai b. Ruzzik, on his death bed, had warned his son against the danger posed by the amir al-dajakh Abu Shudja al-Salih al-Salih Fars al-Islam, governor of the Sarid or Upper Egypt, and had advised him not to provoke him unnecessarily. However, Ruzzik wished to replace him at Kus [q.v.] by the amir Nasir al-Din Shyakh al-Dawla Ibn al-Rifa. Shyakh then marched on Cairo with his troops; repulsed towards the Delta, the Qa`idi returned back to Taradja, to the west of the Delta, and finally occupied Cairo in Muharram 558/January 1163. Ruzzik fled to one of the intimates of his sister, the wife of the caliph al-`Adid, Sulayman, Ya`kub or Munil b. al-Fayd, al-Bid, or of al-Nays al-Lakhmi, possibly a Christian, who betrayed him and handed him over to Tavyy b. Shyakh. The latter killed him in Ramadan 558/August 1163, putting an end to the attempts of this family, of Armenian origin, to assume supreme power in Egypt (its ancestor Ruzzik had arrived in Egypt with Badr al-Djamal [q.v.]). As a convert to Twelver Shi`a he had been fiercely anti-Sunni, and his son followed him in this.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources mentioning Ruzzik are numerous but jejun and repetitive. See, above all, Ulumara al-Yamani, K. al-Nakat al-musulmia fi was/or, ed. K. al-Mamari, Beirut 1909, 67-90; Ibn Zahir, Akhbar al-duwal al-munkari`a, ed. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 111-13, with rich annotation and bibl.; Makrini, Iltisas al-hunafa`, iii, 242-63 and index. Further information on this vizierate and on the sources in Ayman Fuad Sayyid, al-Dawla al-fatimiyya fi Misr, tafsir qadiid, Cairo 1413/1992, notes, 219-21. See also Ibn al-
Rzewuski, (Count) Wenceslas Severin (1785-1831), the son of a Hetman or supreme general of Poland.

Born at Lemberg (Lvov), he was eight years old at the time of the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. Deeply moved by the dismemberment of his native land, Wenceslaus later voluntarily exiled himself to Austria and chose Vienna for his home. He established friendly relations with the Viennese aristocracy and the French emigres, and it was in this Franco-Germanic milieu that the young Rzewuski was brought up. Under the influence of his uncle, Jan Potocki, he early acquired a great love for the Orient and avidly studied oriental languages. Together with the famous orientalist Josef von Hammer, he began in 1809 the publication of a periodical, Die Fundgruben der Orients "Treasures of the East".

Also, whilst applying himself to the study of Arabic, he set up his own stud farm, having conceived the extravagant idea of improving the European horse breeds by bringing in new blood from the Arabian desert. A journey to the East was now vital for him. In 1817, having made various preparations, he set out for Istanbul in order to realise his plan. His journey took two years and had no element of the merely pleasant jaunt. He explored Turkey and Syria, went into the mountains of Nadji; ploughed through the desert with Bedouin tribes who proclaimed him amir, joined up with, in their company, the escort providing the safety of the Pilgrimage Caravan and thus was able—although a non-Muslim—to get into Mecca, whose site and the rites there he describes briefly; had a long stay with Lady Hester Stanhope; took part, against his better judgement, in the rising at Aleppo of 1819; and returned to Europe with 140 horses chosen from amongst the best of the Nadji stock.

Once back home, he wrote in 1822 a work in two volumes, totaling some 800 pages, Sur les chevaux orientaux et provenants (sic) de races orientales. Vol. I is devoted to the Bedouins, their natural habitat, their customs and their tribes. It is thus a lively and vivid travel narrative, rich in anecdotes and descriptions of all kinds. Everything goes past in review: towns, notably Aleppo and Damascus, the countryside, the desert, famous historical sites (Palmyra, Baalbek), the Caravan to Mecca, eminent personalities (Lady Hester Stanhope and the explorer Ali Bey, whose last moments he describes, dying, he affirms, in the Christian faith) and the main events, especially the great revolt at Aleppo, whose course is recorded day by day.


(J. Chelmow)
breakdown that 'Ridwān undertook to repair. Moreover, 'Ridwān himself was not an engineer and his description, though containing some valuable information, omits to deal with some important constructional details.

Al-Dżazari's two clocks, on the other hand, were manufactured and constructed in a very workmanlike manner. Although very similar in principle to al-Sā'āti's, they did not incorporate any design defects. The first and larger of the two was described in such careful detail that it was possible to construct a full-size working facsimile from al-Dżazari's instructions and illustrations for the World of Islam Festival, in the South Kensington Science Museum, London, in 1976.

The working face of the clock consisted of a screen of bronze or wood about 225 cm high by 135 cm wide, set in the front wall of a roofless wooden house which contained the machinery. At the top of the screen was a Zodiac circle about 120 cm in diameter, its rim divided into the twelve 'signs'. It rotated at constant speed throughout the day. Below this circle were the time-signalling automata which were activated at each hour. (The clock worked on 'unequal' hours, i.e. the hours of daylight or darkness were divided by twelve to give hours that vary in length from day to day.) These included doors that opened, falcons that dropped balls on to cymbals and the figures of five musicians—two drummers, two trumpeters and a cymbalist. The musicians were operated by the discharge of water from an orifice, whereas all the other automata were operated by a heavy float that descended at constant speed in a reservoir. A cord tied to a ring at the top of the float led to a system of pulleys that activated various tripping mechanisms.

The speed of descent of the float was controlled by very ingenious water machinery that included a feedback control system and a flow regulator, the latter for varying the rate of discharge daily in order to produce the 'unequal' hours. The same system was used by 'Ridwān, and both writers attribute its invention to Archimedes. There is a treatise that exists only in Arabic and is attributed to Archimedes (On the construction of water-clocks, ed. and tr. D.R. Hill, London 1976). The treatise almost certainly contains Hellenistic, Byzantine and Islamic material, but its first two chapters, dealing with automata invented by Archimedes, are essentially the same as that used by 'Ridwān and al-Dżazari. There is every likelihood that these chapters were indeed the work of Archimedes.

Al-Dżazari's book also contains descriptions of four other water-clocks, two of which embody the principle of the closed-loop, and four candle-clocks which on a small scale are as impressive from an engineering point of view as the water-clocks.

Other Arabic works add to our knowledge of Islamic hydraulic timekeeping. A certain Ibn Djālab or Ibn Khālaf al-Murādī worked in al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century (D.R. Hill, Arabic water-clocks, Aleppo 1981, 36-46). Unfortunately, the unique manuscript of his treatise on machines is badly defaced, but it is possible to determine the essential details of the automata and water-clocks that are described in it. Other important features that they incorporate are complex gear-trains, which include segmental gears (i.e. gears in which one of the wheels has teeth on only part of its perimeter, a device that makes intermittent action possible).

Al-Khāzmī's justly famous book on physics, Kitāb Mīzān al-hikma (ed. Hāshim al-Nadwa, Haydarābād 1940) was completed in 515/1121-2. In the eighth treatise, two steeple-clepsydras are described. On the short arm of the beam was a vessel that discharged water at constant speed from a narrow orifice. Two sliding weights were suspended to the long arm, which was graduated into scales. At a given moment, the weights could be moved to bring the beam into balance and the time could then be read off from the scales (Hill, Arabic water-clocks, 47-62).

In 1276-7 a work entitled Libros del saber de astronomía was produced in Castilian under the sponsorship of Alfonso X of Castile (5 vols., ed. M. Rico y Sinobas, Madrid 1865). This consists of various works that are either translations or paraphrases of Arabic originals. It included five timepieces, one of which is of significance in the history of horology. This consisted of a large drum made of walnut or jujube wood tightly assembled and sealed with wax or resin. The interior of the drum was divided into twelve compartments, with small holes between the compartments through which mercury flowed. Enough mercury was enclosed to fill just half the compartments. The drum was mounted on the same axle as a large wheel powered by a weight-drive wound around the wheel. Also on the axle was a pinion with six teeth that meshed with 36 oaken teeth on the rim of an astrolabe dial. The mercury drum and pinion made a complete revolution every four hours, and the astrolabe dial made a complete revolution in 24 hours. This type of timepiece had been known in Islam since the 5th/11th century—at least 200 years before the first appearance of weight-driven clocks in the West (S.A. Bedini, The compartmented cylindrical clepsydra, in Technology ad Culture, iii [1963], 115-41).

The mechanical clock was invented in western Europe towards the end of the 13th century. Almost certainly its inventor came from the ranks of the makers of water-clocks. The verge escapement made the mechanical clock possible, but all its other features—weight-drive, automata, gear-trains and segmental gears—were present in Islamic water-clocks. It is highly probable that these ideas were transmitted from Islam to the European makers of water-clocks. An Islamic influence on the genesis of the mechanical clock may therefore be postulated.

Several of Taṭā' al-Dīn's writings are concerned with timekeeping, and one of these, The brightest star for the construction of mechanical clocks, written about 973/1565, contains many ideas that are essentially the same as that used by 'Ridwān and al-Dżazari. There is every likelihood that these chapters were indeed the work of Archimedes.

The clocks in the Ottoman Empire... (Ankara 1966). In this he described the construction of a weight-driven clock with verge-and-foliot escapement, a striking train of gears, an alarm and a representation of the moon's phases. He also described the manufacture of a spring-driven clock with a fusee escapement. He mentions several mechanisms invented by himself, including, for example, a new system for the striking train of a clock. He is known to have constructed an observatory clock and mentions elsewhere in his writings the use of the pocket watch in Turkey. Taṭā' al-Dīn's descriptions are lucid, with clear illustrations, showing that he had mastered the art of horology. Clockmaking did not, however, become a viable indigenous industry, and Turkey was soon being supplied with cheap clocks from Europe, especially after the invention of the fusee escapement. The low price of these European clocks, which entered Turkey, he said, from Holland, France, Hungary and Germany.

mechanical devices, Dordrecht 1974. Further bibliography given in the text. (D.R. Hill)

3. In eschatology, *Sā'a* ("the Hour") is one of the most notable concepts of Kur'ānic eschatology, for which numerous parallels can be detected in Judaism and Christianity. *Sā'a* indicates throughout the scripture the time of the resurrection (XXII, 7) and of the Last Judgement (XXII, 55-7) [see *bā'th; riyāma*]. When the *Sā'a* comes, people will meet Allah carrying their sins with them (VI, 31). Each soul will be given the reward due for its works ("XX: 15"); the believers will enter Paradise, whereas the idolaters will not be saved by their gods (XXX, 12-16). Those who disbelieve deny the *Sā'a* (e.g. XXXIV, 3). The *Sā'a* is inevitable (XL, 59), and expected to occur suddenly (XLVII, 18; XIII, 66), and within a short time (e.g. XVI, 77; LIV, 1; XII, 17; XXXIII, 63). It will be swift (LXXIX, 42-6). Its exact time is, however, known to Allah alone (XIII, 85).

The materialisation of the *Kur'ānic Sā'a* will be preceded by a cataclysmic catastrophe. The moon will be split (LIV, 1), the earth will quake, and the people will be terrifed (XXII, 1-2). The preceding signs (ṣahrū) of the *Sā'a* are already manifest (XLVII, 18). The *Sā'a* is already heavy in the heavens and in the earth (VII, 187).

In post- *Kur'ānic hadāth*, the portents of the *Hour* became the subject of numerous traditions in which they were described as natural disasters. The sun will rise from the west (al-Bukhārī, Sahīh, 81 [Rīkāk], 40), a "fire" [i.e. volcanic eruption] will thrust the people from the East to the West (Bukhārī, 92 [Fītān]), or will burst out in the Hījāz, and illuminate the necks of the camels in Syria (Muslim, 52 [Fītān]). Entire tribes will be swallowed up (kha'af; cf. Kur'ān LXVII, 16) by the earth (e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Musnad, Cairo 1313/1895, iii, 483, v, 31).

The statements about the portents of the *Sā'a* are usually traced back to the Prophet himself; his knowledge about the coming events is taken to demonstrate his prophetic capability, for which reason the traditions containing his apocalyptic utterances concerning the *Sā'a* sometimes appear in chapters about his miracles (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 61 [Manākbī], 25).

The most typical structure of Muhammad's apocalyptic utterances was: "The Hour will not come, until..."—*lā tak'amū l-sā'a hatta...* (for a thorough survey of the various traditions of this type, see Ibn Haḍjar al-Asqalānī, Fāth al-bārī, sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī, Būlāk 1310/1892, repr. Beirut n.d., xiii, 72 f.).

Several traditions of the Prophet comply with the Kur'ānic tenet that the time of the Hour is known to Allah alone (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 2 [Imām], 37). But other traditions stress that it is near at hand, and that Muhammad was sent as a prophet at a distance of one or two fingers away from it (e.g. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), Musnad, ed. al-Sāmarrāʾī, Riyaḍ 1987, no. 87). Sometimes a specific date was indicated for the *Hour* (e.g. at the turn of a century). After the date had elapsed while nothing happened, the traditions had to be reinterpreted, and new traditions shifting the end to a later date were put into circulation (see S. Bashear, *Muslim apocalypses and the Hour: a case-study in traditional reinterpretation*, in IOS, xiii [1993], 75-99).

The eschatological chaos which was to antedate the *Sā'a* did not remain limited to natural disasters, but was also expanded in Muslim tradition to human society. Many traditions are based on the conviction that the *Sā'a* will come when the orders of cultural and social structures are turned upside down; nomads will construct high buildings, masters will be born to slave-girls, the poor and naked will become leaders, etc. (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 2 [Imām], 37; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 27, 51-2, 319). Religious and moral degeneration was turned into the most characteristic symptoms of the *Hour*: Knowledge will vanish, ignorance will prevail, fornication will become routine, and wine drinking will spread (*ibid.*, iii, 151). Spiritual values will give way to showy ambitions. The *Hour* will not come, says a tradition, till people start competing with each other in (erecting grandiose) mosques (e.g. Ibn Mājdā, 4 [Musnad], 2). These signs of religious degeneration antedating the *Hour* are such that the Arab tribes will revert to the idolatry of the Dāhiliyya (al-Bukhārī, 92 [Fītān], 23), and that the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba will be renounced (*ibid.*, 25 [Hadīth], 47). The delay of the Muslims before the *Hour* will eliminate the distinction between them and their non-Muslim predecessors. A tradition of the Prophet states that the *Hour* will not come until his community starts following in the footsteps of the previous communities (*ibid.*, 96 [Fītān], 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 325, 336, 367).

Other traditions focus on specific Islamic groups whose decline is said to indicate the impending *Sā'a*. A tradition says that the *Hour* will not occur as long as one Companion of Muhammad is still alive (*ibid.*, i, 89, 93). Another tradition says that one of the portents of the *Hour* is the perdition of the Arabs (al-Tirmīṇī, 46 [Manākbī], 60). Some traditions stress that, like many other topics, that of the *Sā'a* was, too, used for advertising the virtues (fāḍā'ī) of various groups and factions within the Islamic community.

The great bulk of the traditions about the *Sā'a* are recorded in the *hadīth* compilations in the sections entitled *Fītān* (sometimes also called *Malāḥim* [q.v.]), i.e. tribulations, civil strife and wars which started since the murder of ʿUkṣār in (erecting the earliest *hadīth* compilations. In the *Dāmī* of Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770) (preserved in the *Musannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāk (d. 211/827), *x*-xi, ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-Aʿẓāmī, Beirut 1970), a tradition is recorded in which ten symptoms of the *Hour* are counted (*Abd al-Razzāk, xi, no. 20792). Some of them reflect Kur'ānic imagery. The signs are: Three instances of people being swallowed up in the ground; the emergence of the Dādžīl; the Descent of ʿĪsā; and his clash with the Dādžīl appear amongst the portents of the *Hour* in the earliest *hadīth* compilations. In the *Dāmī* of Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770) (preserved in the *Musannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāk (d. 211/827), *x*-xi, ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-Aʿẓāmī, Beirut 1970), a tradition is recorded in which ten symptoms of the *Hour* are counted (*Abd al-Razzāk, xi, no. 20792). Some of them reflect Kur'ānic imagery. The signs are: Three instances of people being swallowed up in the ground; the emergence of the Dādžīl; the Descent of ʿĪsā; and his clash with the Dādžīl (Gog and Magog; see Kur'ān, XXVI, 82); the Smoke (*Dūkān*; see Kur'ān, XLIV, 10); the breaking loose of Yādūjūd and Māṣūdī (Gog and Magog; see Kur'ān, XXI, 96-7); a chilly wind which will take away the soul of every believer; and the rising of the sun from the west. Historical enemies of the Muslims were turned into
the evil party of the eschatological wars. In the early Sahifa of Hammam b. Munabbih (d. 132/749), they are the Turks. Battles with various Turkish tribes are said to mark the approaching Hour (Hammam b. Munabbih, Sahifa, ed. Rifat Fawzi 'Abd al-Mu'taibb, Cairo 1985, no. 126). In the Dāmīt of Ma'mar b. Rāqib, the Rūm, i.e. the Byzantines, appear as the eschatological rivals. The traditions about them reflect the greatest military ambition ever nurtured by the Muslims, namely the conquest of Constantinople [see Ḳustanṭīnya]. At the same time, they also reveal the Muslim apprehensions of the grand military eschatological context. It is stated in 'Abd al-Razzāk (xi, no. 20812) that the Hour shall only come when the battle with the Byzantines breaks out. During the battle, Constantinople will fall, the Dādīḏāl will appear and the Muslims will die fighting him. But according to other traditions, the Dādīḏāl will soon be defeated by 'Īsā (Ibn Hibban, xv, no. 681). See also W. Madelung, Apocalyptic prophesies in Hijms in the Umayyad age, JSS, xxxi (1986), 158 f.

In a tradition appearing in other hadith compilations (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 58 [Qiyṣa], 15), the anticipated combat with the Byzantines is again set in an eschatological context, but this time, it is not the much-desired fall of Constantinople which is predicted but rather a massive Byzantine attack of which the Muslims seem to have been worried at the time when the tradition was first prompted. This attack is the last of six events which, according to Muhammad's prophesy, will precede the Hour (for a detailed analysis of this tradition, see Conrad, art. cit.). The first five are well known from Islamic history: Muhammad's own death; the conquest of Jerusalem; a frightful epidemic (interpreted by Muslim commentators as the plague of 'Amwās [q.v.] in 'Umar's days); abundance of wealth with which no one will be satisfied any longer (said to refer to spoils coming in from the occupied lands in the days of 'Uthmān); a devastating fīna (explained as the events which took place following the murder of 'Uthmān). The sixth sign is a truce with the Byzantines, which the latter will soon violate and then attack the Muslims with a mighty army. According to Muslim commentators, only the latter event is yet to come (see Ibn Abi Shayba, Fath al-bāri, vi, 30).

In less prevalent traditions, the expected eschatological wars include battles against other historical enemies of Islam, namely the Jews. Muslim tradition had turned them into the supporters of the Dādīḏāl. It is related that when the Hour occurs, inanimate objects will be able to talk, and each stone will surrender to the Muslims the Jew who hides behind it (e.g. al-Bukhārī, 56 [Dhikr], 94; Muslim, 52 [Fitan]; Ibn Hibban, ii, 398, 417, 330).

The messianic expectations for salvation following the eschatological wars were not only focused on the Descent of 'Īsā who would defeat the Dādīḏāl, but also on the appearance of the Mahdi [q.v.]. His exact identity was disputed between various political groups, and their disparate pretensions are often reflected in the traditions, including those referring to the Hour. For one group, it was the Mahdi who would not occur until a man from Muhammad's family comes and fills the earth with justice (e.g. ibid., iii, 17, 36). A more specific tradition attributes to Muhammad the statement that the man's name will coincide with that of the Prophet (ibid., i, 376). Such statements could confirm the claims of the Ḳalīds, who anticipated a Mahdi of Muhammad's family. But other groups expected their own Mahdi. Muslims of Yamani descent awaited the emergence of a South Arabian ("Ḳaḥṭān"); i.e. non-Kurāshī, leader, whose chief achievement would be the conquest of Constantinople (see Madelung, Apocalyptic prophesies, 149 f.)

Some identified him with the prophet Shu'ayb b. Sālih (Ibn Hadżār, Fath al-bāri, xii, 67-8).

Such expectations triggered off the reaction of those who believed that leadership should only be invested with members of Kurāsh. The latter included the predicted advent of the Kaḥṭān among the ominous portents of the Ša'ī'a. A tradition stating that the Hour will not come until the Kaḥṭān leads the people was recorded by al-Bukhārī under the derogatory heading (92 [Fitan], 23: "The change of time till idols are worshipped"). In other traditions with the same statement about the Kaḥṭān, the hopes for the conquest of Constantinople are scorned (‘Abd al-Razzāk, xi, no. 20816). Another tradition of the Prophet predicts the advent of a man from the masu‘ili whose name is Dādīḏāl; he will lead the people at the end of days (al-Tirmidhl, 31 [Fitan], 5; Ibn Hanbal, ii, 329).

Some Muslim scholars identified him with the Kaḥṭān (Ibn Hadżār, Fath al-bāri, vi, 397).


already indicate that mankind, because of divine predestination, is divided into “happy” inhabitants of Paradise and “unhappy” dwellers in Hell. However, the impact of predestination is mitigated by utterances according to which an active effort of the human being is required. Next to human acceptance (rida [q.v.]) of what God has predestined, Musnad, i, 168, 26–7, also mentions the prayer to God for obtaining what is good (istikhra [q.v.]) as a characteristic of sa’dá.

Under the influence of various classical doctrines (especially those of Platonic political philosophy, of Aristotelian ethics, of Neo-Platonism, and partly also of Islamic mysticism, the possibility for a human being to strive after sa’dá is often described in Islamic philosophy as the pursuit of “assimilation to God” (ismawiyya, Plato, Theaet., 176 B), of nearness to God, and of knowledge of God through a virtuous life. At the beginning of Islamic philosophy, this interpretation is found in al-Kindî’s works. His Risâla fi hududi al-asrâb wa-rumûldh (ed. Abû Ridâ, Rasâ’il, i, 177 ff. = Cinq épîtres, 37 ff.), his utterances transmitted in the Munâqshah Siwâan al-hikmâ of Abû Sulyâmân al-Sijîstânî (ed. Dunlop, §§ 246–8), his Risâla fi alifis Subrât (ed. Fâkhry, Dirâsât, 45–60), his Risâla fi Ahlabeides wa-Sukrdt (cf. Atiyeh, 123 ff., Alon, 131 ff.; Butterworth, in Political aspects, 32 ff.) and his Risâla fi ‘ilâs fi-duf al-ahzân (ed. Walzer-Ritter, 1958), which goes back to a lost Hellenistic treatise, describe a concept of virtue which is inspired by the Platonic cardinal virtues. Socrates is named as the ideal of moderation and of spiritual values, which are superior to worldly possessions. The person who turns his attention to intelligibles, and who in his doings keeps to the virtues, will “not be unhappy (shakîy)” in the hereafter, will be near to his Creator and will know Him (Munâqshah, § 248, Eng. tr. Atiyeh 1966, 225). This image of Socrates was adopted, with some modifications, by Abû Bakr al-Râzî [q.v.] in his al-Sina al-falsafyya (ed. Kraus, Rasâ’il, 99 ff.; tr. Arberry, Aspects, 120 ff.; cf. Walker in Political aspects, 77 ff.).

The person who leads a moderate life and who, as far as possible, restrains his passions, “assimilates himself to God as far as possible” (Rasâ’il, ed. Kraus, 108, 8 ff.). In his Maktaba fi amûrad al-iskab wa-l-tawwâl (“political success”), Abû Bakr al-Râzî expresses this as follows (Rasâ’il, ed. Kraus, 145): “progress (tanaqqul) and knowledge (‘ilm) belong to the symptoms of ‘happiness’ (ikbâl) and indicate that a person ‘is attentive to happiness’ (tawakkul sa’da laha).” Knowledge and justice are named as the main aims of the human being.

This ideal of virtue was adopted by Abu Bakr’s opponent, the Ismâ‘îlî Abû Hâtim al-Râzî [q.v.], with one alteration: the bearer par excellence of the Platonic cardinal virtues and of the Aristotelian principle of the golden centre is the Prophet Muhammad, who possesses knowledge revealed by God. He who follows him and does not rely upon his own intuition, is able to understand the religious laws and can be sure of salvation (nâdîs) (Abû Hâtim, A’dâm, ed. Al-Sawy, 77 ff., esp. 110, 9 ff.; cf. Daiber, 1989).

The high appreciation of reason as the guideline for a practical philosophy, understood as ethics in the first place and as a practical philosophy of philosophers mentioned so far, and culminates in al-Fârâbî’s [q.v.] thesis of the ideal sovereign as philosopher and prophet (cf. Daiber, Ruler). His knowledge, inspired by the divine active intellect, enables him to govern the Ideal State by ordering religious laws. Religion appears as the imitating picture (“imitation”) and the “instrument” of philosophy, which is essentially understood here as practical philosophy and as ethics of the individual person in the State. In this way, philosophy, thus understood, realises itself through religion and becomes an ethical insight into “what is good and evil in the actions usually performed by human beings” (al-Farabi, Mahabîd, ed. Walzer, 204, 1–2). As was the case with Aristotle (Nicomachean Ethics, 1144a, 5–6), philosophy is not exclusively “scientific perception” or theoretical philosophy; rather, it provides a human being with an ultimate degree of happiness (al-sa’dá al-kayd = eudaimonia; cf. Daiber, Prophete, 733–4; Shahjahân) with the help of the above-mentioned ethical insight, i.e., practical philosophy. When al-Fârâbî speaks of “political happiness” (see Galston, in Political aspects, 100 ff.), he has in mind the Aristotelian concept of the human being as θω̑ν πολιτικῶν (Politics, 1253a, 2), who needs the help of his fellow-citizen in an Ideal State, governed by a philosopher who possesses prophetic knowledge.

This “political happiness” is reflected in the practical aspect of al-Fârâbî’s concept of sa’dá. It is part of the ultimate happiness, namely that of the hereafter: the human being can reach this when his soul liberates itself from its corporeal existence, actualises its potential intellect and arrives at the level of the active intellect. But happiness, in its complete form, is at the same time practical perfection. For practical philosophy, on the one hand, shows the way to theoretical perfection, to contemplation; on the other, theoretical perfection is the signpost towards practical philosophy, the ethical insight into the Perfect State. The latter’s sovereign, the prophet-philosopher, transmits it to his subjects, the state’s citizens, in the form of religious laws, religion being the sum total of these laws.

In this way, theoretical philosophy develops into practical-ethical perfection through practical philosophy and through religion that is, through the guidance of religious prescriptions, transmitted by the philosopher-prophet. At the same time, practical-ethical perfection in the Ideal State, in society, is the prerequisite for theoretical perfection, i.e., contemplation. The theoretical and practical aspects of knowledge, of moral-ethical insight respectively, are thus inseparably united in al-Fârâbî’s concept of sa’dá.

This link between ethics and knowledge is also found in the Epîstles (Rasâ’il) of the Ikhwân al-Sa’fâ [q.v.], possibly composed in A.D. 959–60. Their political philosophy betrays the influence of al-Fârâbî (Enayat; Abouzeid), but they accentuate more strongly the Neo-Platonic elements and are eschatologically inspired. Through “purification” of his soul and reform of his character, the human being acquires increasing knowledge of “intelligibles” (al-umûr al-‘âkhlîyâ), for it is only knowledge (ma’âﬁa) of God which leads to ultimate happiness and to salvation in the hereafter (Rasâ’il, iii, 241, 322–3; tr. and comm. Diwald, 203 ff., 419 ff.). For this, a human being needs as a preliminary step the fraternal society, a society which is aware of its solidarity in being obedient to the divine law (nâmûs [q.v.]), and jointly pursues “the good of the religion and of the world” (sa’dâ al-dîn wa-l-dunyâ) (Rasâ’il, i, 225).
tion (al-kamāl al-khulqī) (Tahdhib, 72, 10 ff.). For the individual in society, he thus offers ethics which are inspired by the Platonic-Aristotelian doctrine of virtues (Fakhrī, 1991, 107 ff.). Just and virtuous acts and increasing knowledge of the “spiritual things” (Tahdhib, 83 at the end) purify the soul of the “physical things” (al-umur al-tabfayya; see Tahdhib, 91, 18; cf. Plotinus, Enn. I, 6), lead to “tranquility of the heart” (Tahdhib, 40, 5) and to “nearness to God” (dwarr rabb al-dālim; see Tahdhib, 15, at the end). This is the state of perfect knowledge and of wisdom, in which the human being resembles the divine first principle, the divine intellect (Tahdhib, 88-9). Miskawayh called it the ultimate happiness, which is preceded by several preliminary steps (saʿādāt) (Miskawayh, al-Saʿadda; Ansari 1963; Fakhrī, 1991, 121 f.).

Among the Islamic thinkers who followed Miskawayh’s ethics (Fakhrī, 131 ff.), mention may be made here of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.]. In his Kitāb al-Dhārur wa taḥdībat al-ṣayyara’s he offers an original adaptation of Greek ethics as it was known to him through al-Fārābī, Miskawayh and the Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Safāʾ, to the statements of the Kur’ān (Daiber, Griechische Ethik). He replaces Miskawayh’s Platonic-Neoplatonic concept of the assimilation to God by the Kur’ānic concept of khilāfū (sūra II, 30, VI, 165). As the “representative” (khālid) of God in this world, the human being imitates God as much as he is able to, by following the ḥaḍāt and by concerning himself about his sustenance on this earth (cf. sūra XI, 61/64: istamanakum). Thus a human being acquires happiness in this world, which, as in Miskawayh, is a preliminary to the “real happiness” in the hereafter (al-Dhārur, 128, 4 ff.; cf. Taṣfīl al-nasīhāt). In his Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī’s ethics, by which al-Ghazālī [q.v.] was deeply impressed, a mystical tendency can be detected which was already visible in the Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Safāʾ and in Miskawayh’s work. There is not so much concern about the role of the individual in society, but rather about striving after the happiness lying in the knowledge of, and the nearness to, God, which is a happiness of the hereafter. This corresponds to the Neoplatonic ḥudāmat al-dīn, that ideal of the philosopher who withdraws from society (cf. Kraemer 1986, 128).

In accordance with this view, the prophet, for Ibn Sinā, is a Sūfī who preaches the divine laws as a way to the mystical path, to the liberation of the soul from the body, to its intellectual perfection, and to the vision of God (Ibn Sinā, Risāla fi l-saʿāda; Ansari 1962-3, E.I.J. Rosenthal, 144 ff.). But for Ibn Sinā too, life in society remains an indispensable preliminary to happiness in the hereafter. Obedience to the lawgiver, to the prophet, is postulate, as is the fulfillment of duties towards God and towards the fellow man. According to Ibn Sinā’s view, which is clearly associated with that of al-Fārābī, the sovereign, who is a prophet and a Sūfī, unites in his person practical and theoretical wisdom (Morris, in Political aspects, 153 ff.). This union creates happiness (al-ṣāḥīh; al-ḥādīth, ii, 455, 14), but is also a postulate for the sovereign, who preaches the law with the laws with the sovereign’s qualities.

It was the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Bādīdā and, above all, his younger contemporary Ibn Ṭufayl [q.v.], who drew the final conclusion from the increasingly mystical-Neoplatonic orientation of the saʿāda concept. Society is no longer a postulate for the individual to strive after happiness. On the contrary, it is only the isolated philosopher (al-mutawāhid), the Sūfī, who, withdrawing from society, obtains ultimate happiness through his self-government (taḍābir) and his vision of the truth (Altmann, Daiber, Autonomie, 242 ff.; Harvey, in Political aspects, 199 ff.). For him, it is possible to achieve a mystical ascent to higher forms of knowledge, namely by liberating the soul from the matter and by the union (itiṣāf) with the divine active intellect, which is an emanation from God. Society is only a place to meet (līqla, līṭhākh), which may be useful for the individual and may stimulate his emulation in striving after intellectual perfection. In opposition to Plato’s view, the citizen no longer serves society; at best, society can stimulate the individual in his striving after happiness, to be found in intellectual perfection.

In his philosophical novel Ḥāyy Ibn Yākūz, Ibn Ṭufayl (cf. Fradkin, in Political aspects, 234 ff.) consequently developed the thesis that the individual’s philosophy and society’s religion are not contradictory, but do not support each other either. Ibn Ṭufayl’s compatriot Ibn Ruḫd, who was twenty years his junior did not share with him this radical running-away from al-Fārābī (Daiber, Autonomie, 246-7). In his Epistle on the possibility of conjunction with the active intellect, he declares that in this life, too, it is possible to strive after happiness as long as this is not hampered by society. For this, theoretical study should be combined with acts (tr. Bland, 108-9). The aim of such a striving is the immortality of the soul, which is achieved when the soul increasingly unites its acquired knowledge with the active intellect. This union, which is the most perfect form of human cognition, is possible because the active intellect is the form of the intellectus materials, which in its turn is the form of the soul, i.e. its eternal potentiality. It is not only remarkable that Ibn Ruḫd denies (against al-Ghazālī) the individual immortality, deriving this denial from the union of the soul with the eternal form of the active intellect, much more important is his conclusion that striving after philosophical knowledge, i.e. after happiness, is not a duty of individuals or of individual states, but a task of mankind. This philosophical knowledge is the most perfect form of the universal human knowledge of religious truth which is reflected in the ḥaḍāt. Accordingly, the Ideal State, i.e. the Philosophical State, comprises all mankind; the best Islamic State, a State which only existed during the period of the first two caliphs, is at best an imitation of such a Philosophical State.

Ibn Khālīdūn [q.v.], the last great Islamic thinker, incorporated into his philosophy of history Ibn Ruḫd’s universalistic opinion, as well as al-Fārābī’s and Ibn Sinā’s doctrines (Mahdī, 1957). He put new accents and, by introducing the term waḥībīya [q.v.], he gave a new significance to the concept of society. The polis, the state, is dispensable for the entire human society, for its progress (Mukaddima, iii, 54 at the end: islāḥ al-bāḥr) and for its preservation. In his philosophy, which he preaches to mankind in the form of “political laws” (abdāmak al-siyāṣa), the sovereign of the Ideal State, the prophetic lawgiver, deals with the well-being of the world (masālik al-dunya) and with the “salvation” of mankind “in the hereafter” (salāḥ ad-dīn) (Mukaddima, i, 343). Philosophy, understood as ethical and political, as the task of the society of the state, are seen here as indispensable materials for the well-being of all mankind in this world and for their happiness (saʿāda: Mukaddima, i, 343, 4) in the hereafter.

ADAT ALI KHAN. Nawab of Awadh or Oudh (regn. 1798-1814).

His brother Aṣaf al-Dawla had died in September 1797, but after a four months' interim, Aṣaf al-Dawla's putative son Wazar ʿAli Khān was set aside and the British governor-General Sir John Shore installed in his place ʿAli Khān, who had been living under British protection in Benares since 1776. His reign is noteworthy for the extension of British control over the Oudh territories. A treaty concluded with the late Nawab in 1775 had placed these territories under the protection of the East India Company, which undertook to provide troops for their defence in return for an annual subsidy; in 1798, a new arrangement was made with the late Nawab in 1775 had placed these territo-


threatened his person, Saʿadat ʿAli Khan was at first eager for this reform, but afterwards refused his consent and also refused to abdicate, and only in 1801 yielded to pressure and signed the Treaty of Lucknow; this relieved him from all pecuniary obligations to the Company, by the cession of six districts yielding a revenue equal to the cost of the Company's troops, and the Nawab undertook to introduce into his territories a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to check the ruin that threatened the resources of his country. Thus Wellesley's fears that the buffer state of Oudh might become too powerful were unfounded, in particular from the ruler of Afghanistan Zaman Šāh (who had already invaded the Pandjāb in 1797) in alliance with the Rohilla [q.v.] Afghans, were set at rest. With the cession of the western part of Oudh and its lands along the Ganges and Diamānā rivers, only a rump of the state remained until its complete annexation in 1856. Europeans already controlled much of Oudh's economy by the early 19th century, especially the textile trade in fine cloths and raw cotton, and this commercial control now increased.

Saʿadat ʿAli Khan's reign was an Indian summer of the Mughal culture of Hindīstān, with Lucknow especially florishing as a centre of ʿShīʿī culture [see LĀJHANA]. Saʿadat ʿAli Khan died in 1814 and was succeeded by his second son ʿAlī al-Dīn Haydar, who subsequently became the first king of Oudh [see AWADH].


SAʿADDĀY BEN YOŚĒF, Saʿid (Ani) Yaʿqūb ʿUyūn al-Fakūmī (269/331/882-942), Jewish theologian, philosopher and philologist who wrote in Arabic, considered through his independence and breadth as the initiator of several Jewish intellectual disciplines, and a pioneer in Jewish intellectual disciplines, posed challenges, to which the creative genius of Saʿid was able to respond. Stopping up the breaches, he consolidated Rabbinical Judaism's authority, faced as it was with the twin threats of schismatic movements, in part inspired by Islamic heriesis, and of Muslim polemics. According to Maimonides, "If it had not been for Saʿadyā, the divine religion might well have almost disappeared, for he made clear its mysteries and strengthened its weak points by spreading it and supporting it by his word and pen" (Epistle to the Yemen, ed. A. Halkin, New York 1952, 64). In 316/928, despite his non-Babylonian origin, he was nominated as Gaʿon or Chief Scholar of the academy at Sura (though not by the name by which he is best known), and under his direction, this institution enjoyed a remarkable renaissance.

Through political intrigues in which the caliph al-Kāhir had to intervene, Saʿid Gaʿon was deposited in 320/932, but was restored in 327/938 and functioning in the office till his death in 331/942. During the interim years of isolation, he had devoted himself to his literary work.

2. Works

H. Malter, Saʿid's biographer, listed over 200 titles, covering almost all the domains of learning cultivated at that time, such as exegesis, philosophy, philology, law, liturgy, polemics and chronology. In the legal sphere, Saʿid was the first Jewish author to have composed his decisions in Arabic. He made the first attempts at codification, in the form of monographs whose structure is clearly inspired by the model of the Islamic fatwā.

His main work in philosophy, and the first systematic attempt at a synthesis between the philosophy of kalām and Jewish dogmas, was the K. al-ʿĀmānāt wa ʿl-ʿīrahādd (ed. in Arabic script S. Landauer, Leiden 1880, in Hebrew script, ed. Y. Kaff, Jerusalem 1970, Eng. tr. S. Rosenblatt, The Book of beliefs and opinions, New Haven 1948), written in 322/933. It had a deep influence on Jewish thought, also written at this time, only fragments exist. In the course of his period of education, he addressed to Ḩāšā b. Sulaymān al-ʿIṣāfī (d. ca. 344/955) at Kayrawān, a physician at the Aḥghāzī court, a philosophical correspondence which did not, it seems, meet with the approval of this Neoplatonist. In 303/915, he put together his defence of Rabbinical Judaism against the Karaites [q.v.], very numerous in Egypt.

In this same year, Saʿid left for Palestine, where, according to al-Masʿūdī (Tanbih, 113), he perfected his educational and literary efforts at Abū ʿAbd Allāh the Kāhir (d. 320/933). The latter is also mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm in his K. al-Fisal wa ʿl-nihāl, iii, 171, as being, together with David al-Mukammis and Saʿid himself, one of the mutakallimān of the Jews. In 309/921, very likely with the aim of getting to know the great Jewish academies of Mesopotamia, Saʿid left for Baghādād, stopping en route at Aleppo. In 310/922 he was the main protagonist in the controversy over the calendar, in which the heads of the Babylonian community were in opposition to Aḥarōn Ben Mēʾir, head of the Palestinian academy. Saʿid emerged victorious from this quarrel, which is mentioned even by the Syrian historian Elias of Nisibin (11th century) in his chronology. This victory had a determining influence on his career, since, in recognition of his services to the Rabbanite cause, Saʿid was elected ʿalīf or master of the Babylonian academy of Fūm Pēdīthā.

A Jewish society in full transition, becoming progressively Arabised and intellectually enriched by new philosophical and scientific disciplines, posed challenges, to which the creative genius of Saʿid was able to respond. Stopping up the breaches, he consolidated Rabbinical Judaism's authority, faced as it was with the twin threats of schismatic movements, in part inspired by Islamic heriesis, and of Muslim polemics. According to Maimonides, "If it had not been for Saʿadyā, the divine religion might well have almost disappeared, for he made clear its mysteries and strengthened its weak points by spreading it and supporting it by his word and pen" (Epistle to the Yemen, ed. A. Halkin, New York 1952, 64). In 316/928, despite his non-Babylonian origin, he was nominated as Gaʿon or Chief Scholar of the academy at Sura (though not by the name by which he is best known), and under his direction, this institution enjoyed a remarkable renaissance.

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above all in its Hebrew translation Sefer ha-emunot we-
ha-de^ot, made in 582/1186 by Yehudah Ibn Tibbon. 
Its importance only faded with the appearance of 
Maimonides’ Guide for the perplexed. The arrangement 
of the seven points to completion, as it also does in book 
seven degrees through the Mosaic revelation. 

There are indications that Sa^id had presumably at 
his disposal the Arabic translation of the dox-
ographical compilation De placitis philosophorum made by 
Kust^a b. L^uk^a [q.v.]. He seems equally to have utilised the 
Kust^a’s contemporary Ibn Daw^ud b. Misk^a al-Kalidi (Fr.
Tr. M. Lambert, Commentaire sur le Sefer Yesira, Paris 
1891, in 319/931, Sa^id, as a true mutakallim, was partic-
ularly interested in the problem of the origin of things. 

Sa^id was also the author of the first translation of 
the Hebrew Bible into Arabic (Ta^ifir). Each book was 
preceded by an Arabic preface, explaining its struc-
ture and contents. Faithful to the rationalist tenden-
cies of the Mu^tazila, Sa^id endeavoured to attenuate the 
antropomorphisms. With the accomplishment of 
a commentary of a philosophical character, his trans-
lation became the Vulgate for Arabic-speaking Jews and served as a basis, too, for the Arabic version 
adopted by the Samaritans and by the Copitic Church.

The first published edition, at Constantinople in 
935/1546 within the polygol Sorcino Pentateuch, was the 
first Arabic text to be printed in the East. The 
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SABA’, SABB’A (A.), seven, is a number of greatest 
importance in both the Semitic and the Iranian tradi-
tions as it combines the spiritual Three and the mate-
rial Four. Its history probably begins in Babylon with 
the observation of four lunar phases of seven days 
each. The seven planets (including sun and moon) 
have reigned supreme in human thought since Anti-
quity. Each of them is connected with a specific col-
our, scent and character. Niz^ami’s (d. in the early 
7th/13th century [q.v.]) Persian epic Haft paykar is the 
finest elaboration of these ideas. The imagined seven 
stations between the sublunar world and the trans-
planetary sphere served as models for the way of the 
smoker in almost all religions (the Mithras cult is 
a good example). In Islam, it found its best-known ex-
ample in the seven valleys in ‘At^ar’s (d. in the early 
7th/13th century [q.v.]) Man^i^k al-fayr. Before him, al-
Nuri (d. 294/907 [q.v.]) had spoken of the “city of the 
heart” with its seven walls. To this group of ideas 
belong also the 70,000 veils of light and darkness 
which, according to Sufi thought, separate God and 
between Jew and human beings. For the Baha’i al-Sa’id [q.v.], divine 
creation reaches human kind in seven degrees through 
the First Intellect.

Seven was often connected with periodicity; the 
development of human life, especially, was thought to 
depend upon a seven-year rhythm. Here, the classical 
example is Ibn Tufayl’s (d. 581/1185 [q.v.]) Hayy Ibn 
Yaqzan.

Seven plays a considerable role in early Islamic 
thematics: the Kur^an often mentions the seven 
heavens, and heptads appear frequently in Sura Yusuf. 
Al-Bukhari speaks of seven major sins, and many 
ritual acts, prayers and invocations should be 
repeated seven times in order to yield a positive result. 

But according to a hadith, the infidel eats “with seven 
stomachs.”

The Seven Sleepers, mentioned in sura XVIII, 22, 
may be the models for numerous groups of heptads, 
such as the haft ‘affa, the seven virtuous women, who 
are venerated in Sind and the Pandjab as a unit, or the 
seven protective saints in Marrakesh. In popular 
usage, one finds customs such as begging alms for a 
religious purpose from seven women called Fajina; in 
Pakistan, the material for the bridal dress is cut by 
seven happily-married women. In all these cases, 
seven points to completion, as it also does in book 
titles like Haft kulzum “The seven climes” or Haft 
kalam “Seven oceans” (which, however, is a work on poetic 
rules).

Sufism knows the seven la’dat, fine spiritual points 
in the body, and seven major prophets are connected 
with them. Heptads appear in visions (see Rumi, 
Ma’nauna, iii, 11. 1983 ff.). The mystical hierarchy has 
seven degrees of light, and in some sects, seven 
saints are sometimes called “the eyes of God.” The 
Tij^aniyya [q.v.] dervishes believes that the Prophet 
honours their meeting with his presence when a cer-
tain litany of blessings over him is repeated seven 
times.

(P.-B. Fenton)
In the Persian tradition, expressions with Seven abound. For Nawruz [q.v.], haft sin are prepared, that is 7 items (fruit, plants, etc.) whose names begin with $; heroic acts such as Rustam's Haft $an appear sevenfold. Sindbād's seven journeys too belong in this category. The spheres are often called the "seven mils", Ursa Major appears as "seven thrones", haft awrang, and to ward off evil one may say "Be seven awrang, (seven mountains) between [the disaster and us]!" To do the work of seven millās means "to achieve nothing."

Seven reigns the whole philosophy of the Ismā'īlīs, the Severen Shī'īs [see ISMĀ'ĪLIYYA], who have developed a complicated system of heptads: seven prophets are the seven pillars of the House of Wisdom, the seventh imām in the succession of a prophet will bring the resurrection. From God's creative words "Be! and it becomes", with its seven Arabic letters (k.n.f.y.k.w.n), are formed the principles (k.n.f.y.k.w.n), the seven spheres in the four prophetic cycle, to the seven imāms in each prophetic cycle, to the seven earths. The heptagonal fountain in the Ismā'īlī Centre in London symbolises the structure underlying everything in Ismā'īlī thought in an artistic form.

Nevertheless, the number seven leads only to the goal at the end of the created universe, beyond which lies the Eight of eternal bliss—hence the hadīth, according to which Hell has seven gates, while Paradise has eight.


SABA$ for the Sabaeans (Greek Σαβαῖοι), the name of a folk who were bearers of a highly developed culture which flourished for over a millennium before Islam, together with three other folks, Maʿān, Kataban and Hadramawt [q.v.]. The main Sabean centre was Maryab (later Mārib, see MAʿRIB) in Yemen with its fertile oasis on the western edge of the desert known to Arab geographers as Sayhad (modern Rumal al-Sabāʾ atayn). In early historical times there were also Sabaeans settlements in Wadī Hadhramāt, more than 1,000 m above sea level. The montane plains lying west of Mārib and having an average level of 2,000 m above sea level were the home of other folks who spoke the same language as the Sabaeans proper, and seem to have formed some kind of federation under the hegemony of Saba$.

2. History. For the pre-history of Saba$, that is, before the beginning of the epigraphic record, there is no evidence available as yet. Silt deposits in the Mārib oasis point to intensive agricultural exploitation by artificial irrigation going back to at least the early second millennium B.C.; but what, if any, connection there may have been between these ancient agriculturalists and the Sabaeans as we know them, is wholly obscure. Trade links between South Arabia and Mesopotamia there must have been judged by Akkadian references to South Arabian products such as frankincense and myrrh; but the first specific mention of Sabaeans in Akkadian sources is in the 8th century B.C. Yet it still remains not altogether easy to discount completely one point which led Pirenne to propose a dating a couple of centuries later. Inscriptions of this period have rigidly geometrical forms, subjected to strict canons of proportion, astonishingly like Greek inscriptions of the 6th-5th century, but wholly unlike those of other Semitic alphabets. In earlier dating. It is hard to envisage how this style can have evolved totally independently, with a time-lag of two centuries, in two adjacent cultures with ancient trade links between them. In the latter part of the first millennium B.C., the musnad script developed (as was the tendency in Greco-Roman inscriptions) more decorative embellishments, at first with the introduction of serifs at the ends of the strokes.

Our knowledge of the Sabaeans is derived principally from their own inscriptions. Modern scholarship was first made aware of these by Carsten Niebuhr, member of a Danish exploratory mission in the end of the 18th century, and the number of inscriptions was published and studied during the earlier part of the 19th century, but it was Eduard Glaser's travels in the last decades of the century which produced a large number of copies (mostly squeezes) forming the real foundation of subsequent research. It must be admitted, however, that later 19th and early 20th century scholars indulged too freely in speculative deductions based on insufficient evidence. A turning point came in 1950; from then onwards, an ever more rapid archaeological activity resulting in the discovery of new texts has overcome not a few conclusions too confidently advanced by earlier researchers. At the time of writing, the flow of new material is still in full course, and it has to be anticipated that some of the presently current hypotheses may in their turn prove to be invalid. Any account that can be written at the moment must be taken as still tentative.

1. Script and language. The monumental inscriptions are drafted in a variety of South Semitic alphabets, the so-called musnad script [see MUSNAD]. The Sabaeic language, with the languages of Maʿān, Kataban and Hadramawt, forms an independent branch of Semitic, having in common one distinctive feature that is found nowhere else in Semitic: the use of prefixed- $ān in the function of a "definite article" corresponding to the Arabic prefixed al-. Within this language group, Sabaeic is distinguished from the other three by using 6 as prefix of the causative verb and as base of the 3rd person pronouns, where the others have a sibilant. On the southern borders of the Saβaean domain, the area between the Yislih pass and Dhamār used Sabaeic language, as did the non-Sabaean Radmān folk to the east thereof, in the Radāʾ area. By the end of the 3rd century A.D. the other three languages had fallen into disuse, at least for epigraphic purposes, and the Sabaeans, now under Yemen, now under Himyarite domination (see below), are in a late form of Saβaic; there are indications that the language may by this time have become a prestigious "learned" language, not in everyday use (this is comparable with the case in North Arabia, where the Nabatean inscriptions are in Aramaic, though the everyday language was probably Arabic).

The general consensus today is to assign the oldest substantial body of Sabaeic inscriptions (apart from a handful of seemingly earlier examples) to the 8th century B.C. Yet it still remains not altogether easy to discount completely one point which led Pirenne to propose a dating a couple of centuries later. Inscriptions of this period have rigidly geometrical forms, subjected to strict canons of proportion, astonishingly like Greek inscriptions of the 6th-5th century, but wholly unlike those of other Semitic alphabets. In earlier dating. It is hard to envisage how this style can have evolved totally independently, with a time-lag of two centuries, in two adjacent cultures with ancient trade links between them. In the latter part of the first millennium B.C., the musnad script developed (as was the tendency in Greco-Roman inscriptions) more decorative embellishments, at first with the introduction of serifs at the ends of the strokes.
The archaic flowering of Sabaean culture lasted until some time after the middle of the first millennium B.C. The fact that through the fourth, third and second centuries B.C. the important frankincense trade was in the hands of the Ma'in folk suggests some falling-off in Sabaean ascendency.

The second great flowering of Sabaean culture was in the first three centuries A.D., by which time a very different political picture had emerged. The various folks of the 2,000 m highland zone played a much more dominant role; and some of their leaders, who traditionally bore the title 'khw (i.e. Bedouin) in the highland and the Tihama' may be seen as the true founders of the modern Sabaean state. The second flowering of Sabaean culture lasted from the end of the fourth century B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

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yet Garbini has produced cogent arguments to show that the attributes of īmḥīk are rather those of a warrior-deity like Greek Herakles or a vegetation god like Adonis. The remarks made in the article KATĀBĀN on this topic as it affects the situation in Kataban went to press before Garbini's article had appeared, they now need modifying in the light of that article.

Nevertheless, the moon certainly had much religious significance. A very common symbol engraved on altars and religious buildings shows a crescent embracing a disc, and it is presumably this symbol that the Muslim writers had in mind when they say that the first act of the day for an ancient Yemeni king was to "bow down to the images of the sun and moon". This is not to say, of course, that they were right in seeing the disc as representing the sun; some modern scholars have been inclined to think it represents the planet Venus.

The place occupied by the sun in the pantheon is not easy to assess. The Radfan folk had as their national patron-deity ʾāmil ṣiyāṭ "Lofty Sun", and elsewhere there are mentions simply of "Sun" without qualification. But it is dubious whether the majority belief is justified, that numerous references to a feminine deity described simply as "She-who-is-possessed of (ḏāt)" a certain quality, are necessarily to a solar goddess (too often, the interpretation proposed for the term describing the quality has been dictated by the preconception that it must be a quality of the sun).

Certain of the ancient religious practices have a special interest in that they have survived in some form or another until the present day. Worth mentioning are the communal pilgrimages (ziyārat) on prescribed days; a code of ritual purity (see Ryckmans); and ritualized hunting of the ibex, thought of as connected with the divine blessing of rain (Ryckmans and Serjeant).

4. Saba in Bible and Kurʾān. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to king Solomon, and the abundant accretions of legend around it [see mlkš], have been too extensively discussed to need mention here, except for the remark that there is a possibility that such a visit might have been associated with a trade mission, like Dionysus. (The remarks made in the article KATĀBĀN in this symposium are presumably this reference.) In the Kurʾānīc allusion (XXVII, 27 f.) the name Saba does not occur; she is simply "the queen of the south". But Saba does feature in a passage (XXIX, 15-16) which is one of those where the fate of ancient peoples is mentioned as a warning against worldly pride. The prosperity of the Mārib oasis (situated on each side of the wadi bed, hence "the garden of the left" and "the garden of the right") had been dependent on the maintenance of the great dam in good order; after the death of king Abrahā the political fabric that had made repairs possible crumbled, the irrigation system was destroyed and the oasis was devastated.

5. Sabaēans in Africa. Around the middle of the first millennium B.C., there were Sabaēans also in the Horn of Africa, in the area that later became the realm of Aksum (Eritrea). The evidence consists of 141 inscriptions, a very small number of inscriptions, which, however, make it clear that we have to do with genuine Sabaēans, holding to the national cult of īmḥīk. They were mixed up with various non-Sabaēan communities, and it is still much in dispute how one can envisage the actual demographic (and political) situation. There are five places in the Bible where the writer distinguishes Sheba ( moot) son of Yokṭān (who appears in the Arab genealogies as Kāḥṭān [q. v.]), i.e. the Yemenite Sabaēans, from Seba ( moot) son of Kugḥ, implying an African habitat. This spelling differentiation, however, may be purely fictitious; at all events the indigenous inscriptions make no such difference, and both Yemenite and African Sabaēans are there spelt in exactly the same way.


SABA — SABA

SABA, FATH ʿALI KHĀN, Persian poet, was born in Kāhšān, probably in 1179/1765, and died in 1238/1822-3. His people belonged originally to Adharbaydjan, and came from the Dunbali stock, a tribe of Kurds settled in the region of Kūhv. Members of his family held jobs as governors and administrators under the Zands and Kāḏjārs. His father, Ākā Muhammad, was governor of Kāhšān under the Zands, and his eldest brother, Muhammad ʿAlī Khān, was minister to the Zand ruler Lutf ʿAlī Khān (r. 1203-9/1789-94). Sābā also seems to have been identified with this monarch, and is reported to have composed poems in his praise. When Lutf ʿAlī Khān fled from Kirmān in 1208/1794 from the Kāḏjārs, Sābā’s brother was captured and put to death by the governor of Āḏrān, Aḥā Mertya Shāh (r. 1193-1212/1779-97 [q. v.]), founder of the Kāḏjār régime. Following this tragedy, the poet wandered from place to place in fear of his life until he was fortunate to find refuge with Fath ʿAlī Khān (afterwards Fath ʿAlī Shāh, r. 1212-50/1779-1834 [q. v.]), who was governor-general of Fārs at that time. Sābā transferred his allegiance to the Kāḏjārs, and reportedly destroyed the dviḻa which contained poems composed by him in praise of his former patrons, the Zands.

In 1212/1797, on the occasion of Fath ʿAlī Shāh’s accession to the throne, Sābā presented a kasīda which was well received by the new ruler. His fortunes prospered until he was appointed poet-laureate at the court. For some time he was also governor of Kun and Kāhšān, and held the honorary title of Itisāb al-Mannālīk ("Censor of the Provinces"). Eventually, however, he abandoned his administrative assignments to remain permanently at the court. He accompanied the monarch on his various travels and campaigns. It was during one of these campaigns in 1228/1813, involving Persia’s hostilities with Russia, that Sābā, at the behest of the Shāh, undertook the composition of his long epic poem, Shāhansāh-nāma ("Book of the King of Kings").

Sābā died in 1238/1822-3 in Tehran. His eldest son, Mirzā Husayn Khān (d. ca. 1264/1848), who

SABAB (s.), pl. asbwb, literally "rope" (habd), the basic sense as given by the lexicographers (cf. L'Ar), coming to designate anything which binds or connects. It is "anything by means of which one gains an end (maksud; al-^ilm); or an object sought" (mash^ib, in the Bahar al-^ilm). One can mention asbbw with the sense of "bonds" in Kurrân, ii, 166: "When the bonds [which unite them] are broken..." Ibn 'Abbas interpreted this as friendship (masouda); Mudjâhîd, "alliance" (tasawwul) in this context. The sense is also found of "a means of achieving s. th." Ibn Mansqrfis cites the expression "I made such a thing into a means of obtaining what I needed"; here, sabab is a synonym of waqf (one of the "ways of knowledge"; cf. Gardet and Anawati, Introduction à la theologie musulmane, 66, 375). From this same point of view, asbbw has assumed the sense of "means of subsistence."

1. In philosophy and medical science.

The hukmâ use the term as a synonym of illsa (one may consult 'illa, which deals with both terms in falsafa and kalâm). Al-Tahâwî gives in his Islâhî, following the Bahar al-^ilm, an interesting general presentation. The sabab is also called madrb "principle"; it is "that which a thing needs, whether in its quiddity or in its existence.... It is either complete (tâm: this is the divine causality in its perfect unity) or else incomplete (nâsîs), and then is divided into four types (that is, the causes in the metaphysical sense). The cause may be interior to the thing, and if the thing is with it potently, it is the material cause (sabab mâdd). If it is in activity, it is the formal cause (sabab sûr). Or if it is not interior to the thing, then it has an effect on its existence; it is the efficient cause (sabab fâlî). If it has an effect on the efficiency of its efficient cause (fî fâlîyât fî illsi), it is the final cause (sabab ghâb). One should note that this is
the way Ibn Sina defines the final cause (cf. Ihjadur, ed. Sulayman Dunya, iii, 444-5, with the comm. of Naṣir al-Dīn Tusi). If the efficacious action of the cause (ta‘addi al-sabab) is constant (‘alam) or present in the greater number of cases (akhṭar, cf. Aristotle, το ἐξι το πολλά), the cause is termed essential (sabab ḥāṭīti) and the effect caused (musabbab) the essential end (ḏhiya ḥāṭīsya). If there is efficacity in the smallest number of cases equal to that where it does not occur (ta‘addi akalli aw musdwi), this cause is said to be accidental (sabab ittifdki), and the effect which is caused (musabbab) the accidental end. If there is been said that if all the conditions of efficacity combine, the cause is essential and the end essential. If not, the efficacity is impossible and there is no accidental cause. To put it another way, every cause, such as, has a necessary effect as soon as all the conditions for its action are brought together; if not, it has no action at all and the power which essentially constitutes it as a cause remains without effect. Accordingly, there is no accidental cause but exclusively those which have an effect.

One may reply to this that, amongst its conditions, everything which gives in reality its efficacy to the action of the cause, is taken into account as part of the cause; but one must also take into account the factors which are not part of it, such as the absence of any obstacle (intijw al-mdnī) and the disposition of an obstacle within the human body, whether they produce illness or restore health or preserve health. They are either corporeal nature, and are then either substances like food or medicines, or they are accidents, such as heat and cold. They also distinguish the asbab which are internal to the body, like the dry wood, and if it happens that it is in fact dry wood, the fire burns, but accidentally, since it is accidental that dry wood is involved.

Physicians use the word sabab in a more particular sense than the philosophers. For them, it denoted uniquely the efficient cause, and even, not every efficient cause but exclusively those which have an effect within the human body, whether they produce illnesses or restore health or preserve health. They are either corporeal nature, and are then either substances like food or medicines, or they are accidents, such as heat and cold. They also distinguish the asbab which are internal to the body, like the temperamen t and the humours; those which are external, like warm air; and those which are of a psychical nature (min al-umur al-nafsān) like anger.

Finally, in Kurānic exegesis one should understand the expression asbab al-nasīl in a sense analagolous to its legal sense (see 2. below), the reasons or circumstances which explain the revelation of such or such a verse, and to which certain commentators appeal in their quest for a rational form of exegesis (see Gardet and Anawati, op. cit., 29-30).

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2. In law.

Here, sabab is defined as the designation given by the law maker for an injunction (ḥukm). The sabab itself may not be the actual cause but merely serves as a mark (‘aslum) to indicate that a certain ḡukm should apply. The classic example is found in the case of travelling as permitting the breaking of fasting during Ramadān. The main difference between sabab and ‘illa, when considering kiyās, is marginal in practice, since ‘illa is merely a subdivision of sabab. ‘illa is also termed sabab munāsr, a sabab which can be understood by human reasoning. Travelling is therefore described as both ‘illa and sabab in regard to permitting breaking of the fast during Ramadān since, by the application of reason, it is apparent that the objective is to reduce hardship. However, since there is no rational explanation why Ramadān has been prescribed for fasting, it is therefore sabab but not ‘illa.

The schools of fikh are divided in their opinions about sabab. The Ḥashʿī and Ḥanafī ones, like the modern Germanic school of law, concentrate on the apparent cause, but the modern Mālikī and Ḥanbollah schools and the Ṣḥīṣa focus on the actual intention, a tendency similar to that in Roman law. In contemporary Islamic civil application, the importance of sabab can perhaps be well understood from the UAE Civil Code definition of it as ‘the direct purpose aimed at by the contract’.


3. In prosody (see also ‘anūd).

Here, sabab, lit. ’tent rope’, and wataid, lit. ’tent peg’, denote the two smallest metrically meaningful elements which serve as building-blocks for the feet (rawša; sing. ḍuw). Following the established verse analogy of the ḍawr, the inventor of prosody, al-Khālīl [i.e. al-Khālīl], coined these terms to characterise the variable (sabab) and the stable elements (wataid) within each foot. The sabab consists of two letters/consonants (the wataid of three), of which the second may be either vowelless or vowelled, resulting in the two subtypes of the sabab khāfī, ‘the light cord’, and the sabab ḍhākī, ‘the heavy cord’. Syllabically speaking, the light cord is one long syllable (e.g. lād), the heavy cord two short ones (e.g. lāk). A foot consists of one wataid and either one or two sababs. The ‘heavy cord’ exists only in conjunction with a ‘light cord’ to form the feet maṣfaʿilun and maṣāʿalatan, from which the metres kāmil and wafir are constructed. The combination of ‘heavy cord’ and ‘light cord’ (muṣfāʿ and -alaṭan, respectively; i.e. —) is also covered by the metres fasila (more precisely fasila sughrā), which seems to go back to al-Khālīl also. Since neither this term nor the fasila kubrā (—) is useful for the system, because both can be interpreted in terms of sabab and wataid, they are best seen as elements used in the analysis of the really existing metres (aṣwān) rather than the abstract ideal metres (būḥr) of the system. Breaking the fasila sughrā up into two sababs allowed for a unified definition of the zihāf as a deviation from the ideal norm, that is, the second half of a word (Stoetzer, 42-3). The zihāf, usually elisions, are characteristic of the sabab; they may change from one line to the next.

Some Persian prosodists introduce as a third type of sabab the sabab-i mutawaṣṣīt, consisting of an overall syllable (e.g. yār) (Elwell-Sutton, 9; Ḥāñanal, 94, n. 2, quoting the Durr-i Naṣṣāf of Naṣṣāf Mīrzā Muḥafiz).

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SABAB — SABAH, ĀL


4. In grammar

The term is used by Sibawayhi in his Kitāb 39 times (Troupeau, Lexique-Index s.v.) to denote a “semantic link” between words that brings about a change in the expected case ending. Thus alongside zadān lakīta akhāhu we find zadān lakīta akhāhu, where the dependent (manāš) form of zadān is acceptable because it is “semantically linked” with akhāhu (min sabahī, Kitāb, i, 193/226). This pronoun is obligatory: in maat zadān mukhlitihi abu ‘amr it is not enough to know that Abū ‘Amr really is Zayd’s father—without the pronoun this expression is disallowed, contrast maat zadān mukhlitihi abu ‘amr (ibid., i, 193/226; here the suffixed pronoun has moved from dān to its predicate mukhlitihi) and, one stage more remote, “involvement with something semantically linked”, e.g. maratu bi-ragul mukhlitihi dān (ibid., i, 193/226; here the suffixed pronoun has moved from dān to its predicate mukhlitihi) and, later commonly termed the nāt sabahī.


SABAH, ĀL, Arabic dynasty from the ‘Utub branch of the Arabian tribe, rulers of al-Kuwayt [q.v.] from ca. 1165/1752-6, until the present. They presided over its development from a small port dependent on pearling, fishing and the transit trade with India to its current position as an independent, oil-rich state.

Al Sabāb originated in Najd and migrated with other members of the ‘Utub branch of the ‘Utub tribe, rulers of al-Kuwayt [q.v.] in about 1085/1674 and then to al-Kuwayt early in the 12th/18th century. The rise to power of the founder of the dynasty, Sabāb I (ca. 1165-71/1752-6), remains obscure. His claim to authority was of a civil nature, not based on descent from the Prophet or any role as a religious leader, and he does not seem to have imposed it by force but by agreement with other sections of the ‘Utub community. During the late 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries, Al Sabāb managed to maintain their political authority with the internal support of local tribesmen and merchants. They also succeeded for the most part in achieving a delicate balance in handling the relations both with the local Muslim population and with the British, Ottoman and the Su‘udil-Id Wahhābī. Moreover, the succession proceeded relatively smoothly, ensuring family cohesion and stability.

The exception to this pattern was the dynamic figure of Mu‘ābar (1313-34/1896-1915), who came to power by assassinating two of his brothers, Mu‘āban-
mad I (1310-13/1892-6) and Djarrah. Despite Ottoman suspicions of British involvement in the coup and Mubarak’s concern to achieve British protection, it was not until 1316/1899 that an agreement was signed, excluding other foreign powers from acquiring Kuwayt territory by lease or purchase and preventing their representatives from being received in al-Kuwayt without British approval. In an accompanying letter, Mubarak was assured of “the good offices of the British Government”. This close association with Britain proved valuable in maintaining al-Kuwayt’s independence, especially during World War I, and it may also be seen as offering conditions promoting commercial development and modernisation. However, it restricted Mubarak in his dealings with his Arabian neighbours, the Al Rashid and his of Djabal Shammar and Abd al-’Aziz b. Su’ud, effectively preventing any Kuwayt territorial expansion at their expense; easily in the reign of Ahmad I (1339-69/1921-53), it even led to a territory being ceded to the Su’udis.

Following a period of recession with the decline of the pearling industry and economic warfare with Ibn Su’ud, al-Kuwayt won a reprieve with the discovery of oil in 1356/1938. Exploits began on 30 Radjab 1365/30 June 1946, ushering in a new era of prosperity, especially after the accession of Abd Allah III (1369-85/1950-65). Abd Allah oversaw the creation of al-Kuwayt’s modern infrastructure, initiating ambitious construction projects, a comprehensive welfare state, extensive education and health facilities. He also ended the 1316/1899 Anglo-Kuwayt agreement, which was increasingly resented, asserting al-Kuwayt’s full independence as a sovereign state on 6 Muharram 1381/19 June 1961. Immediately, he was threatened with invasion by al-’Irak, laying claim to sovereignty over al-Kuwayt, but on this occasion Britain’s prompt action in sending forces to the border deterred the ’Irakis from invading. The present ruler, Djabir III (1398-1441) was less fortunate when on 10 Muharram 1411/2 August 1990 he was faced with an actual ’Irak invasion, resulting in the occupation of his country and his exile in Su’ud Arabia until after the liberation of al-Kuwayt in the Gulf War of 1990.

Sabahul-Dln was born in Istanbul, the elder son of Damad (imperial son-in-law) Mahmud Djelal al-Din Pasha. His mother was Seniha Sultan, a younger sister of Sultan Abd al-Hamid II. He was educated privately. When his father fled to Paris in 1899, Sabahul-Dln and his younger brother Lutf Allah accompanied him. Sabahul-Dln came to the fore as one of the leading Young Turk emigre publicists and politicians. Backed by his father’s wealth, he soon became a serious competitor of Ahmed Rida for the leadership of the Young Turk movement. In 1902 he took the initiative in bringing together the first “Congress of Ottoman Liberals” in Paris, where his group, that of Ahmed Rida, but also Armenian, Albanian and Arab delegations met. At the congress a split occurred between the centralist and nationalist Young Turk movement of Ahmed Rida (the Ittihad ve Terakki Dernegi [q.v.] or “Committee of Union and Progress”) and the other groups over the question whether armed struggle, including foreign intervention, was acceptable as a means to depose the sultan. Together with the Armenians, Sabahul-Dln supported intervention and armed resistance (an abortive attempt at a military coup with the help of the garrison in Tripolitania was actually undertaken by his followers after the congress). Later on, in 1902, Sabahul-Dln united his followers in a separate organisation, the “Adem-i Merkezisyeti ve Tarbhsisi-a Sabahati Dernegi” (“Society for Decentralisation and Private Initiative”).

The name of the society reflected Sabahul-Dln’s ideological stance. He was a follower of Le Play and, especially, of Edmond Desmolins, whose A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons (1897) influenced him deeply. In Sabahul-Dln’s eyes, society could only progress on the basis of the improvement of its smallest constituent parts, the family and the individual. Unlike most other Young Turks, who saw the state as the only vehicle for the modernisation of society, he saw the secret in creating a strong “individualism” in the Ottoman Empire. Sabahul-Dln was a thinker and writer (from 1906 to 1908 he edited the Paris-based newspaper Terakki [“Progress”]) but not a very astute politician. As a concrete political programme, his brand of sociology had little to offer in the way of solutions for the short-term problems of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1907, his group participated in the second “Congress of Ottoman Liberals” in Paris, which was organised by the Armenian Dashnaks. After the 1908 constitutional revolution, he returned to Istanbul, but, although he had many followers in the Ahrar Firkas (“Liberary party”, 1908-9) and the Hurriyet ve Itilafl Firkas (“Entente Liberale”, 1912-13, 1919-22), he never joined any of these parties and he did not actively participate in the politics of the second constitutional period. He had to leave the Ottoman Empire when he was accused of involvement in the murder of the Grand Vizier Mahmud Shewket Pasha [q.v.] in 1913. After World War I he returned, but as a member of the Ottoman dynasty he was banned from Turkey again in 1924. Thereafter he lived in exile in Switzerland until his death in 1948.


(E. J. Zürcher)
sent to Germany in 1928 by the Ministry of Education to further his studies. He returned in 1930 and taught Gerwar II. As a teenager, the story about his poem Memlekettekin haberi, he was sentenced to one year’s imprisonment for disparaging Atatürk, being freed after 10 months under a general pardon. Between the years 1934 and 1945, he worked in the publications section of the Ministry of Education and later as a teacher in Ankara. He was highly criticised for his political activities and, in 1945, resigning from his duties, he moved to Istanbul, becoming a journalist. Because of an article which he published in the satirical magazine Marko Paşa, he was sentenced to three months in jail. In 1948, after he left prison, he began to work as a lorry driver and wrote in the journal Zinciri Hürriyet. He was under constant police surveillance, hence decided to run away to Bulgaria, but was killed on 2 April 1948, by the smuggler who was helping him to cross the frontier, possibly in an ambush.

Sabahattin Ali began to publish his sentimental poetry and short stories in journals during 1925-6. Later, he abandoned poetry and became known by his novel Kuyucakh Yusuf. His familiarity with the Anatolian villagers, which stemmed from his childhood memories, became clearer as he met more people in the prisons. The bulk of his later work is devoted to the village life and people; their struggle with nature, their social and economic conditions, and their mistrust for officials and intellectuals. Some of his stories are about workers, but these are not as detailed as the village stories. The middle-class people and the intellectuals are reflected as negative personalities who despise and mistreat the villagers; his administrators are corrupt and take sides with the rich. The women in his stories are pushed into prostitution by society. His characters are not well developed psychologically; the plot and the motivation of his characters are more important. His first novel Kuyucakh Yusuf (1937) is his village novel. The events start in Aydin in 1903 and end in 1915 in Edremit. It is based on the oppositions of city: nature; corruption: naïveté; lust: love. His second novel, İçmisdedik şeytan, takes place in Istanbul and is set among the young university students before World War II. Another story, Kuyucakh Yusuf, Paris 1977, (in French: Vous ouf le Taciturne), Ewliya describes it a century later as having 1,000 houses, and Sabandja was at this time the centre of a kadı in the iče or county of the il or province of Sakarya, with fruit-growing as an important local agricultural activity; in 1960 the town had a population of 5,788 and the iče one of 13,114. The lake of Sabandja (15 km/9 miles by 5 km/3 miles) has been important for its fish since antiquity; it is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus as lacus sumonensis, and in later Byzantine times the mountain by the lake was called Siphones. The project of connecting the lake by means of a canal with the Gulf of Izmit was mooted as far back as the Emperor Trajan’s time, and in the Ottoman period, during the reigns of Mustafa III and Murad III in the 10th/16th century, and after 1871. German, K. Kuyucakh Yusuf nehrini Izmit körfezinin akışımısını Marmara ve Karadeniz’in bireştilirmesi hakkında vestikal ve tekik raporu, in Belletten, iv/14-15 [1940], 149-74.

Bibliography: Ewliyâ Celebi, Seyahat-nâme, Istanbul 1314-18/1896-1900, ii, 171-2, 439 ff., v. 74; Hâdidji Khalifa, Bilân-nâmâ, 6560, 673; von Hammer, Gör, i, 72, 578, iv, 200; Sir W.M. Ramsay, The historical geography of Asia Minor, London 1890, 188; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d’Asie, Paris 1894, iv, 378; F. Taeschner, Das anatolische Vorgebiet, Leipzig 1924, 93-4, 255; IA, art. Sapanca (Besim Darkot). For the European travellers in the area, see the Blbl. to F. Babinger’s ElP art. (C. E. Bosworth)

SABAŞTIYYA, SABASTIYYA, the Arabic name of various towns in the Near East.

1. The ancient Samaria, which Herod changed to Sebaste in honour of Augustus. The form Σαβάστια—as in the case of other towns of this name—was presumably also used, as the Arabic name (which is sometimes also written Sabaštiyya) suggests. By the end of the classical period, the town, overshadowed by the neighbouring Neapolis (Sichem; Arabic, Nablus), had sunk to be a small town (Σαβάστιον) and played only an unimportant part in the Arab period. It was conquered by ‘Amr b. al-‘As while Abū
Bakr was still caliph; the inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and property on condition that they paid poll-tax and land-duties (al-Baladhuri, 138; Ibn al-Athir, 140). SABBAGH (A.), lit. dyer, is a technical term the Arab geographers to mention it, but gives already much less accurate figures for its position than Ptolemy had done. In the later Arab geographers, Sabastiyya appears as a place in the Dājund Filiastín. According to a tradition found as early as Jerome, for example, the tomb of John the Baptist was there (Ibn al-Athir, loc. cit.: Yahya b. Zakariyya; xi, 333); on its site there was in Late Antiquity a basilica built and in the Crusading period (in the second half of the 6th/12th century) a church of St. John; remains of the latter still survive. According to western sources, Sabastiyya was again a bishopric at this time (Lequien, in Orients Christianus, iii, 650 ff.). Usāma b. Munkidh, about 534/1140, visited the town and its sanctuary. Salāh al-Dīn advanced on Sabastiyya in 580/1184, but its bishop, by handing over 80 Muslim prisoners, saved the town from the terrible fate of Nabulus (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 333; Abu 'l-Fidā', Annales, in Recueil des hist. orient. des croisades, i, 53; Ibn Shaddād, in ibid., iii, 82, Epis tola Bāttanī, in Röhrich, Regesta regni Hierosol., no. 638). In the year 583/1187 it was finally taken from the Crusaders by Husam al-Dīn 'Umar b. Lāḏūn; the church of St. John was turned into a mosque and the bishop brought to 'Akka (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 357).


1. A place in the Thghūr al-Shāmīyya, according to Ibn Khurraḍāḏībīh, 117, on the Cilician coast, 4 mls. from the coast from an unknown city, which again was 12 mls. from Kurāṣāsī (Kurāṣī) in Syria. It is the ancient ʿElāʾīnūs or ʿSawāṭī, the modern Ayāş.

**Bibliography:** Pauly-Wissowa, v, 2228, s.v. Elaisuss; ii/A, 952, s.v. Sebaste no. 5; Tomaschek, in SB Ak. Wien (1891), Abb. viii, 65; E. Herzfeld, in Peterm. geogr. Mittelt., iv (1909), 29, col. 2.

2. A place in the Thughūr al-Shāmīyya, according to Ibn Khurraḍāḏībīh, 117, on the Cilician coast, 4 mls. from the coast from an unknown city, which again was 12 mls. from Kurāṣāsī (Kurāṣī). It is the ancient ʿElāʾīnūs or ʿSawāṭī, the modern Ayāş.

**Bibliography:** Pauly-Wissowa, v, 2228, s.v. Elaisuss; ii/A, 952, s.v. Sebaste no. 5; Tomaschek, in SB Ak. Wien (1891), Abb. viii, 65; E. Herzfeld, in Peterm. geogr. Mittelt., iv (1909), 29, col. 2.

3. A town in Asia Minor, which was abandoned by al-ʻAbbās b. al-Walīd in 93/711-12 along with al-Marzuḥānayn and Tūs (ref. Tabari), whose situation is unknown. In some manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Taḥrīrībdī, the name is wrongly written Sabastīyya (or something like that) which can hardly, as Brooks suggests, stand for the Byzantine Μωάθα in Phrygia. The reference is rather to the Phrygian Ṣawāṭī (Pauly-Wissowa, ii/A, 951, no. 1).

**Bibliography:** Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 457; Tabārī, ii, 1295, note b; Ibn Taḥrīrībdī, Nūḏūm, ed. Popper, i, 251; E.W. Brooks, in Jnl. of Hellenic Studies, xviii (1993), 198.

4. A town of this name said to be not far from Sumaysāt on the upper Euphrates is mentioned by Yaḥūbūn, iii, 33. It might be Bulūpis in Cappadocia (Pтоломей, v, 6, 25, ed. Müller, 893), which was presumably called after Augustus and perhaps may have also been called Sebastia; but perhaps we should rather assume there has been some confusion with Siwās on the Upper Nahr Alis (Halys or Išānī) (E. Honnemann).
writing, the Arab writer al-Djahiz argued that the dyers, tanners, cuppers, etc. were exclusively Jewish in the early Islamic period, but historians like al-\textit{Khwâlî} al-Baghdâdi and other writers have indicated names which were not necessarily Jewish, which may indicate the involvement of Muslims in the dyer's profession at least during later Islamic centuries. A statement attributed to the Prophet Muhammad said that "the most habitual liars were the dyers" (\textit{sâkhab al-nâl al-sâbäghun}); but, according to Abu 'Ubây Ybn Sallâm (d. 232/846), al-sâbäghân acquired a new shade of meaning and was applied to particular groups who were engaged in "forgery and embellishment of hadîd" (al-\textit{Khwâlî}, \textit{Tārīkh Baghdâd}, xiv, 216).

According to a tale in the \textit{Al layla wa-layla}, the dyer's trade tended to be hereditary. The dyers had a low status in society due to the foul odour associated with their work. The \textit{hisba} manuals speak of the trickery of the dyers, who allegedly cheated their customers by applying non-permanent dye for their cloth. The modern era, the Damascene dyers were well known, providing entrancing dye ingredients (al-\textit{nif}, lapis lazuli (\textit{lauward}), dark blue dye (\textit{kului}) and a variety of other shades for their customers' cloth (al-Kâsimî, \textit{Kâmûs}, 267). The Yemeni dyers of the early 20th century have preserved some of the traditional skills of their trade. The biographer al-Safâdl (d. 764/1362) recorded the biographies of some notable Muslims affiliated to the dyers' families who had unusual names like 'Abd al-Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wâhid b. Dîfâr al-Sâbâghân (d. 477/1084), who lectured on jurisprudence at the Nizâmiyya college in Baghdâd and wrote some books. His grandson 'Abd al-Sayyid b. 'Ali al-Sâbâghân (d. 563/1168) was also a man of some distinction.


1. Abu 'l-Hasan Thabit b. Kûra b. Mâwrân b. Thabit [a.v.] (died 288/901), the celebrated mathematician, astronomer and translator of Greek books, was the first member of the Sabian community to come to the notice of Muslim intellectuals. He was born in Harrâm but spent most of his life in Baghdâd, where he enjoyed the especial patronage of the caliph al-Mu'tadîd.

(2) The \textit{Sâbi'at al-batâ'în}, or \textit{mughâtîsîa}, of Southern \textit{kurr}a, the remnant of an ancient Jewish-Christian sect, the \textit{Ekhêasaites}. They owned the designation "\textit{Sabians}" evidently to the fact that some of the early \textit{kurr}ân commentators in Basra or Kûfa saw in them a possible candidate for identification with the Sabians of the holy book.

(3) The Sabians of Harrâm, a community following an old Semitic polytheistic religion, but with a strongly Hellenised elite, one of the last outposts of Late Antique paganism. These adopted the \textit{kurr}ânic name \textit{sâb}î'â in the 3rd/9th century so as to be able to claim the status of Muslims and thus avoid persecution. (Arabic Muslim and Christian authors occasionally also apply the name \textit{sâbi'ê}, by extension, to the pagans of ancient Greece and to other polytheists.) It is only with these last that Muslim authors of the \textit{Abbâsid} period were acquainted at first hand and, except in discussions of the \textit{kurr}ân, the name \textit{sâbi'ê} is normally applied either to Harrânian pagans or else to their Muslim descendants (e.g. the astronomer al-Shâbîbî (d. 438/1047) who applied in effect as a \textit{nisa}, to two distinguished families of scholars and secretaries of Harrânian origin who flourished in Baghdâd between the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th centuries, and it is with these that the present article is concerned.

The two families in question were related to each other by marriage, although the exact nature of their relationship has been the subject of much confusion. Ibn al-Kîfî (\textit{Târîkh al-Hukamûn}, ed. A. Müller and J. Lippert, Leipzig 1902) says (twice on pp. 110-1) that \textit{Thâbit} b. Sinân (no. 4) was the maternal uncle (\textit{kâbi}) of the historian Hilâl b. al-Muštâsîb (no. 9) and he says again (on p. 110) that Hilâl was "the son of his (i.e. \textit{Thâbit}'s) sister"; this information is repeated by the sources dependent on Ibn al-Kîfî (i.e. Ibn Abî Usayyîbî 'a and Ibn al-Ibrî) and has been accepted by modern authors. However, Yakût (\textit{Udâdâ}, ii, 397) quotes a poem by Abû 'Ishâk Ibrîhîm (no. 7) lamenting the death of "his maternal uncle" \textit{Thâbit} b. Sinân; i.e. \textit{Thâbit} was the maternal uncle not of Hilâl, but of his grandfather Ibrîhîm (similarly, al-Safâdl, x, 464, paraphrasing Yakût, says of Ibrîhîm \textit{aw huwa <ibn> ukt Thâbit}; badly "emended" in the edition.) Yakût's version is confirmed by Hilâl himself when he introduces one of the anecdotes in his \textit{Mathnî} (ed. R. M. 267; M.A. J. Beg, \textit{Social mobility in Islamic civilization - the classical period}, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 64; R.B. Serjeant et alii, \textit{Sanâ'at: an Arabian Islamic city}, Cambridge 1983, 265). (M.A. J. Brito)
Genealogical table of the Sābih family

(1) Thābit b. Kurra b. Marwān
d. 288/901

(2) Sinan d. 331/943

(3) Ibrāhīm 296-335/908-946

(4) Thābit d. 365/976

(5) Thābit d. 365/976

(daughter) = (6) Hilāl

(7) Ibrāhīm 313-384/925-994

(8) al-Muhassin d. 401/1010

(9) Hilāl 359-448/969-1055

(10) Harūn (?)

(11) Muḥammad, d. 480/1088

(12) Muḥammad 481-563/1088-1168

(13) Muḥammad, d. 619/1222

2. His son Abū Saʿīd Sinān served as personal physician of three successive caliphs: al-Muktaḍir, al-Kāhir and al-Rāḍī. Al-Kāhir forced him to convert to Islam, but his children apparently remained in the ancestral religion. Sinān was responsible for building hospitals and supervising the medical profession in Baghdād, and is credited with introducing a system of examining and licensing the practising doctors. The sources list various writings of his on history, mathematics and astronomy; strangely, they mention no medical titles. His only extant work seems to be a short treatise on ethics, Siyṣāt al-nufūs (Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 205). He died (according to al-Sulī and Yakūt) on 1 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 331/943.

Bibliography: Sulī, Akhbd al-Ruddi wa l-Muttaqi, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, London 1935, 245; Masʿūdī, Murūġ, i, 19-20 = § 14; Fihrist, 272, 302; Biruṇī, al-Aṯbār al-bākīya, 243-75 (detailed summary of Sinān’s Kitāb al-Anwār); Yākūt, Udabah, ii, 220-3; Chwolsohn, i, 569-77; Brockelman, i, 244-5, § I, 386; Sezgin, v, 291, vii, 331; Y. Dold-Samplonius, Sinān ibn Thābit, in Dictionary of scientific biography, xii, 447-8; M. Ullmann, Die Medizin im Islam, Leiden 1970, 124.

3. His son Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm was an important astronomer and mathematician. He was born in 296/908-9 and died in Muharram 335/946 (according to Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa; the earlier authorities give no dates). A collection of six of his scientific writings has been published under the title Rasāʾil ibn Sinān (Haydarābād 1366-7/1947-8).

Bibliography: Biruṇī, al-Aṯbār al-bākīya, 326; Fihrist, 272; Ibn al-Kīfī, 57-9; Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, i, 226; Chwolsohn, i, 577-8; Brockelman, i, 245, § I, 386; Sezgin, v, 292-5, vi, 193-5, vii, 274-5; R. Raashed, Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān, in Dictionary of scientific biography, vii, 2-3.

4. His brother Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Thābit succeeded his father as physician to the caliph al-Rāḍī and served then in the same capacity under al-Muttaqi, al-Muttaκīf and al-Muṭṭī. He died on 11 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 365/976 (thus Ibn al-Nadīm and also Yākūt, quoting Hilāl; others differ). He was, however, best known as the author of a history of events from 295/908 (i.e. the ascension of al-Muktaḍir, with whose reign al-Ṭabarī’s history breaks off) up to the year of his own death (according to Ibn al-Nadīm) or to the end of 363/974 (Ibn al-ʿAjīr, vi, 476). Although this work is lost, it is quoted extensively not only in the surviving writings of Thābit’s great-great nephew Hilāl (below, no. 9), but also by Miskawayh, al-Hamadānī, Ibn al-ʿAjīr, al-Dhahabī and others, and is thus indirectly doubtless one of the most important sources for the events of the period in question.

As a court physician, Thābit was evidently especially well informed about the private affairs of his masters. The Taʾrikh akhbār al-Karamīsh which has been published as the work of Thābit (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1391/1971) is, in the judgement of the present author, a clumsy forgery knocked together out of extracts from Ibn al-ʿAjīr.

Bibliography: Fihrist, 302; Yākūt, Udabah, ii, 397-8; Ibn al-Kīfī, 109-11; Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, i, 224-6; Ibn Khallikān, 127; Chwolsohn, i, 578-81; M.S. Khan, Miskawayh and Thābit ibn Sinān, in ZDMG, cxvii (1967), 303-17.

5. Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Thābit b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥārūn (thus in Tadjaddud’s edition of the Fihrist, 149, 360, and al-Thāʿlabī’s, Yatimā, ed. Damascus, ii, 23; most other sources have Zahrūn) was born in al-Rakkā in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 283/897 and died in Baghdād in Shawwal 369/980 (these dates according to Ibn al-Kīfī, 115). He served as a physician to several important persons, among them the Būyid amīr al-umārāʾ ʿAḍud al-Dawla. His writings on medicine and his
translations of Greek medical books are not known to have survived. Ibn al-Kiftl (76) surmised that his father might have been the Abū Ishāk Ibrāhîm b. Zahrūn al-Harrānî al-Manṭîkî of whom Thābit b. Sānîn (as quoted by Ibn al-Kiftl) says that he died in Safar 309/921; however, the identification of the two is not certain.

_Bibliography:_ Fihrist 272, 303; Ibn al-Kiftl 111-5; Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a, i, 227-30; Chwolsohn, i, 584-5.

6. His brother Abū ‘l-Ḥasan Hilāl, whose dates are not recorded, was the physician of the amir Tūrzūn at the same time that his brother-in-law Thābit b. Sānîn was looking after the health of the caliph.

_Bibliography:_ Ibn al-Kiftl 350; Chwolsohn, i, 587.

7. His son Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm was born on 5 Ramadān 313/929 and, though trained as a doctor and astronomer, he made his name as a secretary in the service of the Buṣyid amir Mu‘īz al-Dawla, who appointed him chief secretary (sāḥib diwān al-īnḫāb) in 349/960. Although ‘Izz al-Dawla Bihākīyār attempted to convert him to Islam and even offered the post of wazīr as a reward, Ibrāhīm remained true to the faith of his fathers. After the death of Mu‘īz al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm got caught up in the rivalry between ‘Izz al-Dawla Bihākīyār and his cousin ‘Adud al-Dawla Fānā-Ḵuṣraw, and his attempts to serve two masters led to his being imprisoned by each of them in turn. The victorious ‘Adud al-Dawla kept him under house arrest from 367/978 till 371/981 and ordered him to spend his enforced leisure composing a history of the Buṣyids, _Kitāb al-Tādji fi ṣakbār al-dawla al-daylamiyā_, the pages of which are reported to have been sent, as they were completed, to the amīr, who then returned them, corrected, to their imprisoned author. The often-repeated anecdote according to which Ibrāhīm provoked the anger of the amīr by confiding to an indiscreet friend that the history he was composing was nothing but a fabric of lies involves a number of chronological errors and cannot be taken at face value (see, in detail, the article by Madelung).

The victorious ‘Adud al-Dawla, who lamented his death (on 12 Shawwāl 384/994) in al-Tha‘alibī, served as a secretary at the time of Mu‘īz al-Dawla and died on 3 Ramadān 401/1010, like his father still a pagan. Ibn al-Kiftl confirmed that ‘Adud al-Dawla (in 372/983) and enjoyed the friendship in particular of the celebrated Twelver Shi‘a poet ‘Alī al-Mu’tamid, called Sahib al-Dawla, died (according to Yakūt) on 8 Muharram 380/990; see also his other elegy on his death in al-Tha‘alibī, Fatīma, i, 48-9 and Abu ‘l-ulado Sā‘īd.

_Bibliography:_ Yakūt, udabī, vi, 244-9; Ibn al-Kiftl, 114, 116, 119; Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a, i, 224-7; Chwolsohn, i, 594-5.

8. His son Abū ‘All al-Muḥassan, called Sāhīb al-Tha‘alibī, died (according to Yakūt) on 8 Muharram 401/1010, like his father still a pagan. Ibn al-Kiftl consulted an autograph of his containing bibliographical notices of the works of Thābit b. Kurra and Sānîn b. Thābit. Yakūt quotes a few of his poems and mentions also his two brothers Abū Sā‘īd Sā‘īd (d. Rādāj 380/990) and al-‘Alī Sā‘īd, who was head of the affairs of state at the time of the caliph al-Muqtadī (in 372/983) and enjoyed the friendship in particular of the celebrated Twelver Shi‘a poet ‘Alī al-Mu’tamid, called Sahib al-Dawla, who lamented his death (on 12 Shawwāl 384/994) in al-Tha‘alibī, served as a secretary at the time of Mu‘īz al-Dawla and died on 3 Ramadān 401/1010. He could well have been the son of Sā‘īd b. Ibrāhīm (see no. 8).

_Bibliography:_ Agrāf al-Sabi‘, no. 8.

9. His son was the famous historian Abu ‘l-Husayn Hilāl [g.v.] (359/969-1055), a convert to Islam and served as a secretary at the time of the caliph al-Kā‘im. He inherited from his father a considerable fortune and was thus apparently able to devote himself to literary and philanthropic activities. Of the latter, we know in particular of his endowment of a public library in Jerusalem with 1,000 books. He died in Dar ‘al-Ka‘da 480/1088. His history, _Dhīl Ta‘rīkh Hilāl al-Sā‘īd_, or ‘Uyun al-tawārikh, which continued his father’s chronicle down almost to the time of his own death, has not survived as such, but it was used extensively by al-Khāṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Dalwāzī and, in particular, by Sībīt Ibn al-Dalwāzī, whose account of the events from 448-79/1055-86 seems to be almost entirely dependent on Qhār al-Ninma. Extant is his _Kitāb al-Huṣnāf al-nādira min al-mu‘ākhir al-mahzūn_ (etc.), a collection of over 400 amusing anecdotes (ed. Sā‘īd al-Aqṣāt, Damascus 1387/1967). Fragments survive of his _Kitāb al-Raḥs_, evidently also a compendium of anecdotes in the style of the _Nīshtār al-muhbadda_ of al-Tanākhī.

10. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Hilāl, called Qhār al-Ninma, served as a secretary at the time of the caliph al-Kā‘im. He inherited from his father a considerable fortune and was thus apparently able to retire from official service and devoted himself to literary and philanthropic activities. Of the latter, we know in particular of his endowment of a public library in Jerusalem with 1,000 books. He died in Dar ‘al-Ka‘da 480/1088. His history, _Dhīl Ta‘rīkh Hilāl al-Sā‘īd_, or ‘Uyun al-tawārikh, which continued his father’s chronicle down almost to the time of his own death, has not survived as such, but it was used extensively by al-Khāṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Dalwāzī and, in particular, by Sībīt Ibn al-Dalwāzī, whose account of the events from 448-79/1055-86 seems to be almost entirely dependent on Qhār al-Ninma. Extant is his _Kitāb al-Huṣnāf al-nādira min al-mu‘ākhir al-mahzūn_ (etc.), a collection of over 400 amusing anecdotes (ed. Sā‘īd al-Aqṣāt, Damascus 1387/1967). Fragments survive of his _Kitāb al-Raḥs_, evidently also a compendium of anecdotes in the style of the _Nīshtār al-muhbadda_ of al-Tanākhī.
The Mesopotamian dialectal pronunciation of sabî, where the ‘ayn has been transformed into y or i, also occurs in Mandaeans (cf. Lidzbarski, Ginza; Nödelke, Mandatische Grammatik; R. Macuch, Handbuch, 94, i. 16: sabiu). This substantive, which became current in Mecca during the period of Kur'ân preaching, irrespective of its etymology, derives from the Semitic root s-b-î (Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic. The verb signifies, in the first form, “to dye, to bathe, to immerse”; whence, in the second form, “to baptise (by immersion)”’. Consequently, the noun denotes "baptists", named three times in the Qur'ân (II, 62; V, 69; XXII, 17), in the company of the Believers, the Jews and the Christians, with whom they share the title of "people of the Book" (ahl al-kitâb). In the last of these verses (XXII, 17), the sabî' occupy the third place after the Believers and the Jews, and are followed by the Christians, the Zoroastrians and the polytheists; which would suggest a closer relationship between them and the Jews. A reference to baptism is to be found in sûra II, 138, where the context is that of the "imprint" (sibgha) of God on the Muslim, which is compared to Christian baptism (J. Fenrice, A Dictionary of the Koran, repr. London 1970, 81; cf. al-Kulim, Fârîd, lith. Tehran 1307/1928, 152, where fîna “matter”, is opposed to sibgha which “is Islam” (hiya l-islam); other references (apud Kraus, Jâbir, ii, 171, n. 1).

Given the indisputable monotheism of the sabî'ân of the Kur'ân, this can only refer to a baptising religious community. There is a temptation to think immediately of the Mandaeans, who are dispersed, at the present day, on the banks of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, and along the river Karun in Khuzistan. They are called by their Arab neighbours subha or subbi “baptisers”; they form two groups: the mandâyî (gnostics) and the nâyârî (observers). This is the thesis defended by D. Chwolsohn in Die Sabier und der Sabismus, dating from 1856. Although it has been severely criticised over certain of its conclusions, this work remains a basis for studies of the Sabians (cf. J. Hjärpe, Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabiens Flammariens, Upsala 1972, 1 ff.).

On the basis of a text of Ibn al-Nadîm (Fihrist, 340), where there is reference to a baptising sect called al-mughtasila, also known as sabat al-batâ-î, “the Sabaeans of the marshes”, whose leader was called ‘îbâs yâh (var. ‘îhâs yâh). D. Chwolsohn identified the latter with Elchasai (i, 112 ff.), thus identifying Mandaeans and Elchasaites. He found evidence for this in information recorded by Hippolytus in Refutatio omnium haeresium, ix, 13 (ed. Wendland, 251), where it is said that Elchasai, founder of the sect, is supposed to have given a revealed book to a man named Sobai. Chwolsohn made of the last-named “a later personification of the name of a sect, this being that of the Sabaeans—the Mandaeans being called al-subba” (Hjärpe, op. cit., 11).

On the basis of the etymological sense of sabî'ân, he considers that the term had been translated by al-mughtasila, “the baptisers” (i, 110). A year before the appearance of Die Sabier, E. Renan had contributed a Note sur l'identité de la secte gnostique des Elchasaites with the Mandaeans or Sabians in Ja. vi (1855), 292-4.

Since then, researches into the Elchasaites have made it possible to correct this confusion (see, for example, A. J. W. Brandt, Elchaisai: ein Religionsstifter und sein Werk, Leipzig 1912, and more recently, A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, Patrisiche evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects, Leiden 1973 = Suppl. to NT, xxvi; G. P. Luttikhuizen, "The resolution of the problem of the "Sabians": an essay on the Elchasaites in the perspective of 1985 = Texte u. Studien zum antiken Judenland, 8. It is thanks to the biography of Mâni, found in the Codex Manichaeus Colonensis (cf. W. Sundermann, Mittelein in manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts = Berliner Turfantexte, xi, East Berlin 1981, 19, text 2.1, tr. 3.), that it is known that the Elchasaites were not identified with the Mandaeans. In fact, Mâni “grew up, lived, formed his system of thought and matured his vocation” between A.D. 219-20 and 240, in a community of sectaries called, in Greek and Coptic documents, baptitai (“baptisers, baptists”), by Arab authors, al-mughtasila (“those who purify themselves, who wash themselves”) and, according to the Syriac tradition, the maqârâ (“those who purify themselves” or “are purified”) and hêlê hewwârê (“white vestments”). Cf. al-Tabarî, Ta'âfîr, xxviii, 55 f. on the hânîrâyân, a term normally denoting the apostles of Jesus, but al-Dalbakh zëees here al-ghâşidân in Nabataean, since, as others specify “they cleaned their garments”.

These “sectarians” are identical, as is declared by the Codex of Oxyrhynchos, not with the Mandaeans, which has been the general belief until now, but with the Elchasaites, disciples of the doctrine which spread in consequence of a vision experienced in “the land of the Parthians”, around the year A.D. 100, by the prophet Elchasai (Alkhasaios) (H.-Ch. Puech, Le manichéisme, in Histoire des Religions, ii, Paris 1972 = Encyclopédie de la Pléiade). At twelve years old, then again at twenty-four years old, Mâni received from the Holy Spirit the command to leave this community and to show himself in public, vigorously proclaiming his doctrine. Excluded from his community for having “deviated from the Law”, in turning towards “Hellenism” and towards the “world”, he left it accompanied by his father and by his two sole supporters. In his eyes, baptism was said to have been nothing more than a false religion, instigated by the “Spirit of Error” (ibid., 532-3). In spite of this, he “claimed as his own a number of views borrowed from Elchasasm” (ibid.), while criticising “two of their principal practices: the habit of daily and frequently repeated ablutions; the prohibition concerning bread, fruit and vegetables of foreign provenance and of profane origin” (ibid.).

The Elchasaites are one of those sects which are described as “Judaico-Christian”, such as the Nazaraeans, the Ebionites and the Archontics. The Ebionites, established in Transjordania in the time of Trajan, formed one of the groups belonging to Palestinian Christianity; they were very close to Rabbinical Judaism. They have been rejected or accepted in particular the all-too-speculative Christology of St. Paul, in whom “they saw an Antichrist, responsible for the apostasy of so many brothers”. In the eyes of the Hellenistic churches, they took on little by little “the appearance of a heretical sect, while in fact, they were the direct heirs of the primitive Church, even if they no longer had the combative vitality”. They adopted “a Gospel inspired by the synoptic
Gospels, but adapted to their doctrinal idiosyncrasies, the Gospels of the Ebionites, of which only a few fragments are known” (cf. on this subject, E. Trocmé, *Le Christianisme des origines au Concile de Nîmes*, ii, Paris 1972, 234-5).

These Ebionites drew the attention of a major theologian of the last century, A. von Harnack; he saw in their doctrine “Christian parallels with Islam” (*Christliche Parallelen zum Islam*, Vortrag im Leipziger akademischen Docentenverein, 1877-8, 18 ff.).

More recently, three scholars have taken an interest in this problem: P. Roncaglia, *Eléments ebionites et ébionites dans le Goran*, in *Proche-Orient Chretien*, vii (1971), 101-26; M. Hamidullah, *Two christians of Pre-Islamic Mecca: 'Uthmán ibn al-Huwaïrith and Waraqa ibn Naufal*, in *Jnl. of the Pakistan Historical Soc.*, vi (1958), 97-103, and Abú Músa 'I-Harirí (pseudonym of J. 'Azzi), *Kiss wa-nabi. Bahthfi nash'aat al-Isldm* (“Priest and prophet. Research into the origin of Islam”), Jounieh-Kasslik 1979, pp. 223. This is a very methodical study of the Kur'ânic elements which make up the construction of a theorem which has tempted many scholars in the past, the sc. the Judeo-Christian origin of Islam. Identifying “Nazaraeans” (nasūra) with Ebionites, the author makes Waraka b. Nawfal, the cousin of Khadidja, first wife of Muhammad, the teacher and mentor of the latter, preparing him to succeed him at the head of the small Ebionite community of Mecca (on the Christians in Mecca on the eve of the Hidjra, cf. Lammens in *BIFAO*, xiv [1918], 191-230, and A. Jeffrey, *Christians at Mecca*, in *MW*, xix [1929], 24-35).

Having examined all the elements capable of having an origin in the Gospel of the Ebionites, known also by the name Gospel of the Hebrews, current according to St. Jerome among the Nazaraeans, in other words the Aramaic-speaking Judeo-Christian Christians of Palestine and Syria (cf. B. Altaner, *Précis de Paléographie*, tr. Grandclodon, Mulhouse-Tournai 1941, 53-4), the author considers that Muhammad abandoned the path traced by Waraka when he left Mecca for Medina and founded the Islamic state, where the tradition of Arab political isolationism was revived. He sees the signs of this separation appearing in the contradictions arising between what he calls the “Kur'ân of the prophet and the church” and the “mushqf of the Qur'ân”. The thesis in itself is fascinating, but its demonstration will remain based on assumptions which are not likely to be confirmed by new sources.

The “baptismal imprint”, to which there is reference in sūra II, 138, quoted above, may apply to Ebionites/Nazaraeans as well as to Elchasaites/mahdīs/muhājirūn. On the latter, see the interesting study written by F. de Blois, intitled *The Sabians (Sābī'un) in Pre-Islamic Arabia*, to appear in *SS*, which includes an annotated translation of the construction of the *Fihrist* concerning them. In this study the author proposes a new interpretation of the term sābī'un which he translates by “converted”, on the basis of the root ṣ-b-ḥ, which will be considered further at a later stage. He sees in this term, applied to Muhammad and his followers by their Meccan adversaries, a reference to the Manichaean. On the basis of a possible equivalence between sâbî and zindik in the sense of “heretic”, “infidel”, the author believes that, in the time of the Prophet, the word sâbî signifies “Manichean”, being later replaced by zindik. But Kister (Arabica, xv [1968], 144-5, quoted by de Blois, n. 39) supplies evidence for an equivalence zindik = mazdaki.

Two texts seem ostensibly to support the view of F. de Blois:

The text of the first is a description of the zandaka by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (cf. al-Ṭabarî, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 588). A zindik was brought before him who refused to repent; then he had him decapitated and crucified and said to his son al-Hādi: “When you accede to the caliphate, devote yourself to the repression of this band (zulma), I mean the followers of Mānî. It is a sect which calls upon people to behave well, by practising ascetism here on earth, by preparing for the life hereafter; then, it incites them to deny themselves the consumption of meat, the touching of pure water, to abstain from killing reptiles in order to avoid the commission of turpitudes, by practising ascetism here on earth, by preparing for the life hereafter; finally, it allows them marriage with sisters and daughters, ablation with urine, the seizure of children in the streets with the object of removing them from the Darkness and leading them towards the Lights. Raise before the followers of this sect the gībbet (khushshab) and draw the sword from the scabbard, for the honour of Allāh, who has no partner”.

The caliph added: “I have seen in a dream your grand-father al-'Abbās handing me two swords and commanding me to slay the dualists (arshāb al-ithnayn)”. Whatever the part played here by folkloric elements, these two texts reflect the opinion held by Muslims, in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd period, regarding the Manichaean. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this opinion differed from that current in the time of Kuṭ'ānic preaching. Therefore, it must be reckoned inconceivable that such Manichaean had always, from the time of Kuṭ'ān, as forming part of the “people of the Book”.

The Manichaean had scriptures; but it is questionable to what extent these scriptures were known in Central Arabia at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. There are definitely some convergences to be observed between Kuṭ'ānic and Manichaean concepts in matters of prophecy and revelation. But these convergences derive from “an anonymous tendency of general thought” (T. Andréas, *Muhamet*, 110), where are encountered ideas of the “Messenger of God”, of the “seal of the prophets”, of the Paraclete promised by Jesus, of ecumenism, of possession of total truth and absolute knowledge, the claim of accommodating previous revelations and of achieving “a complete gnosia, a pure and perfect knowledge, of which the clarity and evidence are immediate and the scope infinite” (Puech, *Histoire des literatures*, i, 679).

It is important to bear in mind the fact that Central Arabia was (and remained) heretically sealed to any religious mission emanating from Byzantium, from Persia, from Abyssinia. If Manichaean succeeded in making their way to Mecca, it was only in the role of merchants or of slaves. The latter played a significant part in the penetration of certain Judaic-Christian ideas into nascent Islam. An obvious example is that
of Zayd b. Hārīthah whom Muḥammad emancipated and then adopted. It was he who taught Muḥammad and ʿAll to read and write. Attention may also be drawn to ʿAdās, a Christian slave and a native of Nineveh, who acknowledged the prophethood of Muḥammad, also to the seven djinn inhabiting Nisīb who believed his message and went away to convey it to their fellows (Kūrān XLVI, 29-32; LXXI, 1; etc.).

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the name Muḥammad was not widely known before the time of the Prophet. Among those who bore this name before Islam, Ibn Saʿd, Thāqātā, i, 112, mentions Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Tamīmī and describes him as a "bishop". This name corresponds to the Greek-Latin Εὐχοῦτος/Eulogius. Did the adversaries of the Prophet see in this an indication of his belonging to a baptising community? Al-Ṭabarānī, sdbP^, 242, renders sdbP^ by muraḍd "renegade", and adds that the Arabs call sdbP^ anyone who abandons his religion for another". The polytheists said of the Prophet: kad saba^a, an expression which could be rendered by kad ta'ammeda, "he has had himself baptised" (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 123). In the same commentary, Ziyād b. Abīh (d. 53/673) and Katāda (d. 117/735) supply the information that the saba^a "worshipped the angels (malāʾika)", a fact attested by St. Hippolytus, ix, 13, 2-3, with regard to the Elchasaites; see also St. Epiphanius, xix, 4, 1-2; xxx, 17; 623, i, 1, 9 (references given by de Blois, loc. cit.; cf. Marcel Simon, Remarques sur l'angelodltrie juive au début de l'ère chrétienne, in CRAJ [1971], 120-32). It may be noted, finally, that the akwa^b sab^unw, "the seven words", which Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to the maghūfisla, as they have been restored by I. Stern and M. A. Lewy (quoted by de Blois, loc. cit.), find an echo in sūra IV, 199, where, speaking of Jesus, the Kurān says: "On the day of Resurrection, he will testify against them (= those who are said to have believed in Him)".

2. The Sābīʿa of Harrān.

Thus far the discussion has been of baptising sects, whose nomenclature derives from the root s-b-^, not being appropriate for the pagan gnostics of Harrān, this root was replaced by the commentators by a root s-b-^, in the sense of "to bow down" before the celestial bodies, to worship the planets, which fitted the cults of the Harrānian priests. The Sābīʿa of Harrān, Thabit b. Kurra made known through numerous writings (Chwolsohn, ii, 1-6; Wiedemann, in Physica and the Philosophia Arabica, with the aim of evading the caliph's threats. The caliph of the time were then present in large numbers in Bagdhād. The most eminent of them was Thābit b. Kurra (q.v.). Chwolsohn devotes a long chapter to biographies of the Sabian scholars (i, ch. 12); there he introduces some thirty of them: philosophers, doctors, astronomers and mathematicians.

The Sabians of Bagdhād were, it seems, considered to be herodox by the Sabians of Harrān (Ibn Khallikān, Wafqa^yā, n. 127, tr. de Slane, i, 288). The caliph of the time were then present in large numbers in Bagdhād. The most eminent of them was Thābit b. Kurra made known through numerous writings (Chwolsohn, ii, 1-6; Wiedemann, in Physica and the Philosophy of the Harrānians. He succeeded in forging amicable relations with the scholars of his time (Muslims, Jews and Christians) and was therefore capable of diffusing ideas which were to appear in the theoligico-philosophical speculations of the subsequent period, at the time of the development of what has been called "Arab hermeticism" (cf. J. Doresse, L'hermetisme egyptien, in Histoire des Religions, ii, Paris 1922, 479-82), inspired by "Sabian" doctrines and "Indianised" hermeticist alchemy, the expression of which is to be found in:


(4) Naḥfa^i al-nabatīyya (Damascus 1993), a geoponographic treatise probably translated from the Syriac by Ibn Wadhibiya (q.v.) at the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries A.D., containing "religious data" relating to a stellar theology based on "secrets" and on "revelations" made by the Sun, the Moon and Saturn to Adam, to Seth, his son, to Messus and to other leaders of rival gnostic sects in Babylonia. The author of the third recension of the book, Kūṭhāma, was the leader of the sect of the...
Kukaeans, known from Syriac authors; he relates, in long digressions, the echoes of their quarrels, the essential points of which are to be found in a brief survey published in ZDMG, suppl. iii, 3, Wiesbaden 1977, 362 [see also NABAT. 2].

In a very detailed study, Michel Tardieu sees the Harrānians as Platonists (cf. Sābiens coraniques et “Sābiens... de Harrān”, in JA, cxxxiv [1986], 1-44), “in the academic sense of the term. Plato was the object of their study and the centre of the research activity of their school” (39). He refuses to describe them as “gnostics...” (ibid.), “they were not philosophers by profession. But they utilised the philosophers, and Plato in particular” (ibid.). He bases his argument on a statement by al-Masūdī (Marātīq, ed. Pellat, ii, Paris 1965, 536-7, § 1395; cf. also his K. al-Tanbih wa ‘l-ishrāf, 162, tr. 3-5), declaring that he “saw at Harrān, on the knocker of the door of the meeting-place of the Sābiens, an inscription in Syriac characters, drawn from Plato”, which read as “He who knows his nature becomes a god” and “Man is a celestial plant. In fact, man resembles an upturned tree, the root being turned towards the sky and branches [sunk] in the ground” (Tardieu, 13 ff.). He sees, in the first “an echo of Alcibiades, 133.C” and, in the second, “a reminiscence of Timaeus, 90 A.7-B.2 (cf. ref. 3, n. 8 and 14). It may be noted that echoes of these quotations are to be found in the literature of the “Sayings of the Sābiens” (Placita philosophorum) and that the quotation from the Timaeus occurs twice in the Nabataean agriculture (i.e., 360). There is no evidence to indicate that the Nabataeans of the region of Sūra were Platonists; it has been observed that various currents of a gnostic tendency had developed there.

At the end of this extremely erudite survey, the author identifies the sābi’al of the Kur’ān with “the Platonists R. and S. of Harrān” (cf. the “Archontics” of Epiphanius (Har., xxix, 7, xi, 1. 5), known also by the name of “Stratiotics” (Epiphanius, ibid., xxvi, 3, 7), followers of the “celestial bands”, a Judaism-Christian sect of gnostic character, formed in Palestine and known in Egypt (ibid., xi, 1. 8) and in Arabia (ibid., xi, 1. 5). The Kur’ānic term would be derived from the Hebrew sābā, “army” (an explanation already proposed by E. Pococke). Such an association of ideas, which he traces back to Judaism-Christian circles, among whom the Elchaisaites/mughattâs provide, in the present writer’s opinion, the best explanation of the Kur’ānic sābi’al.

Thus, whatever may be the origin of the name of the sābā’al, the latter are shown to belong to two distinct groups: on the one hand, the disciples of Judaism-Christian baptismal sects (Ebionites, Elchaisaites, mughattâs, Stratiotics) and, on the other, Harrānians astrologers, the last representatives of decadent Greco-Roman paganism. Both groups may be described as gnostic: the first, Christian and the second, pagan. Hence the ambiguity of the term denoting them, and the diversity of commentaries relating to the three Kur’ānic verses which name them. A degree of corruption has occurred over the centuries, both in the terminology and the concepts, and this has greatly hindered the task of the historian of ideas and of religions.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text, see, for studies and sources in general: D.A. Chwolson, Der Sabi’ und der Sabismus, i-ii, St. Petersburg 1856, where the bibliography of previous works is to be found; J. Hjärpe, Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabeens Harraniens, typescript thesis, Uppsala 1972, pp. 187, including the remainder of the bibl. F. de Blois, cited in text, has made a selection of important studies of the subject, of which the most recent are: C. Buck, The identity of the Sābi’un: an historical quest, in MW, lxiv (1984), 172-86, and M. Tardieu, cited in text.


(T. FAH)
303); “God created me [Muhammad] and ‘Ali and Fāṭima and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and the (other) imāms from a light” (al-Kirmānī, Muḥīn, i, 304); “I [Muhammad] was created from the light of God; He created my family from my light and created those that love them from their light; the rest of mankind are in hell” (al-Kirmānī, Fasīl, 71); in one account, the Throne was created from the light of the Prophet, the angels from that of ‘Ali, the heavens and earth from that of Fāṭima, the sun and moon from that of Ḥasan, and heaven from that of Ḥusayn (ibid., 75-6).

The term sābīkūn was also widely used in early Bābism, where it was applied with created those that love them from their light; the rest of mankind are in hell” (al-Kirmānī, Mubīn, 75-6). That love them from their light; the rest of mankind are in hell” (al-Kirmānī, Fast, 75-6). That love them from their light; the rest of mankind are in hell” (al-Kirmānī, Kitāb al-Mubīn, 75-6).

Later, Bābism introduced numerous variations on this theme, and in the early period of Bahā’ī Bābism, several believers were given names of God, preceded by the title Ṣaḥīḥ (thus Ṣaḥīḥ Ṣaḥāb). Bibliography: Abū Ḍayfār Muḥammad... b. Iḥsān al-Kulaynī, al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī, ed. Muḥammad Bāḏkār al-Bihbītī and ‘Alī Akbar al-Qhāffārī, 4 vols., Tehran, 1392/1972, Kitāb al-Hujjāba, bāb 94 and 111 (pp. 302-7, 434 ff.); Ḥādīth Muḥammad Ḥān Kirmānī, al-Kitāb al-mubīn, 2 vols., ‘Kīrmanī, 1354 šīrīn, 1354 šīrīn, 1354 šīrīn, 1354 šīrīn, 1354 šīrīn.

Thus we find in the Kurgan its literal usage, as in (A.), pi. 91, “whoever is able to make his way thither” (sc. to the Ka’ba in Mecca), “where the sāḥib al-sūbūn was sustained by a loanword in Kur’ānic usage, most likely taken from Syriac, where shirkātā is used primarily as “way of life”, just as in Arabic (The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’ān, Baroda 1938, 162).

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2. As an architectural term.

As noted above, the sābil is used in mediaeval Islamic sources to designate water-houses which provided drinking water for free public use. In Egyptian waḳf documents of the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, the term sābil is also used to designate other charitable objects, such as bauḍ al-sābil, i.e. a drinking trough for the animals, or maktub al-sābil which is a charitable elementary school for boys. Although public water-supply is not specifically Islamic—it was a basic feature of Roman and Byzantine cities—the significance of the sābil in Islamic cities is due to the repeated precept in the Kur’ān to give drinking water to the thirsty. However, the sābil was not common in all Islamic cities, and in the cities where it was widespread its appearance does not seem to predating the 12th century. In some cities of Cairo, Fez or Istanbul, the sābil is characterised by a distinctive architectural form. It is always richly decorated and thus meant to be an aesthetic element in the street.

1. Cairo. Mediaeval Cairo was at a distance from the Nile and, because of its hot and dry climate, the provision of drinking water was a matter of great importance. Drinking water was transported from the Nile in goatskins by camels and sold in the street by ambulant water-carriers or in shops. However, providing water on a charitable basis gave the ruling establishment a good reason to demonstrate their piety.

As a charitable foundation, a sābil was sustained by waḳf endowments. The waḳf documents of Mamlūk and Ottoman Cairo include a great deal of references to sābīl, though the descriptions are generally brief. Some were attached to mosques, others were independent constructions. In the late 8th/14th century it became customary to combine the sābil with a maktub or primary school for boys; the maktub was built above the sābil.

The sābil is usually built on two levels, an underground cistern (shibrīq) and on the street level a room (bānūt al-sābil) where the masūmātīldī, or attendant of the sābil, served the public. Through the win-
dow grills he issued the water in copper or ceramic cups to the passer-by. The openings at the lowest part of the grills have the shape of a row of arches which are large enough for the cups to be passed. A stone bench was built beneath the window to allow the user to stand at the level of the grill to receive the cup.

The intake of the sabil was filled once a year during the season of the Nile flood in the summer; canals or mules carried the water from the Nile or the Khatibi Canal of Cairo in goat skins. The intake was filled in from an opening on the façade of the sabil. It was made of brick and roofed with domes supported by piers and had an entrance for the maintenance staff. It was cleaned before the yearly refill and sprayed with incense; the water was perfumed with basil leaves.

Water from the intake was raised by means of buckets and filled into basins of stone or marble where the cups were replenished. A more sophisticated type of sabil, such as that of Sultan al-Qhawri, had a cistern located in a back room behind the bânaî. From this cistern a ghadrîn was fed. The ghadrîn in Cairene terminology is a fountain in the wall surmounted by a decorative niche, usually made of painted and gilded wood with mukarnas [q.v.], and connected to a sloping marble panel (salsabil) which led the water from the wall down into a stone or marble basin. The function of the ghadrîn, which faced the sabîl window, was not only decorative but it served also to air the water coming from the cistern.

The floor of a sabîl was always paved with marble. Water was raised from the intake through a round opening surrounded by a marble balustrade (kharaza). The ceiling of the sabîl, which is visible to the public through the grills, was made of wood and as a rule richly painted and gilded. Cairene sabîls are usually adorned with the Kûr'anic inscription of Šurat al-insân (LXXVI, 16-18) which refers to Paradise, where a heavenly ginger-flavoured water from a fountain called Salsabil will be served.

The maktab of the sabîl is a room, similar to a loggia, open with a double or triple arch on each side. It was reached by its own staircase.

The musnamîlitâ was in charge of cleaning the premises of the sabîl and its utensils and of raising the water from the cistern and serving it to the thirsty. WÂ'ef documents usually stipulate that he should be clean, good-looking, free of infirmity and healthy; some documents stipulate that he should have good manners. The musnamîlitâ dwelt in an apartment attached to the sabîl.

Whereas Mamlûk sabîls were served by one person only, some Ottoman sabîls had more than one musnamîlitâ, such as that of 'Abd al-Rahmân Katkhûdâ, which had three. In the Ottoman period the musnamîlitâ was sometimes assisted by a person called the sabîlî.

The opening time of sabîls varied; some were open all day long, and during the month of Ramadan all night; others were open only at specific hours of the day, between the prayers of noon (zuhr) and afternoon (asar); yet others were open only during summer.

Cairo has an important number of sabîls from the Mamlûk and Ottoman periods. The earliest extant sabîl is that of Sultan al-Nâşir Mu'âmmad built in the early 6th/14th century. Today it is ruined and appears as an L-shaped prop on columns built along the corner of the madrasa of al-Nâşir's father al-Manṣûr Kalâwûn. It was surmounted by a small dome decorated with faience mosaic on the base. The sabîl of Amîr Shawkûn (755/1354) is a very different type of building; it is hewn in the rock in the form of a vaulted room.

By the second half of the 8th/14th century, the standard location of the sabîl was at the corner of a religious building with a maktab on the upper floor. With two large iron-grilled windows, one on each façade, it was well ventilated. This device was maintained throughout the Mamlûk and Ottoman periods. Some mosques have more than one sabîl-maktab.

Sultan Kâ'it Bây, who was a great builder, erected a number of separate sabîls all over the city. They had one or two apartments attached to them, sometimes also a shop. Some had a mibrâb in the wall of the bânaî. The only surviving maktab of Kâ'it Bây is at the Šaliba street (884/1479); it has three façades and is one of the most lavishly decorated monuments of mediaeval Cairo, with polychrome inlaid marble, carvings, and inscriptions.

The sabîl of Sultan al-Qhawri, attached to his religious-funerary complex (909/1504) in the centre of the old city of Cairo, is described in the wâ'ef document with more detail than usual. It projects from the street with three façades, each with a large window. Behind each window there was a marble basin connected to a fauswâya, a kind of water tap, which received water through lead tubes from the ghadrîn. In summer the windows of the sabîl were protected with awnings against the sun.

The Ottomans founded fewer religious buildings than the Mamlûks, but they erected an important number of sabîls and maktabs in Cairo, some of which have a mibrâb and were used also for prayer.

Until the 18th century the sabîl-maktabs continued to be built in the Mamlûk style. In the mid-18th century, a new trend for façade decoration in carved stone appears also in sabîl architecture. Amîr 'Abd al-Rahmân Katkhûdâ, a great patron of architecture who created a new style of façade decoration, sponsored in 1157/1744 one of the most handsome sabîl-maktabs of the old city of Cairo. Built at the bifurcation of the main street of al-Kâhirâ, it has three façades with marble carved in Turkish style and inlaid in Mamlûk style. The eastern façade has a trilobe mukarnas portal. The interior is panelled with Turkish ceramic tiles. Two apartments for the staff are attached to the building. It has a mibrâb in the shape of a painted niche in the ceramic tiles surmounted by a representation of Mîhrâb.

In the late 18th century, the architectural style of the sabîls of Cairo shows Turkish influence. This can be seen at the curved semi-circular and faceted façades, the floral carvings, the inscribed cartouches with poems and chronograms, often in Turkish, and the elaborate window grills. However, the sabîl maintains its basic traditional features such as the maktab on the upper floor. The sabîl attached to the madrasa of Sultan Mâhmûd (1164/1750) has five facets and was used also for teaching; along with the sabîls of Rukâyya Dîdû (1174/1761) and Nafîsa al-Baydâ' (1211/1796), it is among the finest examples of the late Ottoman period.

In the 19th century the Turco-Italian influence is even more pronounced, while the Islamic decorative repertoire tends to vanish. The sabîls of this period, unlike their contemporaries in Turkey, however, maintain their façades.

Fâs. The city of Fâs is often said to be built on water because of the abundance of the water which it receives from the river Fâs and its tributaries, as well as from a multitude of springs. In the 5th/11th century an underground system of piped channels was built beneath the city to serve its mosques, houses and fountains.

Fâs has preserved an important number of public fountains known popularly as šâkya (from sabîl "to
Fig. 1. The sabil of ʿAbd al-Rahmān Katkhudā in Cairo (1157/1744) (by Philip Speiser).
give to drink”). Already in the Almohad period, during the reign of al-Manṣūr, the city had 80 public fountains. Today 106 fountains survive, of which 93 are functioning. The earliest datable one is from 840/1436 (Betsch).

Fig. 2. The composition of a sabil at Fās (by William Betsch).

The shape of the fountains of Fās show a persistent continuity over the centuries. The typical fountain is a mural structure which consists of a vertical rectangular panel including a recessed arch. This composition has been compared with that of a gate or a mihrāb and associated with symbolism. At the lower part of the arch are the spigots from which the water flows down into a basin or sundūk protruding from the wall. The fountains are characterised by their faience mosaic decoration or zalādh. Thousands of individually shaped elements cut from glazed ceramic tiles of several colours and cast into plaster or cement are combined to form geometric star designs of dazzling effect. Considering the white introverted architecture which is a kind of self-service ceshme, the resemblance with a gate or a mihrāb can be noticed here. The ceshmes of the 18th century are surmounted by a large crest filled with arabesques, similar to that on manuscripts. Many fountains combine a sebil with a ceshme. White marble is characteristic of Turkish water architecture.

In the late 10th/16th century, the shape of the Ottoman sebils begins to acquire its characteristic features. Sebils like that of Gazarfer Āغا (1599) in Istanbul were built as part of a religious or funerary complex in the shape of polygonal faceted structures with arched grill windows set between pilasters; the leaded domical roof had eaves. Goodwin sees in the late 10th/16th century the genesis of Ottoman water architecture, which reaches its apogee in the late tulp period [see Lale Devri] during the first third of the 12th/18th century, “an age of water”. At that time, instead of the faceted façade of the sebil, it becomes more curved and semi-circular and, when integrated into a tomb, both façades are combined, such as in the complexes of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (1147/1734) and Hacı Mehmet Emin Āğa (1572/1710). The marble of this period is carved with baroque foliation and garlands, flamboyant floral and fruit motifs combined with traditional patterns, which also characterise contemporary ceshmes. The grills become intricate with lacy patterns.

The most famous water-house is that of Sultan Ahmed III (1141/1728) built at the gate of the Topkapı Seray as a combination of four sebils and four ceshmes. Built of marble with a wooden roof that runs down into eaves, it consists of a central rectangular cistern with a ceshme on each side. The ceshmes are set within arched panels with polychrome vousoirs and are flanked by a pair of mukarnas niches which include benches. The sebils occupy the corners, each with three concave intricate grills between columns. Five wooden domes protrude from the roof, four at the corners and a central one. Gilded foundation inscriptions written as poems in nastā’īk adorn the upper part of the building. Carved marble, paintings, polychrome vousoirs and tiles contribute to the lavish decoration.

The fountains of 19th century Turkey which stand independently as public spaces, such as that of Cevat ul-Hamdi Āğa at Istanbul (1310/1892), are characterised by their rectangular shape and rectilinear façades, which contrast with the shallow curves of the decorative arches and the volute designs. Their decoration follows European tradition.

Bibliography. L.A. Mayer, The buildings of Qays-bay as described in his endowment deed, London 1938;

It was for this sort of thing that he won the admiration of his contemporaries, for example that of the now much more famous Anwarl [9.9.], who says in one of his poems:

As 546/1151-2, which seems too late.

...for the similarities of Sabir to a much more intricate manner of writing, often qualified as “baroque” [see further IRAN. vii.]

The most noticeable feature of Sabir’s poetry is his dexterous use of artificial devices. ‘Awfi singles out a contrived poem dedicated to MahdT al-Din in which Sabir uses the words sun (cyprus) and heaven in every verse of the first (as main) section, and then the words ḥālī (sun) and āsmān (heaven) in every verse of the second (panegyric) section. He also composed not one, but several long poems in which every verse enumerates three things ("one thing is A, a second is B, a third is C") or again, a kāsinā in which he does without the letter alif. It was for this sort of thing that he won the admiration of his contemporaries, for example that of the now much more famous Anwarl [9.9.], who says in one of his verses:

At least I am as good as Sanā‘ī, even if I am not like Sabir'.

The sabil of ʿAbd al-Rahmān Katkhudā in Cairo (1157/1744).
The fountain of al-Nadjjarin at Fas.
The *sabil* of Sultan Ahmed III in Istanbul (1141/1728).
Literature, at vol. IV, 60aj. For a long time Persian critics have interpreted this development as a decline, which reached its lowest level during the period of the Indian style. The appellation "Indian style" was derived from the fact that the features usually associated with this style were most conspicuous in the works of poets and writers who were attached to Indian courts during the Mughal period. As the poets of the Safavid court of Isfahan in the 17th and early 18th centuries wrote in a similar fashion, some modern Persian scholars have proposed to use the names sabk-i Isfahani sabk-i shiā for identifying the two styles.

Although a development of style as outlined by this classification cannot be denied, it is impossible to determine the chronological boundaries between the three periods with any precision. Only the end of the period of the Indian style can be dated approximately, and then only as far as Persia itself is concerned. In the middle of the 12th/18th century, poets in Isfahan and Shiraz, notably Mohάshd, Mafūn and Lutf-Allî Beg [q.v.] Adhâr, began to criticise the excesses of the Indian style and to demand a return to what they regarded as the stylistic purity of early Persian poetry. This reaction, now known as the bāhsalt-i adabi (the "literary return"), initiated a neo-classicism which dominated the writing of poetry in Persia well into the present century. It also influenced the outlook of Persian critics on the Indian style. This outlook is reflected, for instance, in the introduction to Riđâ Kuli Khân Hidâyât's Magâma' al-fusahâ (completed in 1288/1871), where the word sabk is already used in its modern sense although the geographical qualifications are not yet mentioned. Similar views were expressed in a letter on the subject written by Mirzâ Muhammad Kazwînî to E.G. Browne (LHP, iv, 26-8). This neo-classicist return did not affect, however, Persian poetry written in Afghanistan, Central Asia and, particularly, the Indian subcontinent, where the Indian style held its ground.

According to M.T. Bahâr, the theory of the three styles came into being in the late 13th/19th century, when the question which one of the two early styles should be taken as a model for imitation was much debated. About 1880, literary critics at Mashhad, to Afghanistan, Central Asia and, particularly, the Indian subcontinent, where the Indian style held its ground.

It is less easy to determine the historical starting-point of the Indian style. Some modern scholars have maintained that its roots go back to the very beginnings of Indo-Persian poetry in the 7th/13th century; others have connected them to the rise of the Safavid style in Persia (10th/16th century) and the exodus of Persian poets to the Indian courts which began in the course of the same century. Several names have been put forward as the initiators of these stylistic changes: among them are Fighânî [q.v.], who was attached to the courts of Harât and Tabrîz during the transition between the Timurid and the Safavid dynasties, 'Urri [q.v.], a poet from Shirz̄ who in the late 10th/16th century was one of the first Persians to make a career at the Mughal court, and his contemporary the Indian-born Faydî [q.v.]. Even much earlier poets have been mentioned occasionally as predecessors.

The only statement which can be made with any degree of certainty is that the special traits of the Indian style are noticeable since the beginning of the 11th/17th century in all the countries where Persian poetry was cultivated. Eventually, it also made a strong impact on the poetry in the Persian manner which was written in Turkish, Urdu and other Indo-Aryan languages.

Several attempts have been made to define the distinctive features of Indian style poetry and to explain its appearance. The Indian scholar Shībī Nu'ān [q.v.], in the third volume of his Shīr-âl-'Adâm, drew up a list of such features, which has been seminal for subsequent research. Although the classification of the three regional styles was still unknown to him, he did acknowledge the innovations in the style of the poets of the 10th/16th-11th/17th centuries. The prominence gained by the "ghazal" since the 7th/13th century (due mainly to the influence of Sa'd, Amir Khusrwâ Dihlâtâ Hâfiz) was, according to Shībī, of primary importance. An early new element was the addition of references to actual occurrences of an erotic nature to the usually abstract imagery of ghazal poetry, known as wudâ'gūz, "relating incidents". A remarkable example is the Pîdâlîyâ, a cycle of ghazals written by Muhammad-î Kâshânî [q.v.] to celebrate a dancer he admired. The beloved was often identified as a young craftsman in the bazaar (mas'ud-i bâzâr), especially in sbâhârâb [q.v.], poetry, in which the beauty of the protagonist is described as "creating havoc in the town". The rise of this genre betrays a tendency towards realism noticeable also in the use of images taken from real life and of elements from popular speech, hitherto not regarded as suitable for the poetic idiom.

A second major trend is the conceptual complexity, affecting both imagery and themes, subsumed by Shībī under the headings khâyâl-bâf ("the weaving of the imagination") and madmân-sâzí ("the creation of concepts"). His observations were further developed by A. Bausani, who pointed out that the novelty of Indian style poetry was caused by the increasing disregard of the rule of the harmonious and associative choice of images ("das Prinzip der harmonischen oder beziehungsreichen Bildwahl"). In the phrase of H. Ritter, cf. Über die Bildersprache Nizâmi, Berlin 1927, 25), which had disciplined the phantasy of the classical poet. This greater freedom resulted in the combination of rather incongruous images within the compass of a single verse as well as in a much greater density of expression. The intricate play of the imagination of the Bausani's and the latter's Shībī's teacher Nadîm Bâshî, belonged to have taken a leading part in these discussions (cf. Sabk-ghâmâsi, i, pp. y-yb; see also Armaghân, xiii, 440 ff.).

Among the linguistic innovations, the formation of new compounds, a predilection for constructions based on participles rather than on finite verbs, and the extension of the semantic spectrum of words are particularly conspicuous (on this, see especially the monograph by W. Heinz). The syntax of the verse is not seldom unnatural, and this has become one of the most serious objections against the Indian style.

As a social factor promoting these changes, Shībī pointed to the rise, about the same time, of the
mushadams [q.v.], gatherings of poets where the poetic skills could be sharpened in competitive improvisations. This replaced the earlier tradition of imitating the works of older poets mainly accessible through written sources.

Explanations for the rise of these innovations have been sought in various directions: the political and religious revolution in Persia brought about by the establishment of the Safavid state, the different cultural conditions in India as well as structural changes in Persian society. These theories were discussed, especially in the writings of E. T. Arshadali (1935, 1936) and A. Miquel (1958). It is the terminus of a network of streams delineated by steep sides. After rain, it is more or less completely filled with water impregnated with mineral substances which accumulate at the bottom of the basin with well-marked contours sometimes traversed by crevasses in which the crystals gather. The salt deposit sometimes covers mud, quicksand, and shallow water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain covered with saline incrustations, especially near Siwa, etc.

This definition and description of the features of the sebkha apply equally to the shit. An attempt has been made to establish a distinction between the two, the former term being applied to hollows which always remain more or less moist, the second to those whose evaporation is greater than the access of subterranean water or to those the floor of which looks like a plain losing itself in the horizon. There is no real foundation for this distinction. The two terms are employed indifferently in the same district. For example, we have in Orania the sebkha of Oran and the shit of Gharliu and Sharki, in the Sahara the sebkha of Timimûn (Gurara), the shit of Southern Tunisia, the sebkha of Wargla, of Siwa, etc.

Bibliography: See that to šahāra (G. Yver*).

SABR (A.), usually rendered "patience, endurance". The significance of this conception can hardly be conveyed in a West European language by a single word, as may be seen from the following. According to the Arabic lexicographers, the root š-b-r, of which and the expression jannina sabr, by which is meant an oath imposed by the public authorities and therefore taken under the auspices of Ali, Kâmil al-Shu'ârâ', 741-95; idem, La geographic humaine du monde musulman (Paris, 1926), II, 66, "Serve him and persevere in his service". The expression is applied, for example, to martyrs and prisoners of war put to death; in the Hadîth often to animals that—contrary to the Muslim prohibition—are tortured to death (e.g. al-Bukhârî, Dâbâqî, hâb 25; Muslim, Šuyûd, trad. 58; Ahmad b. Hanbal, Munad, iii, 171). The word has a special technical application in the expression yaminu sabr, by which is meant an oath imposed by the public authorities and therefore taken under the auspices of Ali, Kâmil al-Shu'ârâ', hâb 27; Aymân, hâb 17?; Muslim, Imân, trad. 176).

In the Kurâân, derivations from the root j-b-r frequently occur, in the first place with the general meaning of being patient. Muhammad is warned to be patient like the Apostles of God before him (XXXVIII, 16; XLVI, 34; "for Allâh's threats are fulfilled", is added in XXX, 60). A double reward is promised to the patient (XXXIII, 113; XXXVIII, 34; cf. XXV, 75). In XXXIX, 16, it is even said that the sâbûrân shall receive their reward without kisâb (which in this case is explained as measure or limitation).

The conception is given a special application to the holy war (e.g. III, 140; VIII, 66); in such connections it can be translated by "endurance, tenacity". Form VIII is also used in almost the same sense, e.g. XIX, 66, "Serve him and persevere in his service".

The word is next found with the meaning resignation, e.g. in the sûra of Joseph (XII, 18) where Jacob, on hearing of the death of his son, says "[My best course is] fitting resignation" (fa-sabrân fâmilân*).

Sometimes sâbr is associated with the salât (II, 42, 44). According to the commentators, it is in these passages synonymous with fasting, and they quote in support the name shahr al-sâbr given to the month of Râmâdân [q.v.]. As an adjective, we find sâbrûr in the Kurâân,
associated with ṣabār (XIV, 5 etc.); cf. thereon al-Ṭabarî, Tafsîr, "It is well with the man who is resigned when misfortune afflicts him, grateful when gifts of grace are bestowed upon him, and patient, forgiving when he is wronged." "Wonderful is the attitude of the believer; everything is for the best with him; if something pleasant happens to him, he is thankful and this proves for the best with him; and if misfortune meets him, he is resigned and this again is for the best with him." The ideas of sabr and ṣabr are also associated with al-Ghazâlî, see below.

The later development of the conception is, of course, in the work of Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (Mâdîr al-adab, bdb 19, 41; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 231). Al-Ghazâlî comprises the treatment of sabr under the following heads: (1) the excellence of sabr; (2) its tawhîd, with matters of dogma, e.g. in the doctrine of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation as it includes the ṣabâr of the Stoic, the patience of Sabr, Kur of God. According to him, this again is for the best with him. "It is well with the man who is resigning from evil,20 and shukr. Al-Ghazali comprises the treatment of sabr under the following heads: (1) the excellence of sabr; (2) its tawhîd, with matters of dogma, e.g. in the doctrine of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation as it includes the ṣabâr of the Stoic, the patience of Sabr, Kur of God. According to him, this again is for the best with him. "It is well with the man who is resigning from evil,20 and shukr.

In conclusion, we may remark that in the canonical Hadîth the meaning renunciation is exceedingly rare, a meaning which receives so great an importance in ethic-ascetic mysticism (cf. what has already been said above on sura II, 42, 148). Bah 20 of al-Bukhârî's Kitâb al-Raw'ā (which is much richer in applications in the other collections of traditions, representatives of the oldest stage of this tendency in Islam) has in the tarjama: 'Umar said, "We have found the best of our life in sabr." Here we already can trace the Hellenistic sphere of thought for which renunciation was the kind of life fitting the true man, the wise man, the martyr.

What the Kur'ân and Hadîth say about sabr recurs in part again in ethic-mystical literature; but the word sabr is often transferred into another term and to a very high degree, as sabr is the cardinal virtue in this school of thought. As with other fundamental conceptions (see the series of definitions of Şûfî and Şûfism given by Nicholson in JRAI [1905]), we find numerous definitions of sabr, definitions which often point rather to fertility of imagination than give an exhaustive exposition of the idea, but are of great value for the light which they throw upon the subject like lightning flashes. Al-Kushayri in his Risâla, ed. 'A. M. Mahmûd and M. Ibn al-Sharîf, Cairo 1385/1966, 397-404, gives the following collection: "The gulping down of bitterness without making a wry face" (al-Djûnîyâd); "the refrain from unpermitted things, silence in suffering blows of fate, showing oneself rich when poverty settles in the courts of subsistence"; "steadfastness in fitting behaviour (Huw al-adab) under blows of fate" (Ibn 'Aţâ); "bowing before the blow without a sound or complaint"; "the sabr is he who has accustomed himself to suddenly meeting with forbidden things" (Abû Uthmân); "sabr consists in welcoming illness as if it were health"; "steadfastness in God and meeting His blows with a good countenance and equanimity" (Amr b. Uthmân); "steadfastness in the ordinances of the Book and of the Sunna" (al-Khawâsî); "the sabr of the ascetic, which is of itself superior and more difficult than that of the ascetics" (Yahyâ b. Mu'âdâd); "refraining from complaint" (Ruwaym); "seeking help with God" (Dhû 'l-Nûn); sabr is like its name i.e. [bitter] like aloes (sabr; see the next article) (Abû 'Ali al-Dakkkâk); "there are three kinds of sabr, sabr of the mutasabbir, of the sabr and of the sabbrâr (Abû 'Abd Allâh b. Khâfîf); "sabr is a steed that never stumbles" (Abû 'Ali al-Tâlib); and sabr is not to distinguish between the conflation of grace and its opposite, i.e. the feeling of spirit in both; tabâbûr is calm under blows, while one feels the heavy trial" (Abû Muhammad al-Djûrâyri; cf. ṣabâqa). Al-Ghazâlî treats of sabr in Book II of the fourth part of the Ihyâî, which describes the virtues that make blessed. We have seen that, already in the Kur'ân, sabr and ẓâkîr are found in association. Al-Ghazâlî discusses the two conceptions in the second book separately, but in reality in close connection. He bases the combination given in the Kur'ânic phraseology, but on the maxim "belief consists of two halves: the one sabr and the other ẓâkîr". This again goes back to the tradition "sabr is the half of belief" (cf. the traditions given above which also associate sabr and ẓâkîr). Al-Ghazâlî comprises the treatment of sabr under the following heads: (1) the excellence of sabr; (2) its

20 3.

Significant, in other respects also, is the story of the epileptic woman who asked Muhammad for his ḏârî for her ḏârî for her healing; she replied to her that, if she refrained from her request and exercised sabr, paradise would be her portion (al-Bukhârî, Mâdîr, bdb 6; Muslim, al-Burr wa l-sîla, trad. 54). The word is often found in this connection associated with the proper word for resignation, viz. ṭhisâb (e.g. al-Bukhârî, Ayman, bdb 9; Muslim, Ḍiânâ'î, trad. 11); with this should be compared the following hadîth kudsi: "If my servant is deprived of sabr, it is nothing except paradise in compensation" (al-Bukhârî, Mâdîr, bdb 67; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 283).
nature and conception; (3) sabr, the half of belief; (4) synonyms with reference to the object of sabr; (5) kinds of sabr as regards strength and weakness; (6) opinions regarding the necessity of sabr and how man can never dispense with sabr; and (7) the healthfulness of sabr and means of attaining it. This division is virtually adopted by Bar Hebraeus [see Ibn al-Sakr] in his Ethikon for the masaybrnâsâ (see A. J. Wensinck, Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Door, Leiden 1919, pp. cviii-cxix).

Only the following out of these sections can be given here. Sabr, like all religious makmât, consists of three parts, ma'ârif, hâl and 'amal. The ma'ârif are like the tree, the ahwâl the branches and the 'amâl the fruits. Out of the three classes of beings, man alone may possess sabr. For the animals are entirely governed by their desires and impulses; and the angels, on the other hand, are completely filled by their longing for the deity, so that no desire has power over them and as a result no sabr is necessary to overcome it. In man, on the contrary, two impulses (dâ'âqû) are fighting, the impulse of desires and the impulse of religion; the former is kindled by Satan and the latter by the angels. Sabr means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.

Sabr is of two kinds: (a) the physical, like the endurance of physical ills, whether active, as in performing difficult tasks, or passive, as in suffering blows, etc.; this kind is laudable; and (b) the spiritual, like renunciation in face of natural impulses. According to its different objects, it is called by synonyms like 'îjâfa, dâbi al-nafs, shudâji'a, hîm, sa'at al-sabr, kûmân al-sirr, zuhd and kanâsâ. From this wide range of meanings, we can understand that Muhammad, when asked, could answer, 'simân is sabr'. This kind is absolutely laudable (mahmûdâm inâm).

As regards the greater or less strength of their sabr, three classes of individuals are distinguishable: (a) the very few in whom sabr has become a permanent condition; these are the 'iddâkân and the mukarrabûn; (b) those in whom animal impulses predominate; and (c) those in whom a continual struggle is going on between the two impulses; these are the mudÂhâdûn; perhaps Allah will heal them. One of the gnostics (says al-Qâthâlî) distinguishes three kinds of sabrân: those who renounce desires, these are the ti'ûbân; those who submit to the divine decrees, these are the sâhîdân; and those who delight in whatever God allows to come upon them, these are the 'iddâkân.

In section VI, al-Qâthâlî shows how the believer requires sabr under all circumstances; (a) in health and prosperity; here the close connection between sabr and gratitude is seen; and (b) in all that does not belong to this category, as in the performance of legal obligations, in refraining from forbidden things and in whatever happens to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

As sabr is an indication of the struggle between the two impulses, its salutary effect consists in all that may happen to a man against his will, either from his fellow-men or by God's decree.

Sabr means adherence to the religious as opposed to the sensual impulse.


šabr — šabra (a.) denotes the aloe, a species of the Liliaceae, which was widespread in the warm countries of the ancient world, mainly in Cyprus and on the mountains of Africa.

The leaves of many varieties provide fibres ("aloe-fibres") for spinning coarse cloths, and from the aloe's brown-black wood a valued perfumery is won. Important was also the aloe drug, i.e. the juice pressed from the leaves, whose Greek name alyon was borrowed by the Arab pharmacologists as alwûq. In the West, the name apparently was pronounced sibar, which survives in Spanish acabar. The most extensive descriptions of the plant and its drug are found in Ibn al-Baytâr, Dwâmî, iii, 77-81 (tr. Leclerc no. 1388) and in al-Nuwayrî, Nhujâ, xi, 304-7. According to him, the leaves of the plant resemble those of the sea onion (sikil), which are wide and thick, bent back, covered with a sticky liquid and whose ends are thorny. Among the numerous varieties of the aloe, three are generally mentioned: sukûrî, 'arabi (hadfamî), and imandânî (the latter reading is uncertain; it is perhaps sibar, the West, the name apparently was pronounced 'alawûq). The first variety is considered to be the best and probably corresponds with the Aloe Parryi Baker, the Aloe Socotrina, which thrives in great quantities on the island of Socotra (Sukûrî [q. v.]). The leaves, which are full of water, are squeezed, chopped up and pounded until the juice comes out. This is left to thicken, placed in a dish and exposed to the sun until it dries up. The juice resembles that of saffron, its scent that of myrrh. The entire plant has a sharp odour and a very bitter taste. It has only one root. The drug was used above all as laxative, as an amaran or appetiser and as a choleretic; externally, it was applied on badly healing wounds, ulcers and burns; it was also used against inflammations of the eye, and as a means to improve bad breath.


Šabr — Šabra, one of the three ancient cities (Leptis Magna = Lebda; Oea = Tripoli; and Sabratha or Sabrata = Šabra) which made up Tripolitania. Šabra Mansûriyya [q. e.], another town.
Sabra—now a tourist town and the centre of an archaeological zone along the littoral some 75 km/48 miles west of Tripoli and 35 km/20 miles west of Zuwara—is a lifeless desert (khâlîs), adding that it was, like all the other urban centres of the region, “a lifeless desert” (khâlîs bâlka‘). In the middle years of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī merely mentions it, of the 5th/11th century it was the “ancient statues in stone” which attracted al-Ya‘qūbī’s attention. Ibn Hawkal noted that, at the time when he visited the Maghrib, in 340/951-2, a tax was levied on caravans which passed through the town. In the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, al-Mukaddasi wrote that Sabra was a fortified town, surrounded by palm groves and orchards full of fig trees. In 403/1012-13 Sabra was at the centre of rebellions fomented by the Zanata against the Zirids amīr Bādīs. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī described it as a prosperous town, populated by Zuwâghâ, who had taken the side of Ibn Khaled against the last Rustamids [q.v.]. In the middle years of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī merely mentions it, adding that it was, like all the other urban centres of the region, “a lifeless desert” (khâlîs bâlka‘), having been devastated by the Arabs of the Banû Hilâl and given over to pillage by the Mirdâs and Râyâh, as confirmed by Ibn Khaldûn. In Şafar 707/August 1307, al-Tâjînî noted that the biggest populated unit of the region which he was passing was Zuwâghâ, and that in its environs, by the sea coast, were to be found “the ruins of an ancient city known as Sabra, which may also be sometimes written with a sâ‘īn”. In the mid-10th/16th century, Leo Africanus/al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Zayyatī no longer mentions Sabra. He merely mentions Zuwârah, describing it as a small town in full decay. It was in the neighbourhood of this town that there was held, in a tent, the conference of March-September 1893 between France and the Ottomans which delimited the Tunisian-Libyan frontier.


The resultant dissatisfaction in Kayrawan, now deprived of its economic role, was not perhaps unconnected with the revolt which broke out there in 407/1016 at the coming of Al-Muzz [q. v.] and which spread to Al-Mansuriyya, which was badly damaged. Finally, in 519/1124, under pressure from the Banū Hilāl, Al-Muzz fled to Al-Mahdiyya. Al-Mansuriyya was then totally devastated, and, unlike Kayrawan, never rose again from its ruins. Al-
Idrīsī, in the middle of the 6th/12th century, depicts it as ruinous and deserted: "One no longer meets any living soul there" (Opus geographicum, Naples-Rome 1984, ii, 280). Over the ensuing centuries, the site was pillaged, and the excavations, begun in 1921, have only yielded a few remains: paving materials, sculpted plaques, pottery with geometric or life-like decorations, etc.


ique du Nord, Paris 1956, ii, 65, 68, 70, 107; G. Mar-
larr, L'architecture musulmane d'Occident, Paris 1954, 66, 79-81; idem and L. Pinsott, Objet kraouanais, Tunis 1948-52, ii, 371; B. Roy and Pinsott, In-

SABT (A.), the sabbath, and thus (yawm al-) sabt, from the Hebrew shabbat (see shabbat), is not a term derived from the Arabic sabt, from the verb sabta, "to rest", which was said to be restricted in its meaning to senses of "ceasing" or "being still", without conveying an implication of "rest"; the word sabt was still seen to have that meaning, however, as was necessary in XXV, 47, and LXXVIII, 9.

Muslim-Jewish polemic often focussed upon the ac-
cusation that the Jews entertained an anthropomor-
phic concept of God because of the notion of his "resting" from creation on the sabbath. For Muslims, yaum al-djumā, while it contained aspects of a day of rest in its celebration (a facet which has become more pronounced in modern times), was generally not seen as a holiday from work, any more than yaum al-sabt was.

Bibliography: Tafsir tradition, especially on Kur'ān, VII, 163-6; I. Goldzirher, Die Sabbathinstitu-
tion im Islam, in M. Brann, F. Rosenthal (eds.), Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann, Breslau 1900, 86-105 (including the Arabic text of al-
Tabāri's tafsir on Kur'ān L, 38) (partial French tr., G. Bousquet, Études islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher, in Arabic, vii (1960), 237-40; idem, Islamisme et Par-

SABTA, CEUTA, A TOWN OF NORTHERN MOROCCO. It is situated 16 km/10 miles to the south of Gibraltar on the Moroccan coast, 60 km/38 miles to the north-
west of Tetouan and 210 km/130 miles from Fās. Sab-
ta has the form of a peninsula, ending in a small mountain (the Djabal al-Mīnā or Mt. Hacho, 193 m/633 feet), which has played the double role of a natural acropolis and a watch point. The tip of the peninsula, 60 m/197 feet in height, is attached to the mainland by a narrow strip of land, easily defensi-
ble. The old town had its counterpart in the Marindún town, the Afragh [q. v.].

Explanations of the placename's etymology abound. Thus it is said that Sabta derived from the Latin Septim Fratres, which denotes the seven nearby hills;
most of the Arabic chronicles attribute its foundation to one Sabt, a descendant of Noah and eponymous hero, whose form Sabt al-šabtī was still venerated at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. The Phoenician trading depot of Abyla and the Roman Julia Traiecta have been situated there, but Rome does not seem to have attached much importance to the place (C. Posac Mon, Estudios arqueología de Ceuta, in Actes du IX Congrès, Valladolid 1965). As successors to Rome, the Byzantines clashed with the Visigoths, who besieged Sabta in 534, but the Byzantines managed to occupy it. They set up a fort on the isthmus, provided with new fortifications. After the Portuguese check before Tangier in 860/1437, a treaty was signed.

The accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus bring into prominence Count Julian, the Visigothic governor, Byzantine Exarch or lord of the Ghumāra, according to the various chronicles (see Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne, ed. and partial tr. A. Gateau, 2nd ed. Algiers 1947). It was a refuge for Arab forces during the Kāhirījītī rebellion, an Idrīsīd principality (it was allegedly occupied by Idrīs I in 173/789-90), as the capital of the Banū 'Isām, who appear more as an independent dynasty than as Idrīsīd governors, occupied by the Umayyads of Cordova in 319/931 and became a pawn in the struggle against the Fātimīds. Al-Nāṣīr proclaimed himself caliph and called himself “master of the two seas” after the conquest of the town. As a base for intervention in the Maghrib, it had strong ramparts and could gather in the populations of towns threatened or ruined (Nakūr al-BAse, Tāhār, etc.). The decline of the caliphate allowed the Hammūmiddīdīs to establish a principality which included Tangier, Ceuta, Algeciras and Malaga. The town’s mint coined gold pieces, the mancus caedimus, which became widely current. The Hammūmiddīdīs’ lieutenant, Sakkūt al-Barghawātī, professed from the ancestry within al-Andalus to seize power and set up his own dynasty (al-Ma‘kārī, Aṣḥār, i. 34; Ibn Khalidūn, Prolegomena, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 220; V alive Bermejo, legomena, Al-Andalus, Pro-

The later al-Zafīdīs, whose dynasty was to last until 720/1320, including some temporary hiatuses (J. D. Latham, The rise of the al-Zafīdīs of Ceuta, in IOS, ii [1972], 265-87; idem, The later al-Zafīdīs, in ROMM, xv-xvi [1973], 109-25; idem, The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim period, in IQ [1971], 189-204; and see “Aṣafi, banu ʿl-”, in Suppl.). The Banū ʿl-Zaṣū bi instituted a consultative régime (al-shūrā) which preserved the town’s autonomy whilst recognising the Almohad caliph. As a bridge-head between the Saharan region and the Mediterranean, Sabta played a leading role in commercial exchanges and minted coins of excellent quality (J. J. Rodriguez-Lorente and T. b. Hafiz Ibrahim, Numismatica de Ceuta musulmana, Madrid 1987).

Taken by Granada in 705/1306, Sabta was sacked and its élites expelled. The inhabitants appealed to the Marinids, who re-occupied it in 789/1387. Marinid control, the loss of the Andalusian towns and a general regression in the region, weakened the town and its commerce; it was replaced regarding commerce into the interior by Genoese, Barcelonans and Majorcans established along the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

As the home of the geographer al-Idrīsī, of the kādī ʿIyād and of Abu ʿl-Abbās al-Sabṭī, Sabta played an important role as a centre of learning, and especially of fiqh, hadīth, grammar and medicine (H. al-ʿArifī, Bulghat al-umniyya wa-maksadal-anf and the school of Almeria. Abu ʿl-Hasan al-Shārī founded there the first madrasa in the Maghrib; al-Aṣafi began there the Mawlid, a festival adopted officially by the Marinids (al-Durr al-Munazma, ms.). If nothing now remains of the monuments of Sabta, Muḥammad al-Ansārī describes at length the situation just after the town’s fall (Iḥtiṣār al-akhārī taswīrān kāna bi-thaghr Sabta…, tr. F. A. Turki, in Hespéris-Tamuda [1982], 83).

The Portuguese seized Sabta in Djumādā II 818/August 1415. It was abandoned, also the village of Bālūnhāsh, which had played a great role in its history, by its population. After the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 988/1580, Sabta was transferred to Spanish sovereignty and despite numerous Moroccan attempts to regain it, Ceuta has always remained a Spanish presidio and a free zone.

After the Portuguese capture of Sabta in 818/1415, it was attacked by the kādī ʿIyād, who led resistance in the district. Meanwhile, in 824/1421, a bishopric was created there. The quarters on the mainland were razed and the town, now reduced to the isthmus, proved with new fortifications. After the Portuguese check before Tangier in 860/1457, a treaty was sign-
ed, the return of Ceuta to Morocco was envisaged and Don Ferdinand sent as a hostage to guarantee the promise, but the Cortes refused to ratify it, and the prince died, as a martyr; at Fas in 847/1443. After the Battle of the Three Kings (986/1578), Spain seized Ceuta definitively. Nevertheless, the town was regularly attacked by neighbouring tribes and by the principality of Tétouan [see ṭṭṭāwīn]. The siege decided upon by Mawlāy Iṣām al-Ṭaʿlabī from 1104/1693 to 1133/1721; that of 1180/1766 was ended by an ambiguous treaty, completed by the convention of 1188/1774 (J. Caillaux, Les relations de l'Espagne et du Maroc pendant les XVIIIe et les XIXe siècles, Paris 1905; R. Ricard, Le Maroc septentrional au XVIIe siècle d'après les chroniques portugaises, in Hesp. xxii (1936), 89-143; V. Fernandez, Description de la côte d'Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal 1506-1507, Paris 1938; Chroniques de Gomes Eanes de Azurara, Paris 1938; R. Ricard, Etudes sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc, Combrà 1955; J. Caillaux, Le rôle des commerçants marocains à Ceuta au XIIIE siècle, in Mélin. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de l'Occident musulman, Algiers 1957; G. Ayyache, Béniouneh et le destin de Ceuta entre le Maroc et l'Espagne, in Hesp.-Tamauda (1972). Ṭāyād, al-Qurayta, Tunis 1978; M. Hila, Rasālūd dīwānyīna min Sabta fī ʿād al-ʿAṣafi, Rabat 1979; Makkāri, Arabic al-ṭalabat al-hadar, Rabāb 1999; M. b. Tawīt, Tāʾrikh Sabta, 1982; M. b. Ṭāyād, Maghribīs al-ḥukkām, Rabat 1990; H. Ferhat, Sabta, état bibliographique, in Hesp.-Tamauda (1990); eadem, Sabta des origines au XIVE siècle, Rabat, in press.

(Halima Ferhat)

Al-SABTĪ, Ahmad b. Ẓafar al-Khadatī. Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabtī, renowned Moroccan saint, born at Sabta (Ceuta) in 524/1130, not to be confused, in the text of Ibn Khaldūn (Mukaddima), with a homonym who lived in a later period and was the inventor of a circular divinatory table known as the zaʿradja al-ʿālam.

Two accounts afford a glimpse of his career, which was contemporaneous with that of the great saint of Tlemcen Abu Madyan al-Andalusi (520/934-1126-97): that of the kāfī al-Tādirī and that of Ibn Ḥamayawī, which is more concise, recounted by al-Maḳkāri. Born into a modest family, he lost his father at a very early age and became an apothecary to a trader. After a course of study in the textiles (bazzāz) of Sabta, a town which was then enjoying a high level of commercial and prosperous prosperity. His principal teacher was Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhkharī, himself a disciple of the kāfī Ṭāyād, one of the most eminent representatives of the Hispano-Maghribī Mālikī school of the period. About sixteen years old, he left Sabta with a companion and made his way to Mount Gilliz where the Almohad ar-

my was encamped, commanded by ʿAbd al-Muṭmin who was laying siege to Marrakesh (540/1146). After the capture of the city, he established himself there in a fandūk known by the name of fandūk Mūḥārī. He then taught grammar and arithmetics, for which he received payment. He also apparently enjoyed an allowance in his capacity as a member of the ṭalabat al-ḥadād (a category of teachers supported financially by the Almohad authorities) and established a considerable household. He rapidly gained popularity as a result of his generosity. His doctrine was simple, according to the Tādirī, who knew and visited him, and his personality contained in religion (dār) may be reduced to the deprival and to the bestowal of the goods which one possesses. He insists on the religious duty of zakāt. Charity (ṣadaqā) is the essential theme of his sermons and of his injunctions. He denounces avarice (al-ḥukkāt) and parsimony (al-ṭabīr) and preaches generosity (al-ṣāqī; al-ṣādūq), and beneficence (al-ḥisn, quoting Kur'ānic verses to illustrate his purpose (IX, 30; X, 88; LI, 33; LVIII, 17; XCII, 3-10). His symbolic interpretation of prayer and of its various manifestations illustrates his doctrine of asceticism, since it signifies the sharing and the abandonment of all goods.

Of presentable appearance, always carefully groomed, he was furthermore admired for his eloquence and his knowledge of dogma and for the case with which he succeeded in convincing the most sceptical. His conduct earned him the reputation of a pious man, having no wish to publicise his virtues and willing to accept criticism (the Oriental mystical tradition of the Malāmātīyya). The philosopher Ibn Rūḥī the son of a student to observe his ideas and, on his return, concluded that "the entire existence of Abu ʿAbd Allāh is in interaction with charity" and that "his doctrine is that of a philosopher of antiquity ..." He then resolved to meet the man in person and travelled for this purpose to Marrakesh, where he died and was initially buried, before being transferred to Cordova. Abu ʿAbd Allāh died soon afterwards, in 601/1205. He was interred outside Bāb Taghūṭī.

Significant similarities of circumstances and events in the lives of Abu ʿAbd Allāh and of Abu Madyan are evident: their modest origins; their beginnings as youthful apprentices in the textile trade, a substantial element in the economy of North Africa at the time; their theological training concurrent with the exercise of their profession; the departure and the journey (ṣiyāḥa) in search of their path (a major Sufi theme); their installation in an important city where they became known for their teaching and their piety; the themes, repeated in all circumstances, of humility, of submission to the divine will (tawakkul) and of the renunciation of material goods, a doctrine making a synthesis of Mālikī orthodoxy and of oriental mysticism and adapted to the Maghribī soul; the interest of the Almohad authorities in their knowledge and their popularity; and the policy of enticement and control of scholars which led to their installation at Marrakesh. Finally, each became the patron saint of the town in which he was buried. But the originality of Abu ʿAbd Allāh consists in his withdrawal from political life and in the fact that he claimed allegiance to no school or great master. He did not found a school either. He devoted his life to the defence and promulgation of values which were promoted in North Africa principally by the Sūfis and which exerted influence on the Christian culture of the Middle Ages, represented among others by the originators of the concept of chivalry, the Arabic-speaking Majorcan Ramon Lull. In the 20th century
he still serves as a model for reformers (muslihun) who aspire towards moral rigour and social justice, such as Ibn al-Muwaqqit [q.e.].

Popular imagination has not been slow to transform the life of this pious individual into a legend, attended to him. In the same mountain there is a sacred cave dedicated to him (Sidi Bel-Abbes, [q.v.]), as well as the mausoleum and the building of a madrasa dedicated to him (Sidi Bel-Abbes, [q.v.]).

There exist a large number of studies concerning, in detail or in general, the legends and the cult of the illustrious Ibn al-Khaflb, Ibn Kunfudh of Constantine, the king of Grenada Abu l-^Abbds as-Sabti (524-60111130-1204), la Divination arabe, Leiden 1966; A. Provenzali, Sidi Abbas (Abd al-Qadir al-Fasi, in Actes du Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris 1907, iv, §§ 102-3; idem, 


6. Place Names. Al-Sabti, he still serves as a model for reformers (muslihun) who aspire towards moral rigour and social justice, such as Ibn al-Muwaqqit [q.e.].

(S. BENCHEMEN)

SABUKTIGIN [see SEBUKTIGIN].

SABUN (A.), soap.

Protest et sapt, Gallorum hoc inventum rustandi capsilli, fit et sebo et cinere... duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus, uterque aqopus Germanos maiore in usu vins quam femmis (Pliny, Hist. nat. 28, 191). According to this passage, soap is a Gallic invention but the word itself is of German origin. The Romans borrowed it in the form of sapo, the Greeks from the latter as adcTwv, which in its turn came into the Hermetic writings through a revelation, found its way into Arabic as sabun. The word denotes soap made from these plants was

[extensive details on soap altogether.

Also indicates the lye

dye the hair red; it was brought on the market in solid form. In Spain, the rape

sdbun.

The word denotes from which lozenges are made in

and other materials. The Egyptians, for making soap, won from the ashes of alkaline plants (potash [see AL-

the simple ones. The best soap is said to be that made partly among the compound drugs and partly among

attar of roses and rubbed on ulcers on children’s

Boiled up with a

it soaks the fluids. If left for seven days as a

in soap. Mixed with salt in equal parts, soap removes itching and festering scabies. Boiled up with

therapeutists Legey, Paris 1918, 55, 165; G. Rohlfs, Le culte des saints musulmans, in RHR, xli (1921), 227); R. Brunei, Tadhkira, vol III (Mukaddasi, 342), Arradajân (ivb, 425), Burt (Hulâd al-’ulam, 110). For the import of soap into Egypt, see Subhi Labib, Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, Wiesbaden 1965, 39, 206, 239, 346, and for special applications of soap in chemistry, see M. Berthelot, La chimie au moyen âge, Paris 1893, i, 165, 215, ii, 105, 330.

The Romans borrowed it in the form of sapo, the Greeks from the latter as αδδτων, which in its turn obtained its way into Arabic as σμπον. The word denotes

and its extensive uses. The Egyptians, for making soap, won from the ashes of alkaline plants (potash [see AL-

life; it was brought on the market in solid or liquid form. In Spain, the rape

sdbun.

The word denotes soap made from these plants was

[extensive details on soap altogether.

According to al-Antakl, loc. cit., soap allegedly came into the Hermetic writings through a revelation, and is also said to be found in Hippocrates and Galen, partly among the compound drugs and partly among the simple ones. The best soap is said to be that made of clear olive oil, pure potash and good water. In medicine, soap finds manifold applications, see e.g. Ibn al-Baytár, Dāmt, Bâlûk 1291, iii, 36-7; Ibn Ṭasūl al-Qhassâînî, Mu’tamad, ed. M. al-Sâkîkâ, 280-1. Soap softens hard ulcers and ripens them; and it loosens colic pains and removes scabs and psoriasis if the affected spots are rubbed with a piece of cloth soaked in soap. Mixed with salt in equal parts, soap removes itching and festering scabies. Boiled up with attar of roses and rubbed on ulcers on children’s

Kahhala, Mu’allifin, viii, 161; Sarkis, Mu’âdim, 1177-8.

(J. FONTAINE)

and opportunist, often showed his sympathy for Islam in the form expounded in

Urabî Pasha


(A. DIETRICH)

SABUNDJ [see SABUKTIGIN].

SABUN, a person of the second rank in the Nâhâî (q. v.), born at Dayrak on 20 April 1877. He became a British representative in Cairo, accompanied ʿUrâbi Paşa [q. v.] into exile in Ceylon, served the ruler of Zanzibar and then served the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul. From 1909 onwards, he lived in the United States. This traveller and adventurer (al-Tawf hawla kurat al-ard, Istanbul 1896, pp. 84), eternal lover (Divân al-naḥla al-manzum fî hâlal al-risâla, Alexandria 1901, pp. 584) and opportunist, often showed his sympathy for Islam in the form expounded by ʿAbdallâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî [q. v.] (K. al-Hikâh al-ṭâmir li-tâšār al-ʿumr miḥmin min al-ṣīn, New York 1919, pp. 255). Sâbundjâ was a partisan of the naturalist school of evolutionism.

Bibliography: Y. Dâghîr, Musâdir, ii, 525-8; Ph. Tâtrâzi, Taḥkîm al-Shâba, passim; Zirîkî, Aṭîm, vi, 114; Kahhâl, Muʿâlimin, viii, 161; Sarkîs, Muʿādim, 1177-8. (J. FONTAINE)
SABUR B. ARDASHIR — SABZAWAR

SABUR B. ARDASHIR, Abu Nasr Baha’ al-Din (330-416/942-1025), official and vizier of the Buyids in Fars. Beginning his career in high office as deputy to Sharaf al-Dawla’s vizier Abu Mansur b. Sahlān, he subsequently became briefly vizier himself for the first time in 380/990 and for Sharaf al-Dawla’s successor in Shīrāz, Bahā’ al-Dawla [q.v. in Suppl.]. He was vizier again in Shīrāz in Djamād I 386/ May–June 996, this time for over three years, and in 390/1000 in Baghdad as deputy there for the vizier Abū ʿAli al-Muwafakī. Sabur, although a native of Shīrāz, seems to have been a youth apprenticed with his uncle, a business man in Gwārā. Thus he acquired an interest in learning more about Ismāʿīli thought and began to deliver lectures on religious topics to members of the community.

He moved subsequently to Karachi to continue his business activities and became prominent in the community as a wāzīr and a leader in social development programmes initiated by the Imām. He was also sent to promote the development of institutions in the newly settled Ismāʿīli communities of Africa. His most noteworthy achievement was an extensive journey he undertook in 1923 as an emissary of the Imām to contact Central Asian Ismāʿīli communities in the mountainous regions of the Pāmr (including parts of modern Afghanistan, Tadkifā and Sinkiang province in China), as well as the former principalities west of the Karakoram, Hunza and Čārl, in the northern areas of what is now Pakistan. He kept a diary in which he gave an account of his travels, sketching the hazardous terrain of the region, the location of various communities, often referring to the tumultuous changes affecting these areas after the 1917 Russian Revolution and the period of modernisation and European influence. After his return he continued to be an influential leader and a very effective preacher.

He died in 1938 and in recognition of his services was posthumously endowed with the title of pīr by the Imām.

Bibliography: An account of the journey based on Sabz ʿAli’s diary can be found in a Gudjarāti work, Pir Sabzālī ni Madhya Asia ni Madhri, Bombay 1968. Biographical details are preserved in S. Abu Turabī, Dhanmā dawāshāt, Bombay 1981.

AZIM NANJI

SABZAWAR, the name for two towns of the eastern Islamic world.

1. Sabzawār in western Khurāsān was, together with Khurāsānī, one of the two townships making up the administrative district of Bayhāk [q.v.], the name by which the whole district was generally known in mediaeval Islamic times. It lay in the cultivable zone of the northern rim of the Daʿīrī Kawrār or Great Desert. Sabzawār itself is described in the Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, tr. 102, §23.2, as a small town and as the chef-lieu (kašāba) of a district; the Arabic geographers merely mention it as a stage along the roads of Khurāsān and as a rūṭāt of Nishāpūr. In Hamd Allāh Mustawfī’s time (8th/14th century), Bayhāk was a flourishing district containing 40 villages (Nuzha, 149–50, tr. 148). The Sabzawār district was one of the prominent members of that same century the centre of the Sarabadārīs [q.v.], who dominated central Khurāsān during those years, and it is mentioned as the scene of fighting between the invading Ozbekhs and the Safawīds [q.v.] in the later 10th/16th century.

The modern town of Sabzawār (lat. 36°13’ N., long. 52°38’ E.) lies on the highway connecting Tehrān with Nishāpūr and Maghāhad, and is ad-
ministratively the centre of a *bakhsh* or county within the province of Khurasan; in ca. 1950 it had a population of 28,151 (Razmára, *Farhang-i diğhírfáh* 1: 193-35), but 40 years later this had risen to 148,129 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division).

*Bibliography* (in addition to references in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 291; *Elr* art. Bayhag (C.E. Bosworth); and see Bayhag.

2. Sabzawār of Harat (thus called to distinguish it from 1. above), the name by which the early medieval Islamic town of Isfizar or Asfizar in eastern Khurasan was more recently called. It lay on the road connecting Sisān with Harat, and the mediaeval geographers connected it administratively as much with Sisān as with Khurāsān. There were four small towns in the district of Isfizar; the region was agriculturally rich, with its lands irrigated by water from perennial streams running down from the mountains of Ghūr [q.v.] in central Afghanistan. The early mediaeval geography of the region is characterised by violent Khārījite activity, and the *Hudūd al-Salām* (372/982), tr. 104, § 23.29, comm. 327, describes the people of Isfizar as bellicose Khārījīdītes; however, by the time of Hamd Allāh Mustawfi, the region was strongly orthodox and Shāfi′ī.

Sabzawār of Harat is now known as Shīndand, a town within the Farah province of modern Afghanistan (lat. 33°18' N., long. 62°08' E.) and is on the modern highway connecting Harat with Farāb and Kandahār.


**SABZAWĀRĪ** Ḩājjī Mulla Ḥādi b. Ḥādī Mahdī (1212-95 or 1296/1797-1878 or 1881), Persian philosopher of the Kādjar period, best-known for his commentary on, and revival of the ideas of Sadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Mulla Sadrā (d. 1050/1640 [q.v.]). Born in Sabzawār to a landowning merchant family, Mullā Ḥādi studied Arabic language and grammar in his home city and fīkā, logic, mathematics and ḥikma in Mahād. He then studied in Isfahān with such scholars as Mullā ʿAlī Nūrī (d. 1246/1830-1), the first of the Kādjar-period scholars of Sadrā, and Nūrī’s student Mullā Ismāʿīl. Sabzawārī returned to Khurāsān, performed the pilgrimage and married in Kirmān on the homeward journey. He taught for some years in Mahād and then returned to Sabzawār, where he taught until his death.

Among his most famous works are his *Qurān al-fard* ʿd or *Ṣadr-i masāna*, an Arabic philosophical poem on which he wrote his own commentary (the first part of which, on metaphysics, was published by M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu, Tehran 1969); *Isrāʾ al-ḥikam* (published by H. F. Farzad, Tehran 1936), written at the request of Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-Shāh (d. 1313/1896 [q.v.]); a Persian *dīwān* written under the pen-name of ʿIsrāʾ; and commentaries on Sadrā’s *Al-Asfār* and *Al-Shawāhid al-rubūbīya* (the latter published together with Sadrā’s original by S. Ḍjalāl al-Dīn Aḥṣāyiyyat, Mahād 1934, 1936) and on Rūmī’s *Maḥnawī*.


**ṢĀD**, the fourteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed /s/, with the numerical value of 90, according to the eastern order [see ʿĀBDA]. In the Maghribi order /s/ takes the place of /s/ (thus 90) and /d/ the place of /s/. For an explanation of this fact, similarly attested in a Thāmudic abecedary, see M.C.A. Macdonald (in *BibL*). Definition: an alveolar sibilant, voiceless and velarised ("emphatic") in articulation. As a phoneme /s/ is defined by the oppositions /s/ - /ʃ/, /s/ - /ʃ/, it is thus velarised and sibilant.

In Kurānic recitation, or elevated style of recitation in general, the following assimilations occur: the /s/ at the end of a word becomes assimilated to the /z/ at the beginning of the following word (z > z), but the velarisation may be retained (z > z). Within a word, the /s/ is partially assimilated to /z/ immediately following it (z > z), but the velarisation may also be retained (zd > zd). A /zd/ at the end of a word becomes assimilated to a /zd/ at the beginning of the following word (z > z). In the 8th form of the verb the sequence /st/ becomes /zd/ by assimilation, carried further by some to complete coalescence, i.e., /sz/ (e.g. mustafir and musabir). In analogy to this, initial /t/ of the perfect suffixes, when following /s/, is pronounced /t/ by some (e.g. habsata); according to Sabwāyī, it is better Arabic not to do so, because the /t/ suffixes of the perfect are variables indicating the subject, while the /t/ infix of the 8th form is stable throughout the paradigm.

An /s/ may be velarised to /zd/ in pronunciation, when preceding a /g/, /kh/, /k/ or /t/ in the same word (e.g. salakha for salakha, sātī for sātī). This assimilation, though being only regressive and restricted to the four triggers, is nonetheless probably due to the spread of "emphatic" as a suprasegmental phonemic element throughout the word. That this phenomenon was more general than the orthoepists allow is shown by the spelling variants in the šdāl works [q.v.], cf. pairs like saṭī'ī 'salātī, sukanī 'sukānī, but also tirīnī 'tārīnī and kharsīxharsī in Abu l-Tayyib al-Lughawi, K. al-Šdāl, ii, 172-96.

For al-Ḫallīl, the šd, like the other sibilants (ṣīn and ẓay), is pronounced with the point (asāla) of the tongue, i.e., the tapering part (mustadāk) of its end (not the tip). The surviving fragments do not mention the other features of šd articulation. For Sibwāyī, the sibilants (ṣād,ṣīn, and ẓaqī) have their point of articulation "between the end (farāq) of the tongue and a place slightly above (fuwayk) the incisors (ṭamāyā)."

In addition, the šd is characterised as "muffled" (maḥmūs), "soft" (rūkū), and "covered" (muṭabk), which amounts to saying that it is "voiceless" (?), "non-occlusive", and "velarised". Šd, like all the sibilants, is characterised by a whistling sound (ṣafir). Its "elevation" (ṣaṭī') prevents the vowel /a/ from inclining (isāla) towards /i/.

Sibwāyī mentions two variants (far) of šd: šd realised like šī (mesdar > mazdar, yasdar > yazdār) and šād realised like śī (mashā > yasīḥ), the first variation being the one which is alone considered to be good (mustahsan) in the recitation of the Kurān and poetry.
In modern Arabic dialects, sad seems to be mostly stable. Due to the common spread of velarisation over whole words, original /s/ often becomes /z/ (for historical attestations of this phenomenon, see Blau, Christian Arabic, 111-113 and n. 163); in the Judaeo-Arabic of Taif this occurs also with /sh/ (gabur > /ʃ/, see ZAL, ix [1982], 40). Sporadic derivational of /s/ to /z/ is not uncommon: sadr > sder (in certain Maghribi dialects, see ibid. and Cantineau, 48), sadaka > sadca (and other, but not all, derivatives of this root in Egyptian, see Hinds-Badawi, A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Beirut 1986, s.v., and Blau, op. cit., 109-109). This derivalised /s/ is further voiced in the word zghirl zghayyir “small”, common in several dialects. Unconditioned deviations are attested for Hadramaut (/z/; see Landberg, Hadramoiti, 239), and for parts of North Yemen (a monophonemic /s/ as in stibrin for sabr, see Behnstedt, 7-184-85).

In borrowings from other languages, /s/ renders Middle Persian /š/ (as in sangš < šang and in names like Mark šahšin < šahšin) and sporadically Greek ς (as in ἵτις < hitës, kamëš < kamasion [Latin camisa], kysar < kisar).

In Persian and Turkish, sad in Arabic loanwords is pronounced /s/. Some genuine Persian words show irregular spelling with the grapheme /s/, such as sad “100” and gësh “60”. In Ottoman Turkish, sad is used to render /s/ in the vicinity of back vowels, whereas sin denotes /s/ in front vowel words, as in şam vs. sûmek.


(G. Troupeau, expanded by the Editors)
Kufa, it is widely reported that Sa'd was named by Umar as one of the group of six Companions (the ṣahaba) which he appointed to choose his successor as caliph in 23/644 (see, however, al-Baladhuri, Ansāb, v. 21, where Sa'd's membership of the ṣahaba is explicitly denied on the authority of al-Wakīdī ... Musā b. ʿUkbā and of al-Zuhri). At the time of appointing him to the ṣahaba, according to a report often cited, Umar said that he had not removed Sa'd from Kufa because of any weakness or treachery, and that, if he were chosen as caliph, the choice should be accepted, and if not, then whoever was chosen should ask Sa'd for advice.

The last important event in the early history of Islam in connexion with which Sa'd is mentioned is the struggle between ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muʿawiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Sa'd had done more than any other of the Ansār to ensure the growth of Islam.

Bibliography: Ibn Hisham, index; Wakīdī, ed.

Yet others supported him at the conquest of Mecca; they were being punished for accepting Jewish bribes to give military help against Muhammad.


SA'D b. MUʿADH, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-Ashḥal in Medina in succession to his father. At the time of the Ḥiḍra he seems to have been the strongest man in the tribe of al-Aws, of which his clan was a part. He had taken part in the fighting prior to the battle of Buʿātha (q.v.) and been wounded. The leader of al-Aws at Buʿātha, Hudayr b. Simāk, is reckoned to another clan, but his son, Usayd b. Hudayr, seems to have been second-in-command to Sa'd in ʿAbd al-Ashḥal. Sa’d and Usayd were both for a time opposed to Islam and wanted to stop its spread, but first Usayd and then Sa’d were won over, and Sa’d became probably the strongest supporter of Islam in Medina and made an important contribution to its wide acceptance. He did not, however, go with others to Baghdad and the second mecca of ʿAbd al-Malik (q.v.), though he is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca on the first occasion after the Ḥiḍra. He was the most prominent of the ʿAnṣār to join Muhammad in the expedition which led to the battle of Badr (q.v.), and encouraged many others to participate. In the course of the battle, he made special arrangements for Muhammad's safety. Three years later, when the Meccans were besieging Medina (the battle of the Khandaq), the Jewish clan of Kurayza (q.v.) was subjugated; they were being punished for accepting Jewish bribes to give military help against Muhammad.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, index; Wākidī, ed.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

SA`D b. MUHAMMAD [see RAYSA BAYSA].

SA`D b. UBADA, chief of the clan of Sa`ida at Medina.

The clan appears to have been small since it is not mentioned in the fighting leading to the battle of Bu`A`th [q.v.], but it may have been more influential than its size warranted, perhaps because it was wealthy. Only two members of the clan were at the second meeting with Muhammad at al-`Akaba [q.e.v.] but both were included among the nakaba2 or representatives. One of these was Sa`d b. Ubada, who had become a Muslim at an early date. Sa`d was badly treated by some Meccans on his way back from al-`Akaba because they had heard something about "the pledge of war", but he eventually received the protection of other Meccans and was able to return to Medina. He appears to have been a wealthy man, because, when Muhammad needed the support of the `Ad against the Jews, Sa`d provided a tent and also a large quantity of dates for the army. On an expedition shortly before the conquest of Mecca, his son Kays is said to have purchased camels to be slaughtered as food for the army. Ibn Ishak says that Sa`d was not at the battle of Badr [q.e.v.] because suffering from snake-bite, but al-Waki`id and others say he was present. The snake-bite was probably genuine and not an excuse, for Muhammad seems to have trusted him fully.

At this period, Sa`d was probably the second most important man in the tribe of al-Khazraj after `Abd Allah b. Ubayy [q.e.v.], and the latter was never a whole-hearted supporter of Muhammad, since before his arrival he had been hoping to become "king" of Medina.

The struggle for power between Sa`d and Ibn Ubayy led Sa`d to give his fullest support to Muhammad. In the "affair of the lie" against `A`i`ha, shortly before the Khandaq attack on Medina, when Ibn Ubayy helped to spread the scandal, it eventually came to a showdown, with Muhammad wanting to punish Ibn Ubayy. The tribe of al-Aws gave this full support, but Sa`d opposed them on behalf of al-Khazraj and urged leniency. From this point onwards, Ibn Ubayy faded out and Sa`d presented himself as an Islamic

Abd, to whom the governor of the Buhayra province, Muhammad Fadl Pasha, had allocated about 230 faddans in around 1850. Although several rumours circulate in law, the Zaghlulu war, in 1870, was mostly of Turkish origin and that they were originally Turkish coming from Algeria, the family presumably belonged to those "new Egyptian notables" (then called abna` al-balad) who gained fortunes and social power after 1750. It should be noted, however, that the Zaghlulu originally were Maliks and that only later did Sa`d Zaghlul become a Shi`i. In contrast to this, many national historians have tried to present Zaghlul as a son of a certain family in Fustat, but it may be more influential than its size warranted, perhaps because it was wealthy. Only two members of the clan were at the second meeting with Muhammad at al-`Akaba [q.e.v.] but both were included among the nakaba2 or representatives. One of these was Sa`d b. Ubada, who had become a Muslim at an early date. Sa`d was badly treated by some Meccans on his way back from al-`Akaba because they had heard something about "the pledge of war", but he eventually received the protection of other Meccans and was able to return to Medina. He appears to have been a wealthy man, because, when Muhammad needed the support of the `Ad against the Jews, Sa`d provided a tent and also a large quantity of dates for the army. On an expedition shortly before the conquest of Mecca, his son Kays is said to have purchased camels to be slaughtered as food for the army. Ibn Ishak says that Sa`d was not at the battle of Badr [q.e.v.] because suffering from snake-bite, but al-Waki`id and others say he was present. The snake-bite was probably genuine and not an excuse, for Muhammad seems to have trusted him fully.

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Tall al-Kabīr (13 September 1882), Sa’d accepted a position at the Law Court of Dīţa. This was his first opportunity to work as a jurist. Sa’d could now change his outfit and become an Afandī. But in early October 1882, Sa’d resigned and was officially consider- ing following ʿAbduh, who had left Egypt on 7 January 1883. But ʿAbduh advised him to stay in Egypt; hence Sa’d worked with his friend Husayn Sakar as a lawyer at the Dīţa court. As British officials suspected him to be a member of an obscure “society of revenge”, Sa’d was arrested on 20 June 1883; it was Aziz’s four months later the accusation proved to be false. Already in February 1884, he resumed his work as a lawyer and kept this position for the next eight years.

When Muhammad ʿAbduh returned to Egypt in 1888, Sa’d Zaghlul again had an intercessor within the intellectual and cultural urban elites. ʿAbduh invited him to join the famous salon of Princess Nazli Fāḍīl, who had been an ardent supporter of Ahmad ʿUrābī. Now, however, the salon became a most important place of British-Egyptian private diplomacy. Here, Zaghlul met for the first time the Consul-General Evelyn Baring, later the 1st Earl of Cromer, and many influential journalists and politicians. In 1890, he had already become a great name; as gossip concerning Zaghlul’s liaison with Princess Nazli was spreading, he gained public recognition within colo- nial society. Wilfred Scawen Blunt even suggested to him to Cromer as a possible minister in an “Egyptian government” which should outst the traditional elites from power. Two years later, Sa’d’s lobbying proved to be a success. He was appointed as a Deputy Chief Judge at the Court of Appeal on 27 June 1892. From now on, Zaghlul had a well-established position in the Egyptian upper class; but this was only the beginning of his rapid career. From 1892 to 1897, he went several times to Europe in order to study languages and law, and in 1897, he got a diploma in law from the University of Paris. Obviously, he considered himself as a political personality, since he now started to keep a diary which recorded day-by-day summaries of events and cases at the law court and which was meant as an aide-mémoire for future activities. Only in 1903 did he begin to use the diaries for private purposes. By 1896, when he married Safiyya, Zaghlul was a rich man. He possessed everything which was important in those days to become a politician: a position, money, reputation, a good marriage and a good knowledge of French and a bit of German. In 1902, he finally led Zaghlul as a reform-minded Afandī to parliament and the traditional structures of governmental institutions; in early 1910, he thought of retiring from politics as he did not see any progress for the na- tionalist constitutional movement. In addition, urban nationalists heavily attacked him for promoting nepotism, and others even made propaganda for Fathī Zaghlul, that he should replace his brother in office. Zaghlul now backed him after his deposition. Per- sonal problems and a career crisis may have added to the fact that Zaghlul gradually changed his political attitude towards British rule in Egypt. In his view, Britain had now become an opponent of a true con- stitutional order in Egypt. Being unemployed and showing symptoms of an addiction to gambling, he had lost most of his fortune and riches. He was highly in debt. In order to avoid the gambling salons of
Cairo, he retired to his newly-built house in Masdjid Wasif. His political ambition continued to aim at reinvesting the Legislative Assembly, which had been prorogued in late 1914, with power. After the death of Sultan Husayn Kamil, the new Sultan Fu`ad declared on the occasion of the New Year 1336 (18 October 1917), that the Assembly would “soon” resume its work. This, the parallel discussions on a new Constitution and Woodrow Wilson’s declaration on 8 January 1918, encouraged Zaghlul to revive his role in the Legislative Assembly and by the “Egyptian people”. This campaign paved the way for the restoration of the nationalist movement. He accepted the idea which Prince T`usun had promoted of sending a delegation (wafid) of the Assembly to the British High Commissioner in order to get permission to travel to Paris and to present Egypt’s demand for independence to the Peace Conference. The idea was also favoured by the government; but the Prime Minister Husayn Ruhidj (1863-1928) and `Adl`Yegen (1864-1933) disputed the right of Zaghlul to speak in the name of the nation. On 13 October 1918, Zaghlul was deputed to see the High Commissioner Wingate with his political friends `Ali Sha`rawi and `Abd al-`Aziz Fahmi and to present a demand for self-determination. The British, however, declared that Zaghlul was unrepresentative of the Egyptian nation and cold-shouldered the three nationalists. Consequently, the small group started a campaign and issued a circular in which seven members of the Assembly, with Zaghlul as their “president”, were vested with the power to negotiate for the “complete independence” of Egypt, and which should be signed by the members of the Assembly and by the “Egyptian people”. This campaign paved the way for the restoration of the national movement, and already in December 1918, the pro-Zaghlul agitation had reduced other political factions to silence. Even the Prime Minister Ruhidj had to accept Zaghlul’s new power position and finally resigned on 1 March 1919, as the British authorities continued to refuse the Wafd’s permission to leave for the Peace Conference. On 8 March 1919, after Lord Curzon had accepted resolute action against the nationalists, Zaghlul, Muhammad Mahmud, Isma`il Sidqi and Hamid al-Basir were arrested and exiled to Malta.

From afar, Zaghlul monitored the manifold unrest in Egypt which reached its peak in March-April 1919. In accordance with his nationalist world view, he considered the revolts to be a firm expression of the people’s will to make him the “people’s cabinet”. He soon began to centralise control over the Egyptian administration. The British authorities also implicitly accepted this view, as they wanted to act within the legal framework of a protectorate which required a functioning “indigenous” government.

On 7 April 1919, after the Egyptian elites had openly condemned the rebellions, the Special High Commissioner General Allenby released the four exiles and allowed them to leave for Paris with 11 others. Two days later, Ruhidj formed a new government; but he soon had to resign again, as he was not able to accept the demands of state officials to recognise Zaghlul as the nation’s sole representative. Meanwhile, since the Wafdists regarded themselves as the only true expression of the Egyptians’ political will, Zaghlul’s compatriots started to build up an efficient nationwide organisation which should be the nucleus of a future Egyptian administration.

Zaghlul spent the next two years in Europe. After the British Protectorate in Egypt was recognised by the Treaty of Paris (11 April 1919), the Wafdists tried to mobilise the public opinion in their favour, but had only a limited success. They also tried to control the boycott of the Milner Mission, which had been formed in order to investigate the spring revolts. Zaghlul and his delegation stayed in Europe till the end of March 1921. Having reached Cairo on the demand of `Adl`, who wanted to shift the responsibility for the negotiations with the British officials on to the President of the Wafd, Zaghlul started his famous campaign favouring the complete independence of Egypt. It tried to find a political position between `Adl` and the court faction on the one side and the urban nationalists’ activists on the other side. The British warned him several times not to exploit the freedom of press and speech by attacking the government. Zaghlul, however, did not give in. On 23 December 1921, he was again arrested together with five other leaders of the Wafd (Mu`afa`an Nahhas, Markam `Ubayd, Sino`Hann`a, Fath Allah Barakat and `Atif Barakat) and sent to Aden. They arrived at the Seychelles six days before the unilateral British declaration of Egypt’s independence (15 March 1922). In September 1922, Zaghlul was sent to Gibraltar, where he was told that he was no more a prisoner but a guest of the British Government. In April 1923, he was allowed to leave Gibraltar for wherever he wanted; as usual, Zaghlul first went to France (Aix-les-Bains) for a summer course of treatment. He finally returned to Cairo on 17 September 1923 and was welcomed by a large crowd. This embarrassed the Liberals, who thought that, after the last elections which had given them a comfortable majority and the fact that Zaghlul had not had any direct control over the Treaty of Paris (11 April 1919), the still unsolved questions concerning the Egyptian republic. The murder of the British Sirdar Sir Lee Stock (19 November 1924) provided British officials with a pretext to get rid of the troublemaker. Five days later, Zaghlul had to resign. Though he continued to play an important public role in Parliament, his deposition ruined his political career. He saw his
organisation turned into a political party accepting other parties as partners. Thus his hope of being the head of an organisation which should be the organic expression of the nation's will vanished. His contemporaries Ataturk and Ridâ Khân were to be more successful than he at becoming heads of state. In Egypt, however, the political public prevented an analogous development. In early summer 1927, his already shaken and poor health deteriorated, and on 23 August 1927 Zaghlûl died in Cairo of erysipelas.

Bibliography: Sa'd Zaghlûl wrote very little. He published a booklet on Shafiî's law, Cairo n.d. (ca. 1878), a summary of Ibn Miskawiyah on India and about 28 articles in Egyptian journals of the late seventies and early eighties of the 19th century. It is doubtful, however, whether he wrote them all personally or whether he edited articles of Muhammad 'Abduh. The main sources of his political views are his diaries and some collections of his speeches. See his Mudhakkîrât, ed. 'Abd al-'Azîm Rasâmânî, i f. f., Cairo 1887 ff. and collections of his speeches by Ahmad Nasîb al-Sukkâri, Cairo 1923; Mahmûd [Kâmil] Fu'âd, Cairo 1924; Muhammad Ibrâhîm al-Djâzîrî, Cairo 1927; and Mahmûd Kâmil Fu'âd, Cairo 1927.

There are quite a lot of biographies in Arabic: by Muhammad 'Abd al-Murâghîd Dâwûd, Cairo 1926; Ahmad Fâhmi Hâfîz, Cairo 1927; Karîm Tâhîrî, Cairo 1929; 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Zâdîn, Cairo 1932; 'Abâs al-Mu'mîd al-Akkâd, Cairo 1936; Ibrâhîm al-Raglîd, Cairo 1937; Kâdî Qalâ'îdji, Beirut 1938; Yûsuf F. al-Nâbâsî, 'Abd al-'Azîz Sa'dî, Cairo 1952; Hâmid al-Mulaydji, Cairo 1954; Muhammût Ibrâhîm al-Djâzîrî, Cairo 1954; 'Abd al-Khâliq Lâshîn, Cairo 1974; idem, Beirut-Cairo 1975; Muhammad Kâmil Sa'idî, Cairo 1975; 'Abâs Hâfîz, Cairo n.d.; Hamdân Sâlim an-Îzâhîî, Danâmûh n.d.

Although there is a huge literature on the Egyptian nationalist movements in Western languages, there are hardly any biographies of Zaghlûl; cf. Fouad Yêghen, Saad Zaghlouli. Le "père du peuple", égyptien, Paris 1927; for a short political account, see e.g. J. de Menil, Arabian races of Egyptian nationalism, London 1960, 52-55, 113, and J. Berque, L'Egypte, Impérialisme et révolution, Paris 1967, 287-295. For his dealings with the British, see E. Kedourie, Sa'd Zaghlul and the British, in idem, The Chatham House version and other Middle Eastern studies, London 1970, 82-159, and also within the frame of national historiography, 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Râzî, Thâbîb al-Ma'idha, 2 vols., Cairo 1946-1947; idem, Fi ʾsbâk al-thâbara, 3 vols., Cairo 1947-51.

(S. SCHULZE)

SA'D (I) b. ZANGI, 'Abî Shu'ayb b. 'IZZ AL-DIN, Turkish Atabeg in Fars of the Salghurid line [q.v.], reigned in Shârâz from 599/1202-3 until most probably 623/1226.

On the death of his elder brother Takla/Tekela (Degele, etc.) b. Zangi in 594/1198, Sa'd claimed power in Fars, but his claim was contested by his cousin Tughîrîl, the son of his father's elder brother Sunkur, who had founded the dynasty. Tughîrîl retained the royal title for nine years, but throughout that period warfare between him and his cousin continued without a decisive result for either, the country was wasted and depopulated, none would till the land, and famine and pestilence smote the people. At length, in 599/1202-3, Sa'd captured his cousin and ascended the throne of Fars (according to Mirhân and this happened in 593/1197, after Tughîrîl had been defeated by Takla), but at the beginning of his reign famine was so severe in the land that the strong grew weak and the weak remained, and even when the famine had abated the pestilence remained; but Sa'd gradually restored prosperity to his people, and, having completed this task, conquered Kirmân from the Shâbânkârâ Kurds. In 614/1217-18 he invaded Irâk, but was taken prisoner by the army of the Khârazm-Shâh 'Alâ'î al-Dîn Muhammad [q.v.], and in order to regain his freedom was obliged to pay a ransom of two-thirds of a year's revenue of his kingdom, to surrender Istaqhr and Ashkûrân, and to agree to pay tribute annually. On his return to Shîrâz, his son Abû Bakr, who had occupied the throne during his captivity, opposed his restoration, and a battle was fought between father and son, in which Sa'd was wounded in the eye with an arrow, but the citizens admitted him into the city by night, and he secured his restoration. When a son of the Khârazm-Shâh Djalâl al-Dîn Mishingburnu [q.v.] passed through Fars on his return from India in 621/1224, he interceded for Abû Bakr, and succeeded in persuading Sa'd to release him.

According to the most reliable sources, Sa'd died in Dhu l'Ca'da 623/November 1226 and after a reign of 29 years was succeeded by his son Abû Bakr. Amongst his building works was a celebrated Madjidi-i Naw or Madjadji-i Abagehî in Shîrâz, completed in 615/1218 (see W. Barthold, An historical geography of Iran, Princeton 1984, 156). However, the poet Sa'dî [q.v.] derived his takhallus or nom-de-plume not from this Sa'd (I) but from his son Abû Bakr b. Sa'dî (I) and grandson Sa'dî (II) b. Abî Bakr.


(T.W. HAIG-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

SA'D b. ZAYD MANÂT al-FIZR is the name by which a large section of the tribe of Tamîn is named.

The curious cognomen Fizr or (according to al-Ashîrî, Fazr) has received no satisfactory explanation, and the philologist Abû Manṣûr al-Azhari asserts that he never met any person who could explain it. Some lexicographers explain it as meaning "more than one", others as "goats", but we may assume that Ibn Durayd is correct when he derives it from the verb fâzara and that that fîzr means "a chip or fragment". The Arab genealogists give the name of the common ancestor as Sa'd b. Zayd Manât b. Tamîn and relate tales to account for the curious name, which amount to the following: Sa'd had much cattle which he ordered his sons, by different mothers, to take to pasture; they refused and he invited the kindred tribesmen of Malik b. Zayd Manât to come and rob the camels. Then when only goats remained, he gave his sons the same
order and they again refused to take them to pasture. In his anger, he declared that he would allow no one to take more than one. Thus the goats were scattered all over the country, and this is said to be the origin of the proverb: “I shall not come to you till the goats of al-Fizr (are collected again into one herd)” (al-Maydānī, Maqāmaṭ al-amīli, ed. ʿAbd al-Hamīd, 2 Cairo 1379/1959, ii, 212b = no 3496). The goats are probably imagined to have had the usum or brand-mark of his clan. The underlying idea appears to be that the divisions of this tribe were scattered over the whole of Eastern Arabia. The tribe of Tamīm [q.v.] is early mentioned, and the genealogies in their case are more fictitious than with other tribes; all they can serve is to show which of the clans shortly before and after the introduction of Islam felt itself as possessing a certain relationship. The poet al-Aṣḥāb b. Rikālī says in The Arabic lexica s.v. Fizr: Ibn Durayd, Kitāb l-lithākā, ed. Wūstenfeld, 150 ff.; A.A. Beván, The Nakād of Jarīr and the Farazdak, Leiden 1905-12, passim; Kalkaṣhāndī, Nihāyat al-arab, Baghdād, 236; Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab, Cairo 1342, ii, 344-5; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhī, al-Iād al-farīd, Cairo 1316, ii, 42; Kitāb l-lithākā, passim; Ibn Ḥazm, Dār al-qasūr anṣāṭ al-arāb, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 204-11; Wūstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen, L, and Register, 286; Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, i, Tafsīr, no. 75, ii, Register, 497; S. Kazzarāh, Die Dichtung der Tamīm in sīratulislamischer Zeit, diss. Erlangen 1982, 145-6 (incs. those fragments of poetry attributed to Saʿd al-Fizr).

(F. Krenkow*)


His tenure of office lasted from Dūmādā II 688/June 1289 until his murder in Rābiʿ I 690/March 1291. His tim and date of birth are unknown. His rise to power must be seen against the background of a radical change of the Mongol political élite in domestic and foreign policies; i.e. from the pro-Islamic policy of the Ilkhan Ahmad (680-3/1282-4) back to the anti-Islamic policy of the Ilkhan after the defeat at ʿAyn Dālīlī [q.v.] on 25 Ramadan 658/3 September 1260. This policy was aimed at a Mongol-Christian-European alliance against the Mamluks [q.v.]. Under Ahmad, a convert to Islam, who strove for a peaceful agreement with the Mamluks (al-Makrīzī, Sulāk, i/3, 707-8, 717-223), the pro-Islamic Mongol élite, together with the amīr Buka, worked with the waṣīr Shams al-Dīn al-Dībawaynī [q.v.]. After the murder of the Ilkhan Ahmad and the enthronement of Ahrūm, the amīr Buka, who had changed loyalties shortly before the coup d'état, became the most powerful amīr in the realm. He tried to preserve the status quo between Mongols and Muslims, even though he could not prevent the fall and murder of the waṣīr Shams al-Dīn al-Dībawaynī. This situation changed abruptly when Buka fell from power and was murdered, and Saʿd al-Dawla immediately after rose to power in Dūmādā II 688/June 1289 (Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 208-16, 217). One month later, on 3 Rābiʿ II 688/July 1289 the whole Dībawaynī family was liquidated (ibid., 218-19). Ahrūm issued an edict prohibiting the employment of Muslim secretaries (Bar Hebraeus, ed. Budge, i, 484-5). This edict was countered by the Mamluks with an edict in Shabban 689/August 1290 prohibiting the employment of Jewish and Christian secretaries (al-Makrīzī, Sulāk, i/3, 753). Saʿd al-Dawla gave all the key positions in the administration to his family, relatives and co-believers. His internal policy aimed at an increase in taxes and a redistribution of funds to fill the treasury. In foreign policy he, together with the Ilkhan, aimed at an alliance with Pope Nicolas IV and the Christian powers of Europe in order tooust the Mamluks from Syria. A Crusade was planned and eventual possession of Jerusalem by the Pope was envisaged; but nothing came of these plans. Meanwhile, the Mamluk sultan Kalāwūn [q.v.] and his son and successor Ahrūm (683-91/1282-90) tried to get the Dībawaynīs from the Syrian coast. Their last stronghold, ʿĀlkā [q.v.], fell in Rābiʿ II 670/March 1291. Shortly before this, on 7 Rābiʿ II 670/10 March 1291, Ahrūm died, and five days before his death Saʿd al-Dawla was murdered by his Mongol enemies. A persecution of the Jews began that could only be forcibly suppressed by the government.

Regarding Saʿd al-Dawla’s earlier career, he appears for the first time in 682/1283, when Sharaʾ al-Dīn Hūrūn, from the Dībawaynī family, became governor of Baghdaḏ and Saʿd al-Dawla was dismissed from the supervision of the endowments of the Māriztān [see MAZĀR] there. In 683/1284 he became deputy (nāʾīb) of the qāṣīn in Baghdaḏ and in 686/1287 the financial administrator (malik) of Baghdaḏ. Nāṣir al-Dīn Kūṭlūg Shāh, a mamlūk of the Dībawaynī family, complained about him to the Ilkhan, Saʿd al-Dawla was sent to the court of the Ilkhan in his capacity as a physician, and became the private one of Ahrūm (Ibn al-Fuwāṭī, 428, 433, 450). He won the ruler’s confidence and was twice sent to Baghdaḏ to check the finances, being in Dūmādā I 687/June 1288 made supervisor of finances (muḥ₃ṣīf) there, and in the same year a group of Jews from Tīflīs came to Baghdaḏ to oversee the
charitable endowments of the Muslims. This brought about a revolt there, and the group had to resign (Ibn al-Fuwâti, 454-5). Then in Dîmuâdî II 688/June 1289 he was made sâhid al-dawla al-mâlîdî, i.e. wazîr, by Arghûn; numerous sources confirm his administrative skill and abilities in general.

**Bibliography:** Râqîd al-Dîn, iii, ed. A.A. Alizade, Baku 1957, 208-10, 217-27; Ibn al-Fuwâti, al-Hawâdith al-dâmîf a fi ʾl-muʾaṣa ʾal-sâhîb a, ed. Muṣṭâfa Dîjwâdî, Baghdîd 1351/1922, 457-64; Wâṣâfi, Taʿrîkh, Bombay 1689-1702, ii, 235-35, ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Ayât, Tâhîr-i taʿrîkh-i Wâṣâfi, Tehran 1346/1967, 141; Pârêhā, muṣbaṭ al-ḥikomat, ed. and tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, Oxford 1932, i, 484-91; Mârzi, Šâkhî, ed. M.M. Šâdiar, Cairo 1936-9; W. J. Fischel, Jews in the economic and political life of medieval Islam, New York 1969, 90-117; idem, Azerbâijân in Jewish history, in Procs. of the American Academy for Jewish Research, xxii (1953), 6-11; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Ikhânîn in Persien 1220-1350, repr. Amsterdam 1974, i, 382-8, 392-3, 396-8; S. M. Makrîzî, ʿAbd al-Muḥammad ibn Kârîm ibn Muhammad, gaḍrîs al-mudżmil-i Fâṣîḥî, ed. R. Tadj al-Dîn, Mashhdâd 1340 A.H.S., 298-310), as well as Rîżwâni, Fâlîs al-uns, Tehran 1370 A.H.S., 128). Unlike Ibn ʿArâbî, Saʿd al-Dîn evidently favoured the Šûfî practice of “listening to music” (ṣamâʾ); cf. Muḥ’ayyid al-Dîn al-Dawândî, ʿAbî Fâsîq al-ḥâtîm, Mashhdâd 1361/1982, 107). Sibt Ibn al-Dîjwâzî (loc. cit.) mentions that he lived with his followers on Mount Kâsîyûn and describes him as a holy man who shunned the rich, even his own cousins, despite great poverty, but says also that he enjoyed later in Khûrâsân the favours of the “kings of the Tatars”. The same source also points out that he spent the last week of his life by the tomb of Muhammad b. Hamûyâ in Bahrâbâd (near Djuwâwân), and that he was buried there. According to Ghiyâth al-Dîn, he spent the last eight years of his life mainly in Amûl and various places in Khûrâsân, including Bahrâbâd, where he died during one of his visits. It must have been during this last period in Khûrâsân that ʿAzîz-i Nasâfî (d. ca. 700/1300) became his disciple. The latter, a prolific Persian writer, published some of his master’s ideas, particularly those concerning the unity of Being (wasâdat al-wusûd) and the special status of the “râjîn” (wafî). “Monistic” trends in Saʿd al-Dîn’s thought were also noted by Dhâhâbi (Al-ʿarbâ, Kuwait 1960, v, 206). His peculiar ideas about wâlîya bear a certain affinity to gnostic Shîʿism, although he belonged, like the rest of his family, to the Shâfiʿî mithâb. Unlike Nasâfî’s, Saʿd al-Dîn’s works were reputedly “difficult to come to his point of view” (wâzîr) speculations. Nasâfî, Kâṣîf al-hâkâbîk, Tehran 1344 ʿA.H./1965, 4, credits him with a total of 400 books, whereas Ghiyâth al-Dîn lists the titles of 32 otherwise uncoded writings but mentions none of the works generally attributed to him (see e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 803). Among the latter, the Persian Risâlât al-Mishâb has been published in 1983 with a useful introduction by N.M. Hirawi as al-Mishâb fi l-ṭaṣawwuf (Tehran 1362/1403).

Kashghar died while performing the midday prayer on 7 Djamād I 860/12 May 1456, and was buried in the Khiyābān suburb of Harāt. The site soon acquired great sanctity, and several of his disciples, including Djamī, were buried nearby. His tomb was nonetheless neglected during the disorders that came to mark the history of Harāt, and ultimately the headstone itself disappeared. The tomb was restored, and the headstone replaced, by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (q.v.), who also constructed an ʿīsān nearby. This ʿīsān was rebuilt and provided with two minarets in the late 1950s by Muhammad Zahir Shāh, the last king of Afghanistan.

One of the devotees of Kāshghār is said to have been told by the Prophet in a dream that Kāshghār had advanced no fewer than thirty-two people to the rank of saintship (wāḥidīn), but none of these appears to have been clearly nominated as his successor. Djamī was manifestly the most prominent of Kāshghār’s disciples, but being temperamentally averse to assuming the burdens of preceptorship, he encouraged the followers of Kāshghār to gather, after his death, around Mawlána Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūdji (d. 904-1499). Important, too, among the disciples of Kāshghār was Mawlána ʿAlī al-Dīn Maktābdār (d. 892/1487), several of whose devotees carried the Naqshbandiyā to places such as Kāzvīn and Tabriz in western Persia. In general, however, the initiatic lines descending from Kāshghār faded out after two or three generations; it was his great contemporaries, “Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (q.v. in Suppl.) of Samarkand, who proved more significant for the long-term transmission of the Naqshbandiyā in the Bible Belt. Asli al-Dīn Harawi, Mazārdīr Harawi, ed. Fikrī Sājdujī, Kābul 1967, i, 98-9, ii, 52-3; Djamī, Nafṣulāt al-ʿunṣ, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbīdī, Tehran 1370 ʿah/1971, 408-10; Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Husayn Wāʿīs Kāshghī, Raḥbātāʾ ṣyn al-ḥayāt, ed. ʿAlī Asghar Muḥīṭī, Tehrān 2536 Imārat/Islāmī, i, 205-32, edem (Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Safī), Lyāʾī al-ʿaṣrāvī, ed. Ahmad Gultīnī, Khānīn, Tehran 1336 ʿah/1957, 231, 235; Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfāzī, Raʾwāt al-dīnjān fī ansāfī madīnāt Harāt, ed. Mohammad Ishqāzī, Aligarh 1961, 26; Muḥammad b. Husayn Kāzwīnī, Sīsīla-nāmeh-ye khādājanī- ī Nakshband, ms. B.N., suppl. persan 1418, fols. 14b-18a; Ghulām Sarwar Lāhūrī, Khāzinat al-ṣuyūṭī, Bombay 1290/1873, i, 573-6; ʿAlī al-Qaḥfūrī Lārī, Tamsīla-ye Nafṣat al-ʿunṣ, ed. Bašghīr Harawi, Kābul 1343 ʿah/1964, 13-14, J. Paul. Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqshbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert (Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Ortes, N.S. XIII), Berlin and New York 1991, 24, 47, 58, 87; ʿAlī al-Wāʿīsī Bākharzī, Makāmātī-ye Djamī, ed. Nagīb Māyīl Harawi, Tehran 1371 ʿah/1992, 81, 87, 104, 110, 132, 194, 232.

(Hamid Algar)
important court official of two Seljuk sultans of Rûm, Kaykûbât I and Kaykhusraw II. Kopek's place and date of birth are unknown. He is first mentioned as a tardjumân (Ibn Bibî, 146). Late in Kaykûbât's reign, Kopek had risen to become amîr-i şâhâk (master of the hunt) and mu'mâr (minister of works), entrusted with overseeing the construction of Kaykûbât's new palace at Kûbâbâbâ (g.v.) (ibid., 147). Kopek himself erected in 633/1235 a large caravanserai, known as the Zazadin or Sadeddin Han, between Konya and Aksaray. Two extant inscriptions on its portals record Kopek (k.w.b. k.) b. Muhammad.

After Kaykûbât's death in 634/1237, Kopek wielded considerable influence over his successor, Kaykhusraw II. Murders, aimed at consolidating Kaykhusraw's position, then followed. Kopek suddenly seized a Khârazmian amîr, Kirhân, who died in prison (Bar Hebraeus, 403; Ibn Bibî, 201). Kopek then organised the murders of Kaykhusraw's two half-brothers and their mother (Ibn Bibî, 204). In 635/1238 Kaykhusraw sent Kopek to occupy Sumâyasîn on his behalf. Returning home, Kopek killed off the last of the "old guard" state officials, Kaymârî and Kamîyrâ, who, like him, had served Kaykûbât (ibid., 208). In 637/1240, Kaykhusraw eliminated Kopek, because he was a dangerous rival, who had "destroyed the pillars of the state, one by one" (ibid.). According to Ibn Bibî, who remains the principal source for the events, the malevolent Kopek remained true to form, even in death: one of the spectators, assembled to gloat over Kopek's dismembered body, suspended in a cage from a wall, was killed by the cage falling on him (ibid., 209).

The blame for the murders in Kaykhusraw's reign could, of course, be apportioned differently. After all, Ibn Bibî, the court chronicler of the Rûm Seljuqs, is keen to exonerate Kaykhusraw from responsibility for all the deaths, save Kopek's.


(CAROLLE HÜLLEBRAND)

SA'D AL-DIN TAF Tatçâzâni [see al-Taqatçâzâni]. SA'D WA-NAHS (a.), literally, "the fortunate and the unfortunate".

These concepts are based on the influence exerted by the planets and the signs of the Zodiac on earthly events. The astrologers describe the stars as being either sa'd or našî. Thus Jupiter, Venus and the Moon are said to be sa'd, Saturn is našî and the Sun and Mercury are at times called sa'd, at times našî. But this can vary as a function of their positions in the ecliptic and of their conjunctions (cf. Abû Maslama Muhammed al-Madrîzî, Ḥayât al-hâkim, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1933, 198 ff.; M. Plessner, Picaîux, London 1962, 209 ff.; L'agriculture nabatène, i, Damascus 1993, 10-12 et passim).

Starting out from these basic indications, the astrologers [see MUNATAPAZA] divided their art into two branches: natural astrology, consisting in the observation of the fortunate or unfortunate influence of the stars on the natural elements, whence arises meteorological divination [see ANWÂ' AND MADÂH]; and judicial or apotelesmatic divination, consisting in the observation of the influence of the stars on human destiny, whence arise genealogy (mašu'ûdî) or the art of drawing omens from the position of the stars at a person's birth [see NUDJUM, AMKÂM, 1.], and hermeneutics and demonology [see KITîYARAT], which consist in establishing the calendar of what is fortunate and what is unfortunate [see NUDJUM, AMKÂM, 2.].

One should note that the name sa'd, followed by a noun, is given to some stars and constellations (cf. P. Kunitzsch, Über eine anawû'-Tradition mit bisher unbekannten Sternnamen, in Beiträge zur Lexicographie des Klassischen Arabisch, Nr. 4, in Abb. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. (Munich 1983), Heft 5, 57; see this same author's arts. MANAZIL and NUDJUM). This designation does not seem to have borne any divinatory significance.

Bibliography: Given in the article. On Sa'd, the idol of the Banû Miskân, and Sa'dân (nâja), see T. Fahd, Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire, Paris 1968, 147-50.

(T. FAHD)

SA'DA, a town approximately 240 km/150 miles to the north of the chief town of the Yemen, Sa'nân (g.v.), situated on the southern edge of the Sa'da plain, and the administrative capital of the "province (mubâqâfa) of the same name. The town is about 1,800 m/5,904 ft. above sea level and in the 1986 census in the Yemen had a reported population of 24,245 persons. The inhabitants of the province numbered 323,110.

Although al-Hamdanî, 67, informs us that the town was called Djumaî in pre-Islamic times, certain Sabací inscriptions mention Jame al-Djumaî and he, "the town Sa'da", together with reference to the predominant tribe of the area, Khâwâlan (g.v.) (Ja 658/11-13, A. Jamme, Sabací inscriptions from Mahram Bilguîş, Baltimore 1962, 163; Sharaf al-Dîn, 31/14-5; A.G. Lundin, Sabací közlekedési és diplomát III v. e. n., in Palestinskiy Sbornik, xxv/88 (1974), 97; Ja 21097, A.F.L. Beeston, Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes, i/1, Louvain 1986, 49-50). Al-Hamdanî also tells the anecdote of the origin of the name Sa'da: "the weary Hidjâzî stopped for the night in the town and lay on his back contemplating the decorated ceiling which pleased him. Twice he exclaimed, "[Someone has] indeed raised it up (ja'ada-hu, ya'ada-hu!)." The town's fame for the manufacture of arrowheads is also mentioned by the 4th/10th century Yemeni scholar, who refers specifically to ṣa'ādî fûṣâ ṣa'ādîyâ. Iron implements, particularly agricultural, of all kinds seem also to have been made in the town.

The 7th/13th century traveller to the Arabian Peninsula from the east, Ibn al-Mudjâwîr (g.v.), reports in his Ta'rîkh al-Mustabıh, ed. O. Lôgren, Leiden 1951-2, 202-6, that the route north to Sa'da from Sa'nân, originally an important trade and later pilgrim route, was 20 parasangs (on p. 232, the return journey is 19). The town was built in the pre-Islamic era by Shem, the son of Noah, he adds. The old town, however, did not survive and in the time of al-Hâdî ilâ 'l-Hakk, the first Zayîdî imâm (d. 298/911) a wealthy merchant who would take no expenses built a mosque, perhaps the mosque bearing al-Hâdî's name still found in Sa'da to this day. A whole new town followed with markets, residences etc. Ibn al-Mudjâwîr then goes on to describe the wall (dar), towers (burûq) and gates, and the 11th/16th century Istanbul ms. contains a plan of the town which is reproduced in
Löfgren's edition, at p. 205. There were four towers:
Darb al-Kātī (E), Darb al-Kājī (N), Darb Daybān (S), and Darb al-Ghuzz (?). The last two were of Bāb al-Haram, Bāb Darb al-Ghuzz (?), Bāb Darb al-Kājī Ibn Daybān, Bāb Hūth, presumably also a southern gate leading to the town of Hūth between Sa'da and Sa'ā, and Bāb Darb al-Imām. The latter tower was built, according to Ibn al-Mudājwīr, by the Zaydi imām al-Mansūr bīlhāf ʿAbd Allāh b. Hamza (d. 613/1216). The town flourished, watered by rivers and springs, thus producing wheat and barley and abundant trees. Ibn al-Mudājwīr’s final comment concerns the clothing of the local inhabitants; it is made of silk and cotton, he says, since the area is so hot.

The geographer Yākūt (d. 627/1229) refers (ed. Beirut, iii, 406) to Sa'da as a province (mukhabāt [q.f.], 60 parasangs from Sa'ā). He continues that the town is a commercial centre, fertile, and in particular a centre of tanning, the latter facilitated by the abundance of Daybān. The last three of these texts are also mentioned in the margins of Ibn Hazm, iii, 221; Masudi, ii, 366; al-Shahrastānī, in the last two of which formed part of the superstitions of the Mediterranean basin that the essence or the essential being which gave life to a man escaped from the corpse in the form of a bird, above all, in the form of a bird of prey “other refs. in T. Fahd, Le panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale, 3 n. 1).”

Allusions to this belief are frequent in ancient poetry. One may cite, e.g., ʿArāfa b. al-ʿAbd, Mu'allāka, vi, 61; ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-Thalābī of Ghatafān, in al-Buḥūṭi, Hamāsa, iii, no. 93, 585; Abū Duʿād al-ʿiyādī, in Aḥgānī, xvi, 39; Kays b. ʿAṣim, in Ibn al-ʿAṯīr, i, 289-90; and Dūḥi ʿl-Iṣbāfr al-ʿAdwānī, in al-Nuwayrī, Niḥyā, Cairo 1924, iii, 121. In general, these poets reproach the family of the murdered person for delaying avenging him, thus delaying the appeasing of his soul. Other poets refer to the echo (sāda) of a barking announcing a fire implying hospitality [see nār], as in the case of Murra b. Mahkān, cited by al-Tibrīzī, in Hamāsa, 690; or else the echo indicating the way to someone lost, as in the case of Ummiya b. Bubayr al-Mażīnī and Abū Mubīb, cited by ibid., 690, 1 223.

As for the historical and lexicographical sources, they reproduce the same notion set forth above, with slight variants (see esp. al-Shahristānī, Mišāl, in the margins of Ibn Hazm, iii, 221; Maṣūdī, Muḥāfīz, iii, 310-13 = §§ 1191-5; Aḥgānī, xvi, 96; al-Tibrīzī, in Hamāsa, 454; al-Damārī, Ḥaywān, iv, 440, citing Maḥīk b. Anas). The Prophet denied the existence of three things which formed part of the superstitions of the Dhajjīlīya, saying, ʿlā τάδεα ως-λαό κόρα-λάν-σαταρ “there is no contagion, no death owl and no intestinal worms”. People subsequently personified these three things and made them responsible, e.g., for contagion with a camel in contact with another there arises leprosy, or digestive and nervous disorders caused by a tapeworm. It is God, he affirms, who afflicts things and made them responsible, e.g., for contagion with a camel in contact with another there arises leprosy, or digestive and nervous disorders caused by a tapeworm. It is God, he affirms, who afflicts things and made them responsible, e.g., for contagion.
SADAF (A.) (sing, sadafa) denotes two classes of molluscs: 1. Mussels (Lamellibranchiatd); 2. Snails (Gastropoda), both including the mother-of-pearl. Many of these transmissions were of works on cilm al-ridjal by authors like Ibn cAdi, al-Dimashki, Abu '1-Husayn Ibn Bashran, al-Hakim, al-Khatib al-Baghdadl, Ibn al-Djarud and others. He travelled to the East on 1 Muhamarr 481/1088, performing the pilgrimage and searching for knowledge in Madhiyya, Cairo, Mecca, Bašra, Anbār, Wāsiṣ, Baghdad (where his stay lasted five years). Damascus (i.e. 'askir mentioned in his Ti'rīka Dimajžk because of his visit to the town), Alexandria and Tinnīs. Among his many teachers during his Ti'rīka, two were Andalusians, Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Humaydyd and al-Turtūsī q. v., as well as Husayn b. Yūsuf b. Sukkara/Sukkaruh al-Mullakhī, Abu '1-Abbās al-Djurjānī, Abu '1-Fadl Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. Khayrūn, Abu '1-Tābir Ahmad b. Abu '1-Abayd Allāh b. Siwār (author of the Kithāl al-Mustamīn fi il'ākīn, al-Mubārak b. A'1-Djurjānī, Abu '1-Sayrāfī, Tirād b. Muhammad al-Zaynābi and Ahmad b. Yābya b. al-Djurjād. With the Shaffī'ī Abu Bakr al-Shassī he studied al-his al-Ta'rīka al-kubra fi masā'il al-khīsā. In Cairo, al-Sadaft obtained the 'īṣārā from Abū Ishāk al-Habībī, the most reputed traditionist of the time who had been forbidden to teach by the Fātimids. In 940/1056, al-Sadaft arrived in al-Andalus, settling in Murcia, where he taught in the 'īṣārā mosque, attracting students from all over the Peninsula. Although he was considered a competent expert in kīrātāt, he excelled especially in the science of hadīth, not only because of the quality of his knowledge but also because of his "high" isnād (i.e. the fact that his chains of transmission had very few links). His powerful memory apparently allowed him to learn by heart entire compilations of hadīth, memorizing them in his mind. He himself compiled some of those compilations, like al-Bukhari's and Muslim's Sahīk which, together with al-Tirmidhi's Musannaf, constituted the basis of his teachings. It is said that the major part of the copies of al-Bukhari's work in the Maghrīb are either in the riwaya of al-Bajī (from Abu Dharr), or in the riwaya of Ibn Sukkara (transmitted by Ibn Sa'da) onto the riwaya of Ibn Suṣhān al-Djurjād. But al-Sadaft was mostly a transmitter, and as such he plays an important role in 1'yād's Ghunya and in Ibn Khayr's Faḥrasa. Apart from some works in the field of Kur'ānic sciences and ascetism, he transmitted mainly hadīth works by the major transmitters and those of the mystics and philosophers to use them as images'.

Bibliography: The Greek names, mentioned in the article, are all found in Dioscorides, De materia medica, ed. M. Wellmann, Lib. II, chs. 4-9 (pp. 122-5); their Arabic renderings are accordingly found in the translation by Stephanos-Hunayan: La 'Materia medica' de Dioscorides, ii, ed. Dubuler and Teres, 1952, 128-31, and in Ibn al-Baytār, 3qimii, iii, 81-2, tr. Leduc, no. 1993; A. Dietrich, Dioscorides triumphant, Göttingen 1988, ii, 190-202; idem, Die Dioscorides-Erklärung des Ibn Badārī, Göttingen 1991, 92-4. For pearls in general, see al-Durr and Lullii. (A. Dietrich)
al-Buḫrāi, al-Nasāʾī, al-Kalābāḏī, Muslim, Abū Bakr al-Barbahāni and al-Bāḏjī, as well as ṣadāk collections. He is remembered as having recited some verses from Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Sūrī against those who attacked traditionists and ʿilm al-hadīth. As a Mālikī, he also transmitted ʿībīk works of this school and some ʿaḥārī like those of Ibn Khayrūn, al-Bāḏjī, Ibn Saʿdīn and Ibn al-Tūyūrī. Al-Sadafi was one of the central figures of his generation in the transmission of ʿīm, as has been shown by Urvoy. Among his Andalusian pupils there were members of the Banū ʿAfast, as has been shown by Urvoy. Among his pupils were al-Saʿāda b. Ṣaʿīd, his daughter, who married a man of ʿAbī ʿImrān Mūṣa b. Saʿāda who inherited his books and documents. Al-Sadafi gave the ṣdāqa to Ibn Baḥḵwāl, Ibn ʿAṭīyya and Abū ʿĪṯār al-Sīlāfi. Another pupil of his was Kāḏī ʿIyād [q.v.], who studied with him in Cеuta and who wrote al-Sadafi's Maḥāvīm. Another Muʿādham muḥāḥib al-Sadafi was written by Ibn al-Dabbagh al-Unzī (d. 543/1148 or 546/1151). For his part, Ibn al-Bāḏjī wrote the Muḥām of al-Sadafi's pupils, edited by F. Codera.

Al-Sadafi's career as Kāḏī in Murcia was short-lived on his own choice. Although both the people and the Almoravid ruler are depicted as desiring him to be ʿāli b. Yusuf b. Tāḥufn in the frontier of al-Andalus in the year 514/1120, fighting as a volunteer against the Christians (see Noth and Urvoy's articles on the meaning of the participation of scholars in ghīḍāх).


al-Sadafi, the equivalent of mahāfīz [q.v.], dowry. Lane gives sadak, with the alternative sidāk (noting that the former is more common but the latter more 'chaste'), plurals sādak, sūdak, and astak as 'the mah of a woman'. Among the other alternative forms given by Lane the most commonly found is sadakū (pl. sadaḵūna) and the form IV verb of the same root, astakū, means to name or give a sadakū upon taking a woman in marriage. Al-Dżazlī says that it is derived from sidīk (yazku) of the property from which they are given (e.g. Ibn Battal al-Rakbi, al-Sila, Zahi, Beirut 1980, no. 7; Ibn Bashkuwal, al-Fihrist, ed. Beirut 1985, xix, 376-8, no. 218; idem, Miṣdjam al-muḥallafin, Cairo, iv, 163, derives it from sidīk, rather than sadakū, as being hard on the soul), and zakāt are considered by Muslim religious belief (e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ḥakām al-Kurān, ed. al-Bujdrī, Cairo 1370/1951, ii, 946-7; al-Shīrīnī, al-Iṣka, Cairo, i, 212; M. Hamīdullāh, Introduction to the Fihrist, ed. Paris 1388/1969, al-Fihrist al-muṣāṣṣ, Būlāk, repr. Beirut 1968, iv, 94; Abū Dāwd al-Sidżdānī, Sanān, part 2, §§ 2105-8. (D.S. EL ALAMI)

Sadaka (a.) has among its meanings that of voluntary alms, often referred to in Islamic literature as sadakat al-tawāṣṣul 'alms of spontaneity', or sadakat al-nafī 'alms of supererogation', in distinction to obligatory alms, frequently also termed sadak, but more commonly known as zakāt [q.v.]. Both sadak and zakāt are considered by Muslim writers to be of purely Arabic derivation; alms being called sadaka as indicating the sincerity (sidīk) of the almsgiver's religious belief (e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī, Ḥakām al-Kurān, ed. al-Bujdrī, Cairo 1367/1951, ii, 946-7; al-Shīrīnī, al-Iṣka, Cairo, i, 212; M. Hamīdullāh, Introduction to the Fihrist, ed. Paris 1388/1969, al-Fihrist al-muṣāṣṣ, Būlāk, repr. Beirut 1968, iv, 94, followed by al-Zabīdī, ʿIḥāf al-sāda al-muttakīn, Cairo, iv, 163, derives it from sadakū, as being hard on the soul), and zakāt with reference to the increase (yazku) or purification (zakāt) of the property from which they are given (e.g. Ibn Baṭṭāl al-Rakbi, al-Nāṣirī, al-muṣāṣṣ, ed. on the margin of Abū ʿĪṣāk al-Shīrīzī, al-Muhaddhist, Cairo, i, 140). Modern critical scholarship, however, regards both words as...
borrowings, probably directly from Jewish usage (A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’an, Baroda 1938, 153, 194). Sadaka reflects the Hebrew *sadáka*, which from its original meaning of almsgiving probably developed the sense of alms given to the poor and is commonly used in this sense in Apocryphal and Rabbinic literature, if not already in the Hebrew Bible (cf. F. Rosenthal, *Sadaka, charity*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xxiii/1 [1950-1], 411-414). Zakát is derived from the Arabic *zakást* or *zakádt*, is of Arabic origin (J. Obermann, *Islamic origins*, in *N.A. Studies*, v, 197-206). In the Kur’än, but not the *hadith* *zakát*, perhaps formed to rhyme with another Aramaic borrowing, *saláth*, with which it is so frequently paired in the Kur’än (A. Spitaler, *Die Schreibung von *Tupas slaut en Koran*, in *WZK*, iv [1960], 217), is used only in the singular, like the Hebrew *sadaka*, and has no denominative verb corresponding to its sense of giving alms (noted by W.M. Watt and A.T. Welch, *Der Islam*, Stuttgart 1930, i, 302, but cf. on the latter point Fr. Schultness, in *ZA*, xxvi [1922], 153, and Horovitz, 206 [62]). Zakát thus appears to have a shorter history as an Arabic word than *sadaka* and is a more pronounced religious borrowing, for only it, not *sadaka*, is used in the Kur’än in connection with prophets before Muhammad (Watt and Welch, i, 302).

According to Arabic lexicographers *sadaka* is broader than *zakát* and is used in the Kur’än for both voluntary and obligatory alms. It thus happens that certain of the most important Kur’änic provisions concerning *zakát* are couched in terms of *sadaka* (e.g. IX, 60). In some cases, it is regarded as doubtful whether *sadaka* is being used to refer to voluntary alms or *zakát* or both (e.g. II, 271). A similar uncertainty extends to verses which refer to “spending” *(infák)* (e.g. II, 3) and “giving” (e.g. II, 177). To complicate matters, *zakát* is on occasion, it is claimed, used to refer to voluntary alms (e.g. Kur’än V, 55, al-Baydawi, *Anwaar al-tansil*, ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846-8, i, 263, referring to both *sádik* and *muhitik*. Modern Muslims have tended to distinguish between voluntary and obligatory *zakát* and refer to *zakát* or *sadaka* or both (e.g. II, 271).

Sadaka is a male name and derivatives in the Koran, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 25, but see J. Obermann, *Die Schreibung von *Tupas slaut en Koran*, in *WZK*, iv, 256 (1938), 194). Sadaka is found as a male name and derivatives in the Koran, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 25, but see J. Obermann, *Vatican, v, 138). Modern Muslims have tended to distinguish between voluntary and obligatory *zakát*. It thus happens that certain of the most important Kur’änic provisions concerning *zakát* are couched in terms of *sadaka* (e.g. IX, 60). In some cases, it is regarded as doubtful whether *sadaka* is being used to refer to voluntary alms or *zakát* or both (e.g. II, 271). A similar uncertainty extends to verses which refer to “spending” *(infák)* (e.g. II, 3) and “giving” (e.g. II, 177). To complicate matters, *zakát* is on occasion, it is claimed, used to refer to voluntary alms (e.g. Kur’än V, 55, al-Baydawi, *Anwaar al-tansil*, ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846-8, i, 263, referring to both *sádik* and *muhitik*. Modern Muslims have tended to distinguish between voluntary and obligatory *zakát* and refer to *zakát* or *sadaka* or both (e.g. II, 271).

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or at least encourages, the giving of sadaka before an audience with the Prophet. It is believed to have been in effect only briefly before being abrogated by LVIII, 13 (al-Baydawi, Anwar al-tanzil, ii, 320, cf. al-Zamakhshari, al-Kashshafi, Beirut, iv, 494).

Other Kur’anic verses, although they do not use the term *sadaka*, figure prominently in later discussions. Several verses (II, 177, III, 92, LXXVI, 8) stress the significance of giving from what one loves. In II, 267, believers are told to give of the “good things” (as-siyyabha) that they have acquired, and that they should not be ashamed to have been rewarded with a generous income, now prohibited, was being given away as sadaka. The bountiful reward in store for one who gives “in the cause of God” (fi sabil Allah) (II, 261, seven-hundredfold) or “to seek God’s pleasure” (ibtiqad mardat Allah) (II, 265, twofold) is contrasted with the vanity of giving “in pursuit of the life of this world” (al-bayat al-dunya) (III, 117). “Who is it that will make God a goodly loan?” (khabith hasan), so that He will increase it many times” (II, 245; cf. Proverbs, xix, 17) is said to have been revealed with reference to the Anṣārī Abu ‘l-Daghār, who gave an orchard of 600 palm trees as *sadaka* and was rewarded with one million orchards in the hereafter. Kur’ān LIX, 9 praises those “who prefer over themselves, even though they be in want,” a passage understood to refer to the Medinan Anṣār who, setting an example of self-sacrifice (ṣayba), gave so generously to the Muhājirūn (al-Baghwārī, Sharḥ al-sunsna, ed. al-Arna’ūt, Damascus 1390/1400, repr. Beirut 1403/1983, vi, 181; al-Baydawi, Anwar al-tanzil, ii, 324). In other passages, however, the Kur’ān urges moderation in giving (VI, 141, cf. al-Baydawi, op. cit., i, 312; XXV, 67).

2. *Sadaka* in Ḥadīth. The subject of *sadaka* is dealt with in many Ḥadīth (most easily accessible in Ṣawā’id al-Muttaq al-Hindi, Kanz al-‘umārā, ed. Hayyāni and al-Sakka, Aleppo 1390/1971, vi). Although *sadaka* is sometimes used for voluntary alms in explicit contrast to zakāt, its use in the sense of zakāt (found also in papyri (G. Khan, Selected Arabic papyri, Oxford 1992, i, 53)) remains frequent, with the result that in the classical collections of traditions, the Ḥadīth dealing with voluntary almsgiving are far more abundant in Ḥadīth than in the *Sunnah*. Ḥadīth, however, has in addition a separate section on voluntary almsgiving (in the recension of Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Masūdī, ed. Muhammad Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bākī, Cairo n.d., 615-18). In the interpretation of neither the Ḥadīth nor the Kur’ān was agreement reached as to which sense of *sadaka* was to be presumed as intended in the absence of further evidence.

Beyond the ambiguity occasioned by the continued use of *sadaka* for zakāt, there is further uncertainty in the interpretation of some traditions created by the not infrequent use of *sadaka* in the sense of permanent alms (*sadaka* dā’irā, i.e. the trust or wa‘f [q. v.] on this use in papyri, see R.G. Khoury, Christomachie de papyrologie arabe, Leiden 1993, 132-3 (Christian)). Some even claimed that *sadaka* was used in the Ḥadīth in the sense of the poll tax (ṣiyān) [q. v.], a usage others reject (confined to the Ṣahih, and other Christian Arab tribes (*Umdat al-ḵātir, i, 4-5,*).

The references to *sadaka* in the Ḥadīth are often of a homiletic character, stressing the excellence of alms given under one or another circumstance, whether that of the giver, the recipient, the time and place of the giving, or the gift (cf. al-Dājāzārī, Kāla’id, i, 309). Thus when asked what *sadaka* was best, the Prophet is reported to have answered: “the *sadaka* you give when you are still healthy and tight-fisted, fearing poverty and hoping for wealth (*ṣarḥ al-suna*, vi, 172-3; al-Tibrizī, Mīghāj al-maṣādib, tr. J. Robson, Lahore 1975, i, 395 (cf. Kur’ān, LXIII, 10)). The merit of almsgiving thus lies in the degree of self-denial (*muṣalhaṭ al-nafs*) (*Iḥāf al-sāda*, iv, 168) a point made more explicitly in the tradition that states that the best *sadaka* is that which the person with little can manage to give (*ṣawāḥ al-muṣṣalha* (*Wensinck, Handbook*, 20, Mīghāj, i, 411 (cf. Kur’ān, IX, 79)). Because it is not the monetary value of what of what is given that is paramount, *sadaka* consisting of a dirham that constitutes but a trifle of the almsgiver’s property is more meritorious than 100,000 dirhams given by a person of great wealth (al-Numān, *Sunan*, Cairo 1383/1964, v, 44; *‘ Alf al-Kārī, Sharḥ *aym al-tīm*, Cairo, i, 157).

Alms given to a nearer neighbour is better than that given to one more distant. Giving alms to a relative is particularly meritorious, since one earns the rewards both for *sadaka* and for cultivating family ties. The reward for *sadaka* given on Friday is double that on other days of the week. Other traditions identify the best *sadaka* as that given in Ramadān. The reward for giving voluntary alms in secret is seventy times that of giving it publicly (al-Baydawi, Anwar al-tanzil, i, 138, on II, 271; *Umdat al-ḵātir*, viii, 284). The place in which alms are given is also significant to its merit. A dirham given in Mecca, according to a Shi’i tradition, merits a hundred-thousandfold reward, in Medina ten-thousandfold, in Kūfah one-thousandfold. “Whoever gives one dirham of *sadaka* in Jerusalem (Bayt al-Makdis) gains his ransom from hellfire, and whoever gives a loaf of bread there is like one who has given [the weight of] of the earth’s mountains in gold” (al-Hasan al-Baṣrī). Of all that might be given as alms, water is pronounced to be best, and one who gives water to a thirsty Muslim will drink of the wine of Paradise.

The importance of giving *sadaka* to avert tribulations in this life and to avoid the punishment of hellfire in the hereafter is the topic of many Ḥadīth. “Whoever can protect himself against hellfire should do so, even if it should be with half a date*”. An angel is said to pray that the almsgiver be rewarded, while another angel prays for the destruction of the property of the one who has been the builder of a medina. Beggars sometimes come to test a family (al-Kādī al-Numān, *Dar’ām al-Islām*, ed. Faydī, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 333), and it was Jacob’s failure to give alms to an unrecognised prophet in the guise of a beggar that led to the tragedy of Joseph (ibid., iii, 333-4). Where one has nothing tangible to give, one can still utter a kindly word (cf. *Talmud Ba’al Baitrī* 9b). Conduct meriting a reward is in fact frequently termed *sadaka* in the Ḥadīth. Thus a man’s lawful sexual intercourse is *sadaka*, as is giving assistance with the loading of a beast, and every step take toward prayer. Planting something from which a person, bird or animal later eats counts as *sadaka*. One who supports himself and his family is credited with *sadaka* (with proper intention; cf. *Kethubbat*, 50a). In this extended sense, corresponding to a large degree with the Jewish *gemiluth hasadim,* “acts of loving kindness” (*G.F. Moore, Judaism at the Crossroads*, 1975, 171), even greeting another with a cheerful face is deemed *sadaka* (cf. *Avoth de-Rabbi Nathan*, xiii, 4). In short, every good deed is *sadaka* (*kulū ma’nāfīn *sadaka*). Not even affirmative action is required, for a Muslim whose property is stolen is credited with having given it as *sadaka*.

The continuity of Islamic teaching on *sadaka* with certain Jewish and Christian conceptions of almsgiv-
ing is evidenced by more than one tradition. "Alms averts a bad death (mitat al-su'a)" (Kanz al-ulum, vi, 345, in many versions; cf. majasi' al-su'a; Kana al-ulum, vi, 406) reproduces Proverbs, x, 2, "righteousness (fida) delivers from death," understood in the Talmud (Basa Baithra 10a) to refer to almsgiving leading one from an unnatural death (milata meqme'ana; cf. Targum ad loc. milata bish). The depiction of the giver of alms as dressed in an expanding coat of mail is reminiscent of Isa., lix, 17, "He put on righteousness (fida) as a breastplate" which is taken in the Talmud Tishkah (page 85, 1862, i, 851). The model for generosity in almsgiving is provided by the Prophet Muhammad, who is described in the hadith as "the most generous of men, bestowing more good than the loaded wind." He made it a point to give with his own hand and derived more joy from giving than the poor to whom he gave. When asked for anything, he never said no. If he had nothing to give, he remained silent (to elicit others to speak on behalf of the beggar). He is said never to have delivered a sermon without mentioning sadaka.

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Sadaka in secret extinguishes the wrath of the Lord." renders Proverbs, xxi, 14, "a gift given in secret sooths anger" as interpreted in Tashrib 9b. Christ's exhortation "do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing so that your giving may not be in secret" (Matt., vi, 3, 4) appears at the teaching of Muhammad in several traditions (Wensinck, Handbook, 20; Misiki, i, 407; noted by Goldziher, Muh. Handb., ii, 384, and L. Shaykh, al-Navsnaa wa adaddaha bayna arab al-djdhiliyya, Beirut 1923, ii/2, 319). The model for generosity in almsgiving is provided by the Prophet Muhammad, who is described in the hadith as "the most generous of men, bestowing more good than the loaded wind." He made it a point to give with his own hand and derived more joy from giving than the poor to whom he gave. When asked for anything, he never said no. If he had nothing to give, he remained silent (to elicit others to speak on behalf of the beggar). He is said never to have delivered a sermon without mentioning sadaka.

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Sadaka as a distinct juristic institution only partially including Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf and Muhammad al-Shaybani, held that he was prohibited from taking it. Among the explanations offered for this prohibition are the indignity, inconsistent with the prophetic office, of accepting alms, the appearance of self-interest (tawma) were the Prophet to accept sadaka while urging others to give it, and the meritoriousness of the Prophet's special deprivation. A minority of scholars, including al-Shafi'i (al-Umm, Cairo 1321-5, iii, 279), entertained the possibility that the Prophet was permitted to accept sadaka but refrained from doing so out of pious self-denial. In the assembly of a kind of cloak of armour, chain by chain, with the growth of small acts of almsgiving to a considerable sum. Several hadiths which stress the merit of secret almsgiving have exact Biblical parallels.

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reflects the various forms of charitable giving known to Islam. For the jurist, sadaka falls under the general heading of charitable gifts (hijr) or gratuitous transfers (zakāt). Among the various species of gift, hiba "in the wider sense" (bi l-mu'nā al-a'amm), that is, a gratuitous transfer of tangible property (also 'atīyya). It is distinguished from other species of gift by the intention with which it is given, which must be to please God (li-nadāh Allah) in the hope of a reward in the hereafter (thaaww al-ākjīra (al-San'ānī, Beirut 1405/1985). Subul al-salām, ii, 196) and not for any worldly purpose such as to acquire a gift from the donee, which would render it an ordinary gift (also termed hiba) or to honour the donee (hadīyya). It must, that is, constitute a kurba, an act performed as a means of coming closer to God. The significance of the donor's intention is evidenced by the Prophet's acceptance of gifts as haddiya but not sadaka, a distinction also found in the form of an explicit prophetic tradition and reflected in the classification of gifts attributed to 'Ali. Gifts of usufruct (māna'a) are by definition excluded from sadaka, and fall under the heading ofakis (ṣibā, ḏi'āyya), loan (ṣiryya) or trust (waqf). The extent to which sadaka is separately treated in legal works varies from text to text, and even in those cases where there is a separate discussion of sadaka, some of the rules governing it are to be found in the chapters on gifts and zakāt, although it is not to be regarded as a recommended (ṣuna) form of zakāt (recommended zakāt is, however, known to Imam al-Nihdya, abū Djafrā, al-Tusi, al-Nihdya, Beirut 1390/1970, 176).

Islamic law, by way of the hadīth, has preserved only a few of the distinct forms of gift giving known to the Arabs, e.g. the minba or manība, said to be the best kind of sadaka. With Islam there came a radically simpler set of distinctions (even the difference between hiba and hadīyya is a terminological innovation), in which sadaka, defined by its religious intention, held a special place. Not surprisingly there was a discernible tendency for those giving gifts to prefer the label sadaka, with its connotation of a pious motive, for their gifts, even in those cases where there is a separate discussion of sadaka, some of the rules governing it are to be found in the chapters on gifts and zakāt, although it is not to be regarded as a recommended (ṣuna) form of zakāt (recommended zakāt is, however, known to Imam al-Nihdya, Abū Djafrā, al-Tusi, al-Nihdya, Beirut 1390/1970, 176).

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sadaka, may be given to the ‘wealthy’ (ghani) (as defined for zakāt or zakāt al-fitr). Traditions such as ‘give to one who asks even if he is mounted on a horse’ (abū ‘l-Hudū al-Šaybāni, ad-Dhil al-isldmiyya, ix/28 [1403/1983], 3540, 3342).

Just as there is no minimum for sadaka, according to most jurists there is no maximum (al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Muslim, Cairo, vii, 125 quoting Kādī ‘Iyād; but cf. Ibn Hazm, al-Muhallā, ix, 138 for a list of early jurists who rejected this). A Muslim of sound mind and body who is able to accept poverty is encouraged to dispose of all his property as sadaka, beyond narrow exemptions. Although there are Kurānic verses (VI, 3:102; VII, 26, 29) and traditions calling for moderation in giving, other verses (II, 262, IX, 79, LIX, 9) and traditions set no such limit, and it was to these as well as to the practice of early Muslims, not to speak of the Prophet, that the majority of jurists looked. The tradition stating that the best sadaka was that which left a sufficiency (‘ān sahr ghina), which the Zāhiri Ibn Hazm took as the only criterion for how much one might give (al-Muhallā, ix, 136-42) was widely interpreted to mean ‘self-sufficiency’ (ghina al-nafs), i.e. contentment. It is thus permitted to reduce oneself and one’s family to penury if those affected are capable of enduring it without becoming a burden on society and without complaint; otherwise it is reprehensible to give away all of one’s property, and subsequently to reject one’s sadaka deprives it of its reward.

A minority of jurists set down specific limits on how much one might properly give: one-half, more commonly one-third, the proportion set down by Mālik, the Syrian jurists Makhbūl (d. 1127/1330) and al-Awzā‘ī (d. 157/774), and the Zaydi Imām al-Hādī (d. 298/911) and recommended by al-Tabārī (d. 310/923), or one-fifth, one-seventh, or one-tenth (depending on wealth, attributed to Djabir b. Zayd (d. 93/712) (cf. one-fifth in Talmud Kethubboth 30a).

Unlike zakāt, which is designated for specified classes of recipients, there are virtually no restrictions on the poor to whom it is given, and the giver is not encouraged not to restrict his giving to one group, although the law, following the hadīth, does identify preferred donees such as relatives and neighbours (al-Nawawī, al-Majdūnī, Cairo, vi, 260: consensus that relatives are preferred to strangers). A mosque or other institution can be a recipient of sadaka, which is accepted on its behalf by its representative, who can be the donor himself.

Most jurists understand the prohibition against the receipt of sadaka by members of the family (āli) of Muhammad (as variously defined) to apply only to obligatory sadaka, that is, zakāt, although the matter was much controverted, with Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, and Muhammad al-Šaybānī and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal reported to have maintained that a father has a right to revoke sadaka given to his child. The view of the Imām Abū Ḥāfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067) (al-Mabsūt, iii, 314) that sadaka and ordinary gifts were legally in-
distinguishable, even as regards revocability, was regarded as exceptional, and it was, in fact, argued by others that *sadaka*, being irrevocable, should not be classified as a species of gift (al-'Tahānawī, *Koshkhoj*, ii, 1449).

Various explanations are offered for the irrevocability of *sadaka*. One is that the donor’s heavenly reward for *sadaka* provides moral consideration for the gift, and gifts for which consideration has been given are irrevocable. This explanation, characteristic of the Ḥanafīs (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mubāhī*, xii, 58), for whom it is part of a general theory of irrevocability, is rejected by others, but is open to criticism. It is also suggested that *sadaka* is irrevocable inasmuch as it is given in the first instance to the giver, the obligation to whom is discharged by delivery to the poor person (al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mubāhī*, xii, 58; cf. al-Zurkānī, *Shahr al-Muwatta*, iv, 47 (irrevocable because for the sake of God)). Where the nature of the gift is disputed, the donee resisting revocation has the burden of proving that it is *sadaka*. Significantly, the rule of irrevocability was applied to gifts to the poor which were designated by their donors as ordinary gifts and not *sadaka*, but which were treated by the jurists, who looked to the substance, not the form, of the transaction, as within the scope of *sadaka*.

Closely related to the question of the irrevocability of *sadaka* was that of the re-acquisition of property given as *sadaka*. In a tradition the Prophet is reported to have told ‘Umar not to purchase a horse that he had previously given as *sadaka* and to have compared the person who goes back to his *sadaka* to a dog that returns to its vomit. For most jurists, re-acquisition by a voluntary act of the donor, such as purchase, gift or *sadaka*, is disapproved, but not passive re-acquisition by inheritance or a wife’s re-acquisition as support of what she gave her husband as *sadaka*. For the Mālikīs, but not the Ṣaḥīhīs, the disapproval of re-acquisition extends to cases in which the property has passed through one or more intervening owners prior to its re-acquisition. A minority of jurists, including the Zāhirists, regarded all instances of re-acquisition, even by inheritance, as prohibited. The disapproval of re-acquisition extends to obligatory *sadaka*, that is *zakāt*, and property given as expiation (*khafīfah*) or in discharge of a vow (nasīb), and to the enjoyment of the usufruct of what has been given, but not to *sadaka* intended for the public such as water for a mosque. The rule against re-acquisition (at least by purchase) is variously explained. According to one explanation, the donee in selling the *sadaka* to the donor will not feel free to bargain at arms’ length, and the lower purchase price, coming as a consequence of the *sadaka*, will vitiate the original gift. A second explanation regards re-acquisition as compromising the “form” (*fāwu*) of the *sadakā*, which requires completely divesting oneself of the gift. The Imām Mūḥammad b. Idrīs al-Hilli (d. 598/1202) rejected the rules against re-acquisition as inconsistent with the donee’s full right of ownership (K. al-Sarā’ir, Kumm 1410, iii, 174).

The acceptance of *sadaka* is subject to its own rules. Most consider acceptance under ordinary circumstances to be a “recommended” (*sunna*) act, obligatory only when the donor insists or when the donee has urgent need (*mussarrat*), and in such cases, the reward for taking may well exceed that for giving. A minority, including Ibn Hazm, require that a gift of *sadaka* be accepted, if only to be at once returned to the giver (al-Muhālī, ix, 152-4).

Apart from a limited number of exceptions, including that of utter want, begging is prohibited, and even then the poor are encouraged to accept their fate without soliciting alms (cf. *Ihyā‘*, i, 298), the poor who do so being preferred as recipients of *sadaka* to beggars (cf. Kur‘ān, ii, 273). In any case, if one is able, it is better to earn one’s livelihood by the most menial tasks than to beg (to thus be able to give *sadaka*). Beggars have its own etiquette. Importunate begging, begging in a mosque, and begging in the name of God are all disapproved, although in the latter case, according to some, the beggar invoking God’s name should not be turned away empty-handed. It is forbidden for a person of sufficient means to beg as if in need and disapproved for him to put himself in the way of receiving alms. Otherwise, such a person may accept unsolicited alms.

4. The practice of *sadaka*. The giving of *sadaka* was and remains widespread among Muslims, encouraged as it is by many Kurānic verses and traditions. These indicate that the giving of *sadaka* serves a number of distinct functions. *Sadaka* acts, in the first place, as expiation for sins, and it is recommended that it be given immediately following any transgression (*ma‘ṣīya*) (*Ihyā‘*, i, 298, the advice of the legendary sage Lukmān), for example, after intercourse with a menstruating woman. Voluntary almsgiving can thus make good shortcomings in the past payment of zakāt.

Closely related to the expiatory function of *sadaka* is its special role in affording protection against all manner of evils. According to a tradition, the *sadaka* that a Muslim gives wards off afflictions in this world, questioning in the grave, and punishment on Judgment Day (Ismā‘īl Hakki, *Tafsīr rūh al-hayān*, Istanbul 1915-21, i, 418). Accordingly, it is recommended to give *sadaka* at the start of each day as insurance against personal troubles (cf. Kur‘ān, ii, 274). The constant giving of little is said to please God more than the occasional giving of much. Although giving *sadaka* is recommended at all times, it is especially appropriate to give it upon significant occasions such as going to war or on a journey, and the tradition stating that “it is better for a man to give a dirham in alms while he is alive and healthy than one hundred dirhams when he is dying” did not prevent al-Ḥasan al-Bāṣrī from teaching that “the most appropriate time for a man to give *sadaka* is his last day in this world and his first in the next” (al-‘Abbās b. Ahmad al-San`ānī, *TadhkIr al-rasād al-tanwir al-majmu‘ah al-mu‘āṣirah al-tadhkIrīyāt*, ii, 122-3).

The positive side of giving *sadaka* lies in the merit that accrues to the giver, greater according to some than that of zakāt. *Sadaka* is encouraged as a means of bringing down sustenance (*rizq*) from heaven. The giver of *sadaka* is promised a reward many times what he has given, from ten times for *sadaka* given to a healthy person, ninety for a blind or handicapped person, nine hundred times for a needy relative, one hundred thousand for parents, and nine hundred thousand for a scholar.

The merit of giving *sadaka* does not stop with the giver. “Cure your sick with *sadaka*,” the Prophet is reported to have said. Nor is the benefit of *sadaka* limited to the living, for according to the Ḥadīth, *sadaka* may be given in the name of deceased Muslims, especially by a child on behalf of a parent, and its reward will be presented to the latter by means of light (*tawwāb min nigr*). Although most of the Muḥaddiths are alleged to have denied the efficacy of alms in the name of the deceased, a consensus is claimed for it (al-Nawawī, *Shahr Muslim*, vii, 90; al-Zurkānī, *Shahr al-Muwatta*, iv, 56). The deceased is credited with the merit of having given the *sadaka*, a reward that does not diminish that of the giver.

In the giving of *sadaka* Muslims have found also a
means of moral edification. According to the Malikî jurist Ibn Rashid al-Kafsi (d. 736/1336), the rationale (hikma) of the law of gifts is to purify the soul from the malady of avarice (büyûk) (K. Luḥāb al-ibûtâb, Tunis 1346, 243), and sadaka embodies the virtue of generosity (qiûd, sakka), a reflection of the generosity of God the “All-Giving” (al-Wahhâb). “The believer is obligated to instruct his child in generosity and charity just as he is obligated to instruct him in monotheistic doctrine and belief, for the love of this world is the source of all sin,” according to Abû Man¬sûr al-Makki. However, the Malikî jurist Al-Qarqûlî (d. 1344/1435) and Ibn Na¬bi al-Baḥrî al-raqî, vii, 284). The transformation of sadaka in the act of giving is depicted in a tradition in which sadaka, personified, addresses its giver: “I was little and you made me great, I was your enemy and you made me your friend, I was guarded and you made you my guard.” On the other hand, the role of sadaka in the redistribution of wealth has tended to be neglected in the growing literature by modern Muslims on Islamic economics, which has understand¬edly focused on zakât (but cf. A. Qureshi, The economic and social system of Islam, Lahore 1979, 91-7).

The Kurânic charge believers not to undo their charitable gifts with “obligation” (man) and “in¬sult” (adhd). “Kind speech and forgiveness,” it teaches, “are better than sadaka followed by insult” (II. 263-4). The hadith, according to the legal school, as having conferred a benefit on the taker, an attitude than can be exhibited in thought, word or conduct or to demean the taker in any fashion. Man is deemed to be a grave sin (kabita), although there is disagree¬ment as to whether it entirely destroys the reward of the sadaka or merely diminishes it (on the Mu’tazili teaching of the cancellation of good deeds by bad (ibâdât), see M. J. McDermott, The theology of Shukri al-Mu’îdî, Beirut 1978, 258-62). “Obligation” and “in¬sult” can be avoided by giving one’s sadaka in secret. The Kurânic recommendation of “kind speech” is respected by the use of stereotyped replies in turning down the requests of beggars (see e.g. M. Piamenta, The Muslim conception of God and human welfare as reflected in everyday Arabic speech, Leiden 1983, 65-6; C.A. Nallino, L’Arabo parlato in Egitto, Milan 1939, rep¬ublished 1978, 139-40). In contrast, some Sufis, like the Prophet, are reported to have preferred silence.

5. Sadaka in Sûfism and Sûfi esoterism. The giving and receiving of sadaka have a special place in Sûfism with its encouragement of self-imposed poverty. This had led Sûfis to be distinguished as givers of sadaka and by virtue of their poverty as suitable recipients. There are reports of fabulous sums given away as sadaka by those seeking to elevate their spiritual state (Abû Nasr al-Sarrâjî, Kistâb al-Lumâî, ed. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 158; Ibn al-Djawzi, Talbis Iblîs, ed. al-Munîr, Cairo, 170). Such Sûfis could claim the Prophet and Abû Bakr as their models. In the light of the prophetic tradition that the “upper hand [of the giver] is superior to the lower hand [of the recipient]”, pious givers of sadaka, unwilling to assume an attitude of superiority, resorted to such devices as putting their hand below that of the poor person (Iblîs, i, 286) or throwing the gift on the ground (al-Kâshâyîrî, al-Risâla, Cairo, 114).

Sûfis differed in their attitudes toward the accept¬ance of sadaka. Some, not wishing to compete with the rest of the poor (being themselves spiritually wealthy) and to avoid being indebted to anyone other than God, studiously refrained from accepting sadaka. But Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889) already criticizes a Sûf interpretation that the upper hand in the pro¬thetic tradition refers to the recipient (Talbis Iblîs, 179). In accepting sadaka the poor Sûfis were actually conferring a benefit on the giver (al-Hûgîwîrî, Kâﬁ’ al-mahdîâb, tr. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 316-17 (reject¬ing the interpretation of the literalist abî-i hâshw; cf. Lev. Rabbi 34:8), and the Kurânic reference to God accepting sadakât (IX, 104) and the tradition that the All-Merciful accepts sadaka in His right hand encour¬aged the view that the actual giver of sadaka was God (Kâﬁ’ al-mahdîâb, 316-317; Iblîs, i, 285; anon., K. Abû al-mulâkî fi hayân hâkîk al-tasawwuf, ed. Radîk, Beirut 1983, 95-103), a view said to have been current among the wealthy Sûfis in justification of their abusive amassing of fortunes from alms (Talbis Iblîs, 179). Al-Djûnaydî (d. 298/910 [q.v.]), who was among those who regarded it as better to take sadaka than zakât (Iblîs, i, 302), strongly approved the practice of preferring the poor Sûfis as recipients. The humiliation of begging was, in addition, imposed by some Sûfî masters on their novices as a form of spiritual discipline.

The influential Andalusian Sûfî Ibn ʿArabi (d. 638/1240) offered novel interpretations, at once paradoxical and harmonising, of sadaka. The superiority of voluntary alms to the obligatory zakât is expounded on the basis of a metaphysical analysis of obligation (Futûhât, i, 590-1), but from another point of view the superiority of zakât is upheld (ibid., i, 587). The “upper” and “lower” hands of the tradition are said to be the same but, to the Sûfis, one hand is superior. The high point of the influence of sadaka upon Sûfî thought probably came with his predecessor Abu ʿl-ʿAbbas al-Sabtî (d. 601/1205), whose entire teaching revolved around sadaka, the other institutions of Islam and even the nature of ex¬istence being interpreted in its light (al-Tadîlî, Abî Aibi ʿl-ʿAbbas al-Sabtî, with his al-Tâshâwûf ilâ rījâl al-tasawwuf, Rabat 1404/1984, 453-4; C. Addas, The quest for the red sulphur, Cambridge 1993, 176-7).

The Shî’î tradition of esoteric interpretation (ta’wîl) did not ignore sadaka. The giving of sadaka is taken as representative of the various forms of assistance that could be offered to the Imam of the Twelve Shî’îs and his followers. The givers of sadaka mentioned in the Kurânic tradition, the “hands” of Islam and even the nature of ex¬istence being interpreted in its light (al-Tadîlî, Abî Aibi ʿl-ʿAbbas al-Sabtî, with his al-Tâshâwûf ilâ rījâl al-tasawwuf, Rabat 1404/1984, 453-4; C. Addas, The quest for the red sulphur, Cambridge 1993, 176-7).

SADAKA — AL-SADAT

Societas, V/2 (1975), 105-115 (charitable institutions). (T.H. WEIR-[A. ZYSOW])

SADAKA, Banū, a name sometimes given in the medieval Arabic sources to the princes of the Mazyadids or Banū Mazyad [q.v.] in central Īrāk. The name derives from the most famous member of the line, Sādakā (479/1086-1108 [q.v.]).

Bibliography: See that to Mazyad, Banū.

SADAKA, B. Mansūr b. Dubays b. 4Alī b. Mazyad, Sayf al-Dawla Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Asadī, ruler of al-Hilla of the Arab line of Mazyadids [see Mazyad, Banū]. After the death of his father in 479/1086-7, Sādakā was recognised by the Saljuq sultan Malik Shāh as lord of the territory on the left bank of the Tigris. During the fighting between the sultan Berk-ya'rūk and his brother Muhammad, Sādakā was at first on the side of the former, but when Berk-ya'rūk's vizier, al-Ḥāzz Abu 'l-Ḥāsān al-Dihlānī, demanded a large sum of money from him in 494/1100-1 and finally threatened him with war, Sādakā abandoned Berk-ya'rūk and had the khutba read in the name of Muhammad. The sultan then tried to win him back by peaceful means; but Sādakā demanded that the vizier should be handed over to him, and as Berk-ya'rūk could not grant this, the negotiations fell through. Instead of agreeing with Berk-ya'rūk, Sādakā drove the sultan's governor out of Kufrūm and himself occupied the town. In the following year al-Hilla [q.v.] was founded; previously, the Banū Mazyad had lived in tents.

When Ḥumūḡṭekhtīn al-Kaysārī by Berk-ya'rūk's orders appeared in Baghdaḏ in the middle of Rabi' I 496/end of December 1102, Ḥīḏāzī b. Aṛūḳ, Muhammad's governor there, made an alliance with Sādakā. In the meanwhile, the caliph al-Muẓarrīh had Berk-ya'rūk again proclaimed sultan; nevertheless, Sādakā still declined to acknowledge his suzerainty. Soon afterwards Berk-ya'rūk's name was again dropped from the khutba and the īmāṃs confined themselves for the time being to praying for the caliph only without mentioning by name either of the two contending sultans. But the war continued; by Rabi' 11 496/January 1103, Ḥumūḡṭekhtīn had to evacuate Baghdaḏ and, as he was unable to hold out, Wāsīṭ, his governor, was again recognised as sultan in both cities. Sādakā then extended his power over a great part of the Īrāk; in the same year, he took the town of Hit [q.v.] on the Euphrates, which Berk-ya'rūk had granted as a fief to one of his followers, and appointed his cousin Ḥabībī b. Ḵāmil governor of it. In Ḡawwāl 497/June-July 1104, Wāsīṭ met the same fate and here Muḥābdīḥīb al-Dawla al-Sādī b. Abī Ḥabībī was appointed governor. Next came the turn of Baṣrā, which had fallen into the hands of the Saljuq Ismā'īl b. Aṛslāndīg during the war between Berk-ya'rūk and his brothers. It was not till after the death of Berk-ya'rūk that Sultan Muhammad was able to think of dislodging Ismā'īl from it and in 499/1105-6 he asked Sādakā to fight him. In Djuμādā 1 of the same year/January-February 1106, Sādakā took the field against Ismā'īl, who was soon forced to surrender, whereupon Sādakā appointed one of his grandfathers, Abū Ḥālīmānī b. Māfīdī al-Duṣṭūbī of the Banū Ṭabībīnūh to govern Baṣrā. But as the latter was very soon surprised and captured by Bedouin bandits, the sultan himself appointed another governor in his place. In Ṣafar 500/October 1106, Kaykūbād b. Ḥaẓārap al-Dāylāmī, lord of Takrit [q.v.], had also to yield. After the death of Berk-ya'rūk, Muhammad had sent the amīr ʿAṣḵurūk al-Bursūqī [q.v.] to Takrit to occupy the town. As Kaykūbād would not obey, he was besieged. After several months had passed, he saw the impossibility of holding out any longer, and sent to Sādakā and surrendered the city to him. Wārūm b. Abī Fīrās was then appointed governor of Takrit. But Muhammad could not always look on quietly while Sādakā's power kept growing, especially as the latter never had any scruples about affording shelter to anyone who had fallen into disgrace with the sultan. When Abū Dulaf Ṣurkībād b. Kaykūhraw, lord of Sāwa [q.v.], took refuge with him and Sādakā refused to hand him over, the sultan sent to Sādakā and the sultan only resulted in an open breach between suzerain and vassal. The sultan set out in person from Baghdaḏ with a large army, and in the fierce battle which was fought (according to the most usual statement) in the latter half of Ṣadḏab 501/beginning of March 1108, Sādakā was killed at the age of fifty-nine. Like his ancestors, he bore the title Malik al-ʿArab; the highest praise is given him by Arab poets and historians for his virtues, notably his liberality and readiness to give assistance, and he is rightly described by A. Mūller (Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland, ii, 122) as "a true Bedouin, brave, stubborn and wily.


(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-SA'DANI, "the two lucky (planets)", a technical term in astrology referring to the two beneficent planets Jupiter and Venus. On the opposite site, Saturn and Mars are al-naḳṣ, "the two unlucky, maleficent (planets)"; cf. al-Khāṣārizmī, Maḥfīẓ al-ʿulām, ed. van Vloten, 228-9. In more detail, al-Būrūnī, K. al-Taqīm li-waṣāṭaṣ al-ṭaṣawwūr al-ṭanqīfī al-ʿulāmī, ed. and tr. R.R. Wright, London 1934, §§ 381-2, in the explanation of the "natures" (ṭaṣawwūr) of the planets, describes Saturn as al-nahṣ al-akbar, and Mars as al-naḳṣ al-asghar, i.e. the greater and the lesser evil, and, correspondingly, Jupiter as al-ṣa'd al-akbar and Venus as al-ṣa'd al-asghar, i.e. the greater and the lesser luck. This division goes back to Poleney, Tiṁābiysis, i, 5 (on the ṣa'd), beneficent, and naḳṣ, maleficent, planets, according to the teachings of "the ancients", i.e. the planets, and is based on the mixture of the four humours—warm, cool, dry, humid—in each planet. Mercury, according to Poleney, is ambivalent; when associated with another planet, it reinforces its power, either beneficent or maleficent; al-Būrūnī (loc. cit.) adds that Mercury, when standing alone, is inclined to beneficence. Cf. also A. Bouché-Leclerc, L'astrologie grecque, Paris 1899, 101; J. Ruska, ʿAl-aṣ-Dān in EI.

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(P. KUNTZSCH)

AL-SADAT, ANWAR, Egyptian statesman (1918-81). He was born into a poor family in the Egyptian village of Mit Abū Kūm, 60 km/40 miles north of Cairo. His father was a civil servant who had to support his wife and thirteen children. Sādāt spent his first seven years in his village, where he was left in the
care of his grandmother while his parents were working in Suddan (his mother was Sudanese). He went to the village school and thoroughly enjoyed his life amongst the local peasants. He later claimed that his early experiences gave him a deep understanding of the Egyptian peasant's mentality and of his deep roots in the countryside. He considered the falsād to be the foundation of society and the guardian of its traditions. When in power, he enjoyed return visits to his village in order to re-establish contact with ordinary people.

In 1925 he moved with his father to Cairo, where he went to secondary school in 1930. In 1936 he just managed to pass his General Certificate of Education. Perhaps more importantly, he was drawn into the political atmosphere of street demonstrations against the British presence and of calls for evacuation and independence. This was the background of a number of young Egyptians at the time, among them ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.], who were later to play an active role in politics. Like ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, al-Sādāt entered the Military Academy, newly-open to sons of lower class families and previously the preserve of the upper classes.

He graduated as an army officer in 1938 and was sent with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir to Mankāšābād in Upper Egypt. The two of them, with one or two others, formed a group of disgruntled soldiers who were eventually to form the core of the Free Officers. Al-Sādāt was transferred to Cairo, where the circle of officers dedicated to the overthrow of the regime gradually expanded. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was the real leader of the group, although al-Sādāt in his memoirs tended to exaggerate the centrality of his own role. In his Revolt on the Nile (London 1957) he glorified ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as the leader of the movement. In his autobiography In search of identity (London 1978), he put himself at the centre and was much more critical of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. Unbiased accounts would place al-Sādāt very much in the secondary role.

During the second World War, al-Sādāt showed distinct pro-Nazi sympathies in the belief that Germany would be victorious and give Egypt her independence. He was arrested by the British for dubious activities, tried by an Anglo-Egyptian court and imprisoned until October 1944. He escaped from jail and was not to wait until the end of the war.

After the war, he did not go back to the army but was active on the fringes of political violence and terrorism. He admitted to being implicated in the assassination of Amīn ʿUṭtmān, the former Minister of Finance, in January 1946. He was re-arrested and tried only in 1948, when he was released without conviction. He then drifted into business and journalism without any great success. Surprisingly, he did not take part, with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and his comrades, in the 1948 war in Palestine which had such a deep effect on their thinking about the future of Egypt. However, al-Sādāt's lack of success in business led him to rejoin the army as a captain in 1950, when he met again ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ʿAmīr. They joined together in planning the 1952 coup, although ʿAbd al-Nāṣir did not quite trust al-Sādāt, who had suspect links with al-Ḥādīṣīn al-Muḥāsin [q.v.] and even with the palace. He was thus not given a leading role in the coup. On 21 July 1952 he was chosen to read a prepared statement on the radio announcing the coup and the army takeover.

From then on until ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's death, al-Sādāt was a faithful son of the revolution; some would say, a trimmer. He certainly worked loyally in ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's shadow and was at times mocked for his assiduous, self-effacing sycophancy. Once again, al-Sādāt provided two versions of his life with ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. In My son, this is your uncle Gamal (Cairo n.d.), published during ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's lifetime, he provided an extravagantly eulogistic picture of his master who could do no wrong and who was the only person who could lead Egypt to a bright future. In his later autobiography, he blamed ʿAbd al-Nāṣir for his dictatorial attitude, his unwillingness to heed advice and for having led Egypt into numerous disastrous situations, the Suez crisis, the Yemen war and the 1967 Israeli defeat.

Al-Sādāt held a number of posts under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir none of any great significance. He edited the newspaper al-Djumhuriyya, where he was able to express his own rather extravagant views. In 1962 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir appointed him Secretary-General of the Constituent Assembly with the task of drafting the National Charter. Al-Sādāt was later to claim that this document was merely a front to show that, ostensibly, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was interested in freedoms. Al-Sādāt's most important role was to lead Egypt into one of the greatest setbacks. In 1962 ʿAbd al-Nāṣir sent him to Yemen to advise on whether Egypt should intervene in the struggle between Royalists and Republicans. Al-Sādāt wrongly reported that the Royalists could soon be defeated and that Egypt should send troops to support the Republicans. ʿAbd al-Nāṣir allowed himself to be dragged into a quagmire of fighting until 1967. Al-Sādāt was discredited and reeled into the background for a time.

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's prestige fell to its lowest ebb with the defeat in 1967 in the Six-Day War against Israel. He stayed on as President, tired and ill, and in 1969 he appointed al-Sādāt his deputy in an ostensible attempt to share the responsibilities of office. To what al-Sādāt owed this elevation, other than his total loyalty to ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, is not clear. However, when ʿAbd al-Nāṣir died in September 1970, al-Sādāt was there, ready to take over.

Emerging from the shadows, he quickly showed himself to be his own man, with policies radically different from those of his predecessor. He especially chafed under three of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's bequests—the close ties with the Soviet Union, socialism and the Israeli occupation of the Sinai. He immediately made moves to lessen the burdens of socialism with his "revolution of rectification" and by opening the economy to Western investment, the falsād. His relationship with the Soviets was uneasy from the first, and he surprised the world when he ordered all Soviet military experts to leave the country in July 1972. He had, however, to replace Russian aid, and, against all previous wisdom, he turned to the West and, in particular, to the Americans. He became popular in the West, the moderate after ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, who seemed to forgive and to forget all his past criticism of Britain and the United States.

He then turned to the real enemy, Israel, and after months of careful military planning on the morning of 6 October 1973 he launched an attack across the Suez Canal against Israeli fortifications. The Israelis were taken completely by surprise, but after fierce battles in which they were able to cross the canal and surround the Egyptian army. The battle ended in a stalemate, but al-Sādāt had shown that Egyptians could plan and fight successfully and it gave him a new basis on which to negotiate. It gave him popularity in Egypt, and he was able to bring the Americans into the search for peace. Henry Kissinger helped to bring about a disengagement; the Israelis moved back across the
Canal, which was reopened for the first time since 1967.

At home, al-Sadat was facing severe economic problems. He wanted peace with Israel in order to pursue economic development in an atmosphere of stability and security which would encourage foreign investment. A big drain on the budget were the large subsidies on basic foodstuffs and other items. To try to obtain loans from the World Bank (which disliked subsidies), al-Sadat agreed to withdraw subsidies from several items. The result was immediate and shocking. In January 1977 rioting broke out all over the country. There were many deaths and the army had to be brought in to restore order. Al-Sadat was stunn-
ed. He restored the subsidies and looked around for scapegoats. He blamed the Left and the Marxists, and arrested hundreds of them. It was the beginning of a gradual decline in his popularity. He overreacted as he felt threatened, and introduced stricter censorship and declared a state of emergency.

He had to look for an unwillingness of regaining some of his popularity. He felt the peace process was stalled again, and stunned the world by making a dramatic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 to present his case to the enemy. In a speech to the Knesset he made clear his conditions for a stable peace. The Israelis made no commitments immediately, and it needed the intervention of President Jimmy Carter to bring the two sides closer together during meetings at Camp David in March 1979. A peace treaty was signed be-

tween Egypt and Israel by which Israel agreed to withdraw from Sinai, diplomatic and trade relations were to be established and Israeli ships were to be al-

lowed to use the Suez Canal.

The rest of the Arab world believed that al-Sadat had betrayed the Palestinian cause, since the Israeli Prime-Minister, Menachem Begin, had made no con-

cessions at all to the Palestinians. Egypt was expelled from the Arab League and opposition to the treaty was widespread in Egypt itself. The more extreme Muslim religious groups were very bitter in their op-

position. They also believed that al-Sadat had sold the country to the West, and to the United States in par-

ticular. They preached revenge against the traitor, and one group, Djahd, put its message into practice when they assassinated al-Sadat in October 1981 during a parade to celebrate the October crossing of the Canal.

Al-Sadat was in many ways a leader who had the courage to bring in radical new policies, but he al-

lowed himself to be carried away with his popularity in the West. At the same time he was viewed with deepening indifference or hostility by his own people and hated by other Arabs. Corruption spread around him, while he retreated into an isolation of utter self-

confidence and an unwillingness to tolerate any criticism or opposition. His killers claimed that they had complete justification in ridding Egypt of a corrup-
tyran.

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(D. Hopwood)

SADD AL-DHARATI (A.), a term of Islamic law, literally, closing of the means that can lead to evil.

The concept is based on the Sharî’a’s tendency to prevent evil (dar’ al-maslahah) and a legal maxim states that it has preference over achieving good (djalb al-maslahah). Sadd al-dhardal is viewed as a continuation of maslahat musalaha rather than an independent source. Despite this, sadd al-dhardal is often included in the books of law as an alternative legal source. Said to be based on the Kur’an and sunna, it represents a mechanism devised by Mâlik jurists to resolve loopholes in the law. The practical function of sadd al-
dhardal is to prevent improper usage of a legal means to achieve an illegal end. However, unlike maslahat and ‘urf, sadd al-dhardal is probably the only source of Islamic law that is manipulated in a negative form. Some scholars, including Muhammad Abû Zahra, have at-
tempted to study it from a positive angle by focusing on dharrat al alone. This, however, would appear to deprive the source of an essential dimension in favour of a preconceived proviso to prevent a prohibited ac-

tion. As Ibn al-Kâyyam states in his Fâmâm, ‘when ob-
jectives cannot be reached without certain means, these means become a part of these objectives and are treated as the objectives themselves’. Sadd al-dhardal does not target what is good, but what is evil or leads to evil. Muslim lawyers use the ‘likelihood’ of an evil result to prohibit the action that could lead to it. They differentiate between three frequencies, rare, frequent and imminent, although imminent is only labelled as such by assuming the oc-
currence of the result on the basis of circumstance. An example of a rare (sadr) occurrence is planting vines. Although vines could be used to produce alcohol, planting them is not prohibited, since they have many advantages that outweigh the small chance of harm.

Selling the grapes to a person known to make wine would be prohibited. In that case, the chance of a harmful result is kâthîr (frequent) and should be prevented. The third category is based on the inten-
tion of the person rather than the possible outcome. Due to the significance of the intention, the four schools vary in how often they refer to sadd al-dhardal, with the Hanbali and Mâlikî schools referring to it most frequently. This is largely caused by their dif-
ferent methodology in establishing the intention of a person. The Imâm al-Shaﬁ’î did not give a share of the inheritance to a wife divorced during her hus-
band’s last illness. Al-Shaﬁ’î argued that “there is no proof that theurgical and divorced her in order to prevent her inheriting”. The Hanafî school, like the Mâlikî and Hanbali, refers to the circumstances to find the proof. The fact that the man pronounced the divorce during his last illness is an indication that he did so to prevent his wife’s inheriting. This unjust intention is thus blocked by giving her her share of the inheritance in spite of her divorce.

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(M. Y. IZZI DIEN)

AL-SA’DI, ʿABD AL-RAHMÂN b. ʿABD ALLAH b. ʿImrân, chronicle of Timbuktu, b. 1004/28 May 1594, d. after 1065/1655-56. His father’s male line was traced to the Banû Sa’d, though the family had been settled in Timbuktu for several generations. Nothing is known of his youth, but in 1036/1626-7 he became imâm of the Sankore mosque of BenenearJenne. In mid-life he was employed by the administration of the Bâshâlik of Timbuktu (an
institution which owed its origins to the occupation of the area by the forces of the Sa‘dian sultan al-Manṣūr al-Djāḥabī (999/1591), especially in the 16th century. A Mara dynasty emerged in the Inland Niger Delta. In 1056/1646 he became chief secretary to the Bāshālīk in Timbuktu.

His chief claim to fame is his history of Timbuktu and the Middle Niger, simply entitled Ta’rikh al-Suḍūn. This work, in 35 chapters, is mainly concerned with the history of the Songhay empire from the mid-9th to the mid-16th century and the history of the Bāshālīk of Timbuktu from that date down to 1655. The latter period occupies about half of the work. The early chapters are devoted to brief histories of earlier Songhay dynasties, of imperial Mali and of the Tuareg, and to biographies of the scholars and saints of both Timbuktu and Jenne. His acknowledged sources are few. For the 11th/17th century, he relies mainly on personal knowledge, evidence supported by notes (there are several chapters of obituaries and noteworthy events), and on records of the Bāshālīk, for earlier periods he rarely mentions his sources, other than “trustworthy persons” or “one of my colleagues”. He does, however, cite Ibn Bāṭūṭa, the anonymous al-Hulal al-mawshiyya and, for some of the biographies of Timbuktu scholars, the biographical dictionary of Ahmad Bābā al-Timbukti (d. 1036/1627 [q.v.]), Jārīf al-muḥīṭāt (a supplement to Ibn Faras al-Dīdāb al-majdīyya). The Ta’rikh al-Suḍūn is a prime source for the history of the Middle Niger from the mid-15th to the mid-17th century, our only other chronicle being the Ta`rikh al-fatāṭākh of Ibn al-Mukhtar (based on Mahmūd Ka‘tī) which effectively stops at 1001/1593.


An annotated English translation is being prepared by the writer of this article. (J.O. HUNWICK)

SA‘DĪ, `ABU ‘ABBĀS ALLĀH MUṢHARRĪF AL-DIN b. Muṣliḥ Sa‘dī, known as Shaykh Sa‘dī, poet and prose writer of the 7th/13th century, is one of the most renowned authors of Persia.

He was born in Shīrāz early in the 7th/13th century, probably between 610-15/1213-19, and died in the same city on 27 Dhū ‘l-Hijjah 691/9 December 1292. More perhaps than any other Persian writer who preceeded him, or of his own period, Sa‘dī refers to himself constantly and in highly specific terms throughout the course of his writings; from shortly after his death until the present century elaborate biographies of the poet have been inferred from these references (the fullest and best known being that of Ḥusayn al-Dīmānī, 1791). Most biographies relating to the period and a greater awareness of the sophistication of medieval authors’ constructed authorial persona has called many of these details in doubt. The virtual certainty that some are poetic inventions (for example, his capture by Europeans and subsequent deliverance by ransom (Gulisān, Book 2, anecdote 20), his unmasking of a fraudulent Brahmin at the Hindu temple in Somnāth (Būsān, Book 8, anecdote 8), his claim to have seen someone ‘in the west’ be borne across water on his prayer-mat (Būsān, Book 3, anecdote 15)), has caused the authenticity of the remainder to become questionable, with the result that few facts can be deduced with certainty about the poet’s life. We are left with the paradoxical situation of knowing very little about an author whose life and personality are considered to be familiar to all students of Persian literature. Among the stories which Sa‘dī recounts about himself which may or may not be true are that he was orphaned at an early age, that he studied and subsequently taught at the Nizāmiyya college in Baghdād, that al-Suhrawardi and Ibn al-Djāwzi were his teachers, that he was married at least twice (once in the Yemen, once to the daughter of the individual who, he claimed, ransomed him from the Europeans), and that he travelled extensively throughout the dār al-Islām and beyond. His work reveals a mastery of traditional Islamic education and a general intellectual sophistication that could well have been gained in an institution such as the Baghdādī Nizāmiyya. One claim can be accepted with little doubt; his writings imply wide knowledge of the world beyond Persia, and extensive travels clearly played a part in his life (he frequently admonishes his audience to treat travellers well), though whether he ever ventured into either Hindu areas in the East or Christian areas in the West is more problematic. With characteristic humour, Sa‘dī cautions his audience not to believe travellers’ tales (Gulisān, Book 1, anecdote 32) since they are often exaggerations or outright lies, and as his most insistently presented persona in his works is that of a traveller, this should be taken as a warning when considering the truth of many of his statements.

As to his being orphaned at an early age, it is true that Sa‘dī does show strong sympathy for orphans in his works. As with the admonitions to treat travellers benevolently, the sentiment could well have been traditional Islamic, rather than personal, causes, but Sa‘dī’s concern does seem unusually strong and is perhaps drawn from personal experience. The anecdotes about his marriages are both incidental to his making moral points; both are placed in relatively distant lands (Syria, the Yemen)—it is noticeable that Sa‘dī’s stories seem to become less reliable as their provenance gets further from Shīrāz and are probably to be adjudged as highly subjective. The anecdotes would seem to have been for young males (Southgate 1984) (no doubt poetic convention played a role, but here too his concern is so insistently presented as to make it seem at least partly personal) and this too perhaps makes the stories of his two marriages slightly less probable, though marriage for reasons that had nothing to do with sexual preference was of course expected of adult Muslims. The reference to al-Suhrawardi does not occur in the earliest mss. of the Būsān, besides which Sa‘dī was, as G. M. Wickens has remarked (Morals pointed and tales adorned, Leiden 1974, 267) “a great name-dropper”, which makes the statement dubious. Some authors, however, e.g. Zarrīnkūh (1988, 175) consider that the reference may have been a later addition to the Būsān by Sa‘dī himself, as he lived almost forty years after the poem was first compiled, and subsequently caught as an authentic incident in the poet’s life. His claim to have been a pupil of the theologian Ibn al-Djāwzi (Gulisān, Book 1, anecdote 20) has been doubted on the compelling grounds that Ibn al-Djāwzi was dead before Sa‘dī’s birth, but the statement is more credible if we accept that it was al-Djāwzi’s less illustrious grandson who was Sa‘dī’s teacher (Ṣafā, iii, 1987, 594). Sa‘dī was also said to have met his great contemporary the Sūfī poet Mawlānā Djalāl al-Din Rūmī [q.v.], and a
passage in a perhaps apocryphal treatise (risāla) attributed to Sa'dī suggests that he met the historian Djuwayni (author of the Ta'rikh-i Djuwayni) and Djuwayni's brother, chief of the Il-Khanid civil service in Persia. There seems no particular reason to credit these anecdotes (stories of meetings between well known contemporaries being a common invention); the meeting with the Djuwayni brothers is the more likely as Sa'dī wrote panegyrics to both of them, but this need not imply actual contact so much as a wish for patronage.

It is in examining the identity of Sa'dī's patrons and dedicatees that the most reliable information about his life and the world in which he lived can be gained. At least fifteen historical personages were either the subject of panegyrics by Sa'dī or had works by him dedicated to them. His first datable work, completed after his youthful travels and his return to Shirāz, was the Bustān (655/1257) which he dedicated to the local Salghurid atabeg Abū Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangi, the ūlā, as well as panegyric. Later, was dedicated to this ruler's son, Sa'd b. Abū Bakr b. Sa'd [see Salghurids]. The poet's ta'kallalus or pen-name of Sa'dī is taken either from the latter, or from his grandfather Sa'd b. Zangi. (Both derivations present problems: the grandfather died in 623/1226 when Sa'dī in all probability was still an adolescent; the grandson ruled for only twelve days. The adoption of the ta'kallalus may have been made in honour of the grandson while he was still heir presumptive.) Abū Bakr b. Sa'd ruled as atabeg for over thirty years, and managed to persuade the Mongols, who were busy devastating the north of Persia and 'Irāk, to leave him and Shirāz in relative peace. Though his son ruled for a mere twelve days (one of Sa'dī's most affecting public poems is an elegy on his death in the strophic form known as tānīz-bānd), the succession stayed within the same ruling house until 662/1264, and Sa'dī continued to write panegyrics to its members. In a sense, the control of Shirāz may be said to have stayed for a little longer under the control of the house of Sa'd, as a granddaughter of Abū Bakr b. Sa'd married Mengūtemūr, a son of the Mongol conqueror Hūlegū, and she assumed the governorship, at least nominally, of Fārs. The very complex and dangerous political allegiances of the time are reflected in the list of dedicatees of Sa'dī's works. On various Mongol appointees to the government of Fārs, and to Abīsh Khātūn, granddaughter of Abū Bakr b. Sa'd and wife of Hūlegū's son Mengūtemūr. As Abīsh Khātūn and Sa'dī both certainly knew, survival at this period depended on accommodation, and Sa'dī's multiple allegiances, as evidenced by his panegyrics, are but the literary equivalent to the political manoeuvrings of his masters. Sa'dī has received some blame in the history of Persian poetry for his frequent change of allegiances; he might be in power in Fārs, but the practice was expected and such expediency was both prudent and commonplace (the Djuwayni brothers, and their brilliant civil, scholarly and literary work done under Mongol patronage, are another case in point). Further, some of his public poems (e.g. his elegy on the death of the last Abbāsīd caliph) cannot have been written with the hope of gain and could have been construed as politically risky. Sa'dī himself claimed it was indifference that drove him to write panegyrics, and it may also be seen as a natural consequence of the political circumstances of his day. The epithet "Machiavellian" which has sometimes been applied to Sa'dī as a reproach is in many ways a valid characterisation, in that both Machiavelli and Sa'dī, writing in turbulent and potentially disastrous political circumstances, strove to provide advice that would ensure their audience's successful negotiation of an exceptionally risky and faction-ridden world. The crucial difference is that, whereas Machiavelli writes directly to and for a central actor in such political upheavals, Sa'dī's intended audience, despite his dedication of both works to powerful if provincial

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rulers, would seem to be much more those on the sidelines of major events, hoping to survive by luck and their wits. Further, in Sa'di's case, to this 'Machiavellian' preoccupation with survival must be added a strong sympathy for the vulnerable and weak, especially if they are in any way ill-treated (it is very noticeable for example how often children figure in Sa'di's anecdotes, more perhaps than in the writings of any comparable figure in Persian literature), and a constantly reiterated plea for tolerance, perhaps the result of the poet's travels (but see below), the most famous example of which is the poem on Benefitting from the Evil of an Enemy. Sa'di's work is not, therefore, an attempt at a unified vision of the two works, and their immense popularity may perhaps be traced largely to this combination of goals. Although Sa'di's extreme facility in the writing of metrical aphorisms has led to many of his lines passing into the common stock of proverbial moral exhortation, the cumulative effect of the anecdotes in both the Bustan and the Gulistan is not that of an inflexible, internally coherent and absolute ethical system. Occasionally, the moral with which a story closes seems to have little to do with the story itself; anecdotes that offer contradictory moral advice can appear in close proximity (e.g. anecdote 17 of Book 1 of the Bustan recommends honesty when dealing with oppressive rulers; anecdote 19 of the same book recommends dissembling prudence when dealing with oppressive rulers) and, similarly, contradictory moral aphorisms are not uncommon (e.g. anecdote 20 of Book 2 of the Bustan ends with the advice to return evil with good; anecdote 26 of the same book ends with the statement that oppression of an oppressor is appropriate justice). The dilemma of whether to treat well enemies who may later have it in their power to harm you is one that Sa'di very frequently refers to, and anecdotes can be found supportive of both: on the one hand, the wisdom of pre-emptive draconian punishment and, on the other, the wisdom of insinuating subterfuges. That this relativism is at least to some extent deliberate is suggested by the books' structure; in the seventh books of both the Bustan and the Gulistan, there are long passages that imply the impossibility of absolute standards when dealing with fallible humanity. In the Bustan, the passage in question is that on calumny (towards the end of Book 7), in which it is stated, with typical humorous exasperation on Sa'di's part, that no course of action can meet with universal approval. Relativism is even more apparent in the last very lengthy anecdote of Book 7 of the Gulistan; here Sa'di presents a debate between himself and a dastagh on the relative merits of poverty and wealth; the debate is inconclusive and the two take their question to a religious judge, who admonishes each of them to take account of the truth of the other's arguments and to be reconciled to one another. This conclusion, that moral conclusions are elusive (and that mutual respect and tolerance are preferable to disruptive ethical solutions) can be gleaned from both the Gulistan and Bustan, if the anecdotes are taken as balancing and occasionally contradicting each other rather than singly.

Sa'di's innovations, or refinements and organis-
so from pure human sympathy, from a sense of the validity of life at any social level in and for itself. On a par with this is the relative simplification, and thus greater accessibility, that makes Sa'di the most read and appreciated among a wide variety of audiences, of his language when we compare it with that of many of the court poets who preceeded him. Such wide sympathies have led to Sa'di being seen as a kind of universal deist (Emerson) or a “humanist” by some western commentators (Yohanan 1987), but there are clear limits to Sa'di’s sympathies and these should not be overlooked. They are defined with few exceptions by the boundaries of Islam, and are operative within the strictures, hardly beyond it. His writings contain disparaging references to Jews (especially), to Christians and to Hindus (the anecdote concerning the Hindu temple at Somnath (Bustân, Book 8) is such a farrago of misinformation as to make one suspect that it is a deliberate joke, but even if this is so, the joke is hardly one that will appeal now). A notable exception to this tendency is the anecdote (Bustân, Book 2, anecdote 1) that has Abraham reproved by God for acting incorrectly with a poor horseman. This passage, however, be seen as an example of a general unwilliness, discernible in the works of many mediaeval Persian authors, to disparage the customs and civilisation of pre-Islamic Persia, rather than as an indiscriminate tolerance of non-Muslims). Even within Islam, Sa’di’s sympathies clearly stopped short of being extended to blacks, and certain of his remarks about women have been seen by some as verging on misogyny (the penultimate story of Book 1 of the Gultisân is evidence of an at least temporary violent contempt for both blacks and women). Much of this must undoubtedly be attributed to the time in which Sa’di was writing, in that he was merely repeating the common prejudices of his age and culture (and part of the shock registered at such moments in Sa'di is because he seems so sympathetic to the disadvantaged and/or unfahmiliar elsewhere), but there were other Persian writers of his period, and previous periods, who did not indulge in such gratuitously disparaging language to the same extent. Attar and, in general, Rumi are examples. That these poets were exclusively Sufi authors is significant; their sense of the illosoriness of the physical world, and therefore of the irrelevance of its categories for judging people’s true worth, is not shared by Sa'di, whose world-view accords in the variety, hardly beyond it. His writings were consistent on his own fame, recounting stories of how he has heard his works recited as far away as India. Much of this must surely be taken as the deliberate creation of an authorial persona. It is, for example, similar to the persona created by the English mediaeval writer Chaucer, and probably for the same reasons; both poets present themselves as charming raconteurs—wise, attractive, avuncular companions, men with broad sympathies who have seen the world but still basically share the plain man’s “common sense” world-view. This cosmopolitan, compasionate, shrewd persona is to be regarded chiefly as an advertisement for the work. Significant here, too, is Sa’di’s strong sense of humour and his previously-noted warning that travellers are liars; Sa’di’s presentation of himself is a brilliant literary device that he undertook with every sign of relish at his undoubted skill; it is perhaps the greatest of his literary triumphs.

Perhaps in part because of their self-consciously “international” and unprovincial interests, Sa’di’s writings were highly influential as models not only in Persia itself but also in Turkey of the Seldjûks and subsequently in the Ottoman empire. Similarly, in Mughal India, his works quickly achieved great fame, and his ghazâls were imitated by Persian-speaking Indian poets within his own lifetime or shortly afterwards. Generally speaking, in countries that have at different periods looked to Persia as a cultural model, he is thought of as the archetypal Persian author, and his works have been a fundamen tal part of the educational curriculum of those wishing to become acquainted with Persian belle-lettres. His popularity in the Ottoman empire and Mughal India led to his name being known in the West at a relatively early period. French, German and Latin translations of parts of his oeuvre appeared in the mid-7th century, and Gentius brought out an edition of the Gultisân, with a Latin translation, in Amsterdam in 1651. The benevolence of Sa’di’s usual sentiments and his frequent advocacy of irenic tolerance made him particularly attractive to Enlightenment authors, and Voltaire pretended, tongue in cheek, that his country had “four Sa’dies.” He was, through his work, a cultural model, and in England Sir William Jones, was both enthusiastic advocates of Sa’di’s work. In America, Benjamin Franklin borrowed an anecdote from the Bustân (that of Abraham and the Zoroastrian) “on account of the importance of the moral, well worth being made known to all mankind”, and Emerson saw the poet in more or less the same light—i.e. as an Oriental version of a pragmatic Enlightenment deist. By the mid-19th century, Sa’di had been more extensively translated into European languages than any other Persian author, with the possible exception of Hafiz.


2. Studies. Sa’îd Nafisi, Ta’rîfh-i durust-i dar gudâsht-i Sa’dî, in Modjalla-yi Dânishkade-yi...
Since the 8th/14th century, they had lived in the central valley of the Dar'a, at Tagmaddart. In the following century they established themselves in the Sús at Tidsi. The first of the Sa'dis to play a role in the internal politics of Morocco was called Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Kā'im bi-amr Allāh. He was a saintly man, a disciple of al-Ḥāmidī, who enjoyed genuine prestige among the neighbouring tribes. In 916/1510 he was appointed war-leader and commander against the Portuguese, formally established at Agadir [q.v.] since 919/1513 (in reality since 1505). In 917/1511, he had named his eldest son ʿAbd al-Arādā governor of the Sús; two years later he appointed him his successor. On his death in 923/1517-18, at Afūghāl in the Hāṣa, two of his sons shared the political power which he had built up: al-Arādā governed to the north of the Atlas, the younger, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ṣāhīkh, in the Sús. These two sharīfs were the real founders of the Sa'dian dynasty, the first Sharifian dynasty to take power in Morocco.

The two principal objectives of these princes were the struggle against the Christians, in this case the Portuguese, and the conquest of northern Morocco, in other words the eviction of the Ṭaṭāṣīds. In 929/1523, Mawlay al-Ḥarrān, entered Tlemcen. It did not stay there long, since a large proportion of the Maroccan troops had to be transferred to the Taṭāṣīds in order to fight against ʿAbd al-Arādā, who had rebelled against his younger brother. In the summer of the same year, when the Sa'dīan garrison, left in the Za'yānīd capital under the command of two of the sons of al-Ṣāhīkh, was attacked by the Pasha of Algiers, it was unable to resist, and in February 1531, the Algerian army took possession of Tlemcen, which remained henceforward under Ottoman control. The Mouloya/Malwiya serving as a frontier between Morocco and the Algerian regency.

However, the Ṭaṭāṣīds had not lost hope of regaining power: an uncle of the prince defeated in 956/1549, Abū Hassūn, who had for some time found refuge in Spain, succeeded with the aid of the Algerians in defeating the Sharīfīs under the walls of Fās, which he entered on 14 Safar 962/7 January 1554. He even allied himself to al-Arādā and to the latter's son, Zaydān, who had succeeded in making themselves masters of the Taṭāṣīd. And if a message addressed by Abū Hassūn to his new ally had not been intercepted by Mawlay ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ṣāhīkh—with the result that the defeat of his son Mawlay ʿAbd Allāh was transformed into victory—the Ṭaṭāṣīd would probably have been able to regain the Moroccan throne. But al-Arādā and Zaydān advanced towards the west. Between the two new powers in the Maghrib lay an ancient “kingdom”, Tlemcen, ruled by an enfeebled dynasty, the Banū Zayyān or ʿAbd al-Wādīds [q.v.]: the conquest of Tlemcen seemed a necessity both to the Ottomans and to the Sa'di. On 23 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1557/9 June 1550, a Sharīfī army commanded by one of the sons of Mawlay ʿAbd al-Rahmān, entered Tlemcen. It did not stay there long, since a large proportion of the Moroccan troops had to be transferred to the Taṭāṣīds in order to fight against ʿAbd al-Arādā, who had rebelled against his younger brother. In the summer of the same year, when the Sa'dīan garrison, left in the Za'yānīd capital under the command of two of the sons of al-Ṣāhīkh, was attacked by the Pasha of Algiers, it was unable to resist, and in February 1531, the Algerian army took possession of Tlemcen, which remained henceforward under Ottoman control. The Mouloya/Malwiya serving as a frontier between Morocco and the Algerian regency.

Three years later, on 29 Dhū 'l-Ka'da 964/23 October 1557, Mawlay ʿAbd al-Rahmān was assassinated by a member of his Turkish bodyguard, ʿAbd al-Ṣāḥīb b. Kyāhīya. Shāhīzād, before this ʿAbd al-Arādā, imprisoned in Marrākūš, had been executed by the governor of the town, along with seven of his sons and grandsons. The senior branch of the Sa'dīs was thus eliminated and the succession of the sharīf Mawlay ʿAbd al-Rahmān fell to his son, Mawlay ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣāhīb b'il-lāl. At the start of his reign, which was marked by an anti-Turkish policy, three of his
brothers advanced as far as Algiers, and two of them even reached Istanbul. In 965/1558, the new sovereign succeeded in defeating the Turko-Ottomans of Algiers near Wadi 'l-Laban and invading the Regency. He attempted, without success, to forge an alliance with the king of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon. On the other hand, he succeeded in establishing peaceful relations with Spain, which earned him the hostility of the marabouts whose influence was increasing throughout the Maghrib. He also sought to deprive the Portuguese of Mazagan, their last fortress, but failed. Mawlay 'Abd Allah died in 981/1574, and his son Mawlay Ahmad, who became governor of Fas, was recognised as sovereign without hindrance. But another Sa'did prince was a pretender to the Moroccan throne, Mawlay 'Abd al-Malik, one of the brothers of the late sharif, who from 1557 onward was consipping with the Ottoman Sultan to obtain military and financial support. Two years after the death of his brother, Mawlay 'Abd al-Malik, with a Turko-Algerian force, supplemented by Arab contingents, defeated his nephew and entered Fas on 10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah 983/11 March 1576. As for Mawlay Mahammad, he reached Marrakush, and then, following a further defeat at the hands of his uncle, he took refuge in the Sūs. Subsequently, with the help of the king of Spain, he made his way to Peñón de Vélez.

While the uncle had been sided by the Ottomans, the nephew ultimately obtained the aid of the Christian princes, especially that of the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, who dreamed of conquering Morocco. In Djamāda I 986/July 1578, a substantial Christian army set out in support of Mawlay Mahammad. The clash between this army and that of Mawlay 'Abd al-Malik took place on 4 August near the Wādi Meḥzhāzen; the two Moroccan pretenders and the king of Portugal died in the combat. This battle, the so-called Battle of the Three Kings, had vast repercussions in Europe as in Morocco, where it aroused a veritable surge of national consciousness. The victor was another brother of Mawlay 'Abd Allāh, Mawlay Ahmad, who became sultan. His reign was one of the most significant in the entire history of Morocco, as well as one of the longest, since it lasted until 1012/1603. Having reorganised the country, Mawlay Ahmad established diplomatic relations with the Ottoman empire, as well as with Christian nations including Spain, Portugal and England; in 993/1585 English merchants founded the Barbary Company which enjoyed free and exclusive trade with Morocco for twelve years. But the major achievement of the reign was the conquest of the western Sūdān; contacts between the Songhay of the loop of the Niger and Morocco had begun in the 5th/11th century. In the 10th/16th century, the salt-pans of Tegheza, between Timbuktu and Marrākhush, were coveted by the Moroccans, and in 986/1578 Mawlay Ahmad asked Askia Dāwūd, the ruler of the Songhay, to allow him the occupation of these salt-pans for a year. Three years later, the Sa'dīan sharif ordered the occupation of Touat and the Gourara, and in 992/1584 sent to the western Sūdān a first expedition, which was a disasterous failure. The conquest of Sūdān was decided upon and in 1591 the Padhga Dīdār, commanding the Shari'īnī troops, entered first Gao and then Timgakhtu. In 994/1596 the Moroccans occupied the loop of the Niger from Kουyka to Djenné; the western Sūdān came under Sa'dīan domination, and every year, tribute of Sudanese gold was paid to Marrākhush. Dissension between the sons of Mawlay Ahmad, henceforward to be known as al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabi, cast a cloud over the end of the reign of the sharīf, who died of the plague on 17 Rabī' 1/25 August 1603.

During his lifetime, Mawlay Ahmad had given some of his sons a degree of administrative responsibility. Following his death, the princes Zaydān and Abū Fāris had themselves declared sultans, at Fas and at Marrākhush respectively. A third brother, Muhammād al-Shaykh al-Ma'mūn, who had been imprisoned by his father for rebellion, succeeded in defeating his brother Zaydān at al-Mouasta and being proclaimed by the allegiance of his nephews. While Mawlay Zaydān gained control of the Sūs; the fratricidal struggles which were to lead to the dissolution of the dynasty had begun.

A fourth prince soon claimed his share of the 'kingdom', sc. Mawlay 'Abd Allāh, a son of al-Ma'mūn who, in 1015/1606, succeeded in establishing himself at Marrākhush. All these struggles devastated the country and destitution was rife. Al-Ma'mūn, who took refuge at Tarfīn and attempted to obtain the support of Tuscany, then appealed to Spain for help, where he was obliged to take refuge in March 1608 as Mawlay Zaydān had regained power in Marrākhush and was threatening Fas. The following year, in the hope of gaining the support of the government of Philip III, king of Spain, the sharīf al-Ma'mūn signed a treaty according to which he guaranteed, in exchange for military aid, to cede to him the port of Larache/al-'Arāqīsh [q.v.], which Spain had long coveted, lest it be occupied by the Ottoman fleet. On 20 November 1610 Spanish troops commanded by the Marquis of San Germán took possession of Larache, the port and the town. But instead of helping Mawlay Muhammad al-Ma'mūn, this action lost him every chance of returning to his throne. He was assassinated in 1022/1613 at Fadjīdī al-Fārās.

In 1018/1609, the above-mentioned prince Mawlay 'Abd Allāh, had had his uncle Abū Fāris strangled. He was thus able to succeed his father at Fas, but the kingdom of Fas was no more than a much-reduced territory. Despite the attentions of one of his brothers, Mawlay Zaghudī, and despite the total anarchy existing in Fas, the reign of Mawlay 'Abd Allāh lasted until his death in 1022/1613. After him another of his brothers, Mawlay 'Abd al-Malik, ruled nominally in Fas for four years, but the descendants of al-Ma'mūn were no longer in a position to exert real power.

After the cession of Larache to the Spanish, the only Sa'dīan prince considered to be a legitimate sovereign was Mawlay Zaydān. While the descendants of Mawlay Muhammad al-Shaykh tried to maintain their position at Fas, Zaydān established his capital at Marrākhush and was recognised by foreign powers as Sultan of Morocco. In 1021/1612 he was subjected to the attacks of a religious leader, Abū Mahālāf [q.v. in Suppl.], who had declared holy war against the Sa'dīds, and who even succeeded in entering Marrākhush. Mawlay Zaydān was obliged to flee to Śāfī [q.v.], whence he attempted to leave Morocco with his retinue, and seventy-three cases of Arabic books. These cases were loaded on a French ship which was intercepted and impounded by the Spanish, who declared it to be legitimate war-booty; the Arabic volumes thus remained in the possession of the Spanish, and were later deposited in the Escorial.

The state of anarchy which pervaded the country enabled various religious chiefs or marabouts to make themselves more or less independent of the ailing central power. Those of the Sūs did not pose a real threat
The princes who actually reigned are given in bold type.

to the dynasty, but those of northern Morocco put the government of the shārifs in danger; the arrival of the Moriscos, especially following their expulsion from Spain (1609-10), and their occupation of Rabat which they declared an independent republic, as well as the agitation of a "marabout", al-‘Ayyābī, in the region of Salā and then at Salā itself, ultimately rendered Mawlāy Zaydān’s authority purely theoretical in the north of Morocco.

The shāfī Zaydān died in 1036/1627, and his successor was his eldest son Mawlāy ʻAbd al-Malik, who reigned only four years: he was assassinated on 6 Sha‘bān 1040/10 March 1631. The treaty which he had negotiated with France was signed by his brother Muhammad al-Sâhîb, on 20 Safar 1041/17 September 1631. Al-Walīd, assassinated in turn, was succeeded by a third son of Mawlāy Zaydān, Mawlāy Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Asghār. The latter succeeded in maintaining control over Morocco, or rather over the region of Marrākush, until 1065/1654; he faced opposition from another maraboutic power, the Dilā‘īyya of the central Atlas [see Dilā‘ī in Suppl.]. The last Sa’dian sovereign was the son of al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Sâhîb, who inherited a thoroughly decadent kingdom. After his assassination in 1069/1659, Morocco became the object of contention between the shūrafā’ of the Taflīlāh, the ʻAlawīs, and the Dilā‘īyya of the Atlas. The last-named were decisively defeated in 1079/1668, and the Sa’did shūrafā’ were succeeded by the ʻAlawī shūrafā’ [see ʻAlawīs].

If the last Sa’did princes were characters without much depth, and were in many cases debauched, the first shūrafīs were outstanding statesmen who encouraged the cultural and artistic life of the country. Although very little remains of the palace of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, the Bādī’ of Marrākush, various religious monuments from the Sa’dian period have been preserved in this town: the great mosques of Bāb Dukkhāla and of Mouassin, the tomb of al-Džazālī, the Ben Yūsuf madrasa, and above all the mausoleums of the shūrafīs, Kubūr al-Aṣhrāf. At Fās, the Sa’dians built little, but to them are owed the two pavilions at the extremities of the court of the mosque of al-Karawīyīn, as well as the badī‘īn, the northern Burdj and the southern Burdj built by Ahmad al-Manṣūr in 1582.

Until the death of this sultan, the economic situation was such that there were periods of considerable prosperity; the relations of Sa’dian Morocco with European countries facilitated the export of various products such as textiles, horses, wheat, saltpetre, and especially sugar, principally to England (cultivation of the sugar-cane had appeared in Morocco in the 3rd/9th century, and disappeared shortly after the death of Ahmad al-Manṣūr). It is also to the credit of the Sa’did shūrafā’ that they presided over the birth of a genuine feeling of national consciousness, which resisted any attempt at domination by Christians or Ottomans.

SA'DIK — AL-ŠĀDIKĪYYA


SĀDIK HIDAYAT [SEE HIDAYAT, SĀDIK]

SĀDIK RIF‘AT PASHA, MEHMED, OTTOMAN STATESMAN AND DIPLomat (1807-57). He was born in Istanbul, the only son of a very wealthy family. His father was Hādıqī ‘Ali Bey, the governor of the Ottoman cannon foundries (Topkāhane). Sādıq Rif‘at received an education in the palace school, serving his final year in the Enderun-i Hayātim Khāzine Odası (the imperial treasury). Thereafter, he was placed in the correspondence department (Mekkābī Kalem) of the Grand Vizierate, as an assistant clerk. In 1824 he was promoted to the rank of bāb-aga (master) and in 1828 he became a junior clerk in the office of incoming correspondence.

He attracted the attention of Sultan Mahmud II [q. v.] when accompanying the latter on his tour of Edirne and Gelibolu. He also joined the entourage of Pertew Paşa [q. v.], whose protegé he became, just like his more famous contemporary Mustafa Reşid [q. v.]. In 1834 he succeeded Reşid in the position of assistant-receiver (Amēdī Wēkīlī). Next year, Sādıq Rif‘at was appointed Ottoman ambassador to Vienna, where he gained the friendship of the Austrian chancellor Prince Metternich, but struck Joseph von Hammer as a novice in diplomacy. During his stay in Vienna, he published Tratise on morals (Awrudp ahwdllna dd^ir risdle, cumstances of Europe"), which was well received at the imperial courts, as such "the "environment of Europe." (Awrudp ahwdllna dd^ir risdle, cumstances of Europe") in which he pointed out the importance of trade and industry. According to Sādıq Rif‘at, the old Ottoman condescension towards people engaged in trade should end and productivity should be made a central aim of the Ottoman government. The ideas put forward in the memorandum resembled the provisions of the Anglo-Ottoman trade treaty of Malta Limanlı of 1838 and of the famous Gulkhâne edict which issued in the Tanzimat reforms in 1839.

In 1840, Sādıq Rif‘at, now under-secretary of state at the Foreign Office, led a mission to Egypt. Shortly after, he was appointed as under-secretary of state at the office of the Grand Vizier. In 1841, he was promoted to the rank of vizier and served as foreign secretary for three months in 1848, and as minister of state for three months in 1850. In the latter year he also joined the Learned Society (Endümn-i Dânîî). Sādıq Rif‘at Paşa was a close associate of Reşid Pasha and a member of the inner circle of reformers all through the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. He was a strong supporter of the secularisation of the legal and educational systems and, like Reşid, 'Ali and Fu‘ād, strongly advocated the separation of school from church. As the expectations of many of his contemporaries, he never attained the Grand Vizierate.

Sādıq Rif‘at Paşa died on 11 January 1857 and was buried in Eyyub. He left a daughter (who was married to a son of Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Ahmed Djeîlî Paşa) and a son, Mehmed Ra‘uf Paşa, who edited and published a number of his father’s memoranda under the title Muntakhabât-i aikhâr-i Rif‘at (Selected Writings of Rif‘at). Another small work, called Risālē-yi ebnīk (Treatise on morals) was published at some time in Istanbul schools.

SĀDİK (the transcription often used by Indian numismatists of what should correctly be SĪDIKĪ), the name given by Tipū Sultan of Mysore [see MUSÔR] to a gold coin of the value of two pagodas (Port. pardao, the name of a gold coin long current in South India in pre-modern times and for which various etymologies have been propounded; see Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases, 652-7, 672-8), weighing 106 grains (86.87 gr). The name Siddikī derives from the epithet borne by Tipū Sultan of Mysore [see MAHISUR] in accordance with Tipū's custom of naming the denominations of his coins after the first caliphs and the Shi‘i imāms.


AL-ŠĀDIKĪYYA, AL-MADRASA, in Tunisian Arabic es-Sādiyya, in French, le Collège Sādiqi, a prestigious educational establishment, founded by a decree of Muhammad al-Sādiq Bey [q. v.] of Tunis on 5 Dhu ’l-Hijja 1291/13 January 1875 on the advice of the reforming minister Khayr al-Dīn [q. v.]. Its foundation marked the culmination of a period of reflection by the reforming elite in Tunisia which, from the middle of the 19th century, opened its eyes to the modern world, was disturbed at the social, cultural and economic backwardness of the country, and had the curiosity to make itself familiar with the sciences of the West. It took into account the fact that all reform, political or administrative, would necessarily involve the updating of teaching methods, the development of the programme of studies and its extension to as great a number as possible of pupils.
The foundation statue of the Sadikiyya envisaged a double objective: (1) conservation, "revivification" (sharī'a) and renovation (tadjdid) of the Arabo-Muslim cultural inheritance; and (2) an opening-up to the new world, in its various cultural forms: the mastery of and an initiation into the exact sciences and their manifold applications.

The foundation statue of the Sadikiyya

The College is meant for young Muslim Tunisians (art. 29); instruction there is free (art. 31). There are to be two categories of pupils: those with half-bursaries, and those with full-bursaries (those with half-bursaries and those living externally). Three levels of instruction are envisaged: (1) Primary, in which is to be taught reading and writing, Kurʾān recitation, Prophetic tradition and the usual manuals of Islamic studies (mutānī); (2) Second level, in which the legal science of the sharī'a are to be taught; and (3) (and here are the innovations) the teaching of the exact and modern sciences (mathematics, inc. algebra, geometry, mensuration-engineering); cosmography; geography; natural sciences (the elements of medicine, veterinary science, botany, zoology, mineralogy, agriculture and chemistry); political science and legislation; and, in a word, "everything not prohibited by the sharī'a, which it is necessary to make available to the Muslim community so that it may organise services of public value" (art. 25).

This third level was to take seven years. Art. 23 envisages the possibility for graduates of "continuing their studies" for a further seven years at the most. This last rule was in effect used in order to send certain pupils to France, Turkey and England; from 1878 to 1881 a dozen students followed courses at the Lycée Saint-Louis in Paris.

Installation of the Sadikiyya

The effective inauguration of the Sadikiyya took place on 20 Muharram 1292/27 February 1875. The "new school" was at that time installed in Tunis in a former barracks in the rue Ezenaidya (al-zabā'idīyya "the armourers"), baptised under the French Protectorate as the rue de l'Eglise, and is situated at the present in no. 55 in the rue Dājmi al-Zaytūna. In 1897, the College was moved to a new building, in Arabo-Maghribī style, dominating the hill over the Kaṣba, and in which the legal science of the Habous (hūbās, ānḵāf) and then to an annexe of the National Library (Periodicals Service).

Financial arrangements

In order to provide the College with an assured and autonomous budget, Khayr al-Din allotted to it the greater part of the properties of the former chief minister, Muṣṭafā Khaznādār [q.v.], confiscated by the state. These comprised enormous rural estates, olive groves, building plots in Tunis itself (Tunis-Marine) and in its outskirts (La Goulette, La Marsa, etc.), and houses and shops in the city centre. "By a decree of 10 March 1875, the properties forming the endowment of the Sadiki College were made into an habous (hūbūs) as property held in mainmört, of a religious nature and inalienable. Under the able administration of Muhammad al-ʿĀrif, the College's finances rapidly prospered". These habous were valued in 1906 at about 20 million francs.

However, from the beginning of the Protectorate, the speculations of European colonos, supported by the French administration, allowed, by means of a legal fiction or ruse (hīla), the disastrous exchange (ʿwadād) of the rich properties of the North (ca. 4,000 ha) against rents "of enzul" (însāl [q.v. in Suppl.] or permanent lease), which could be subsequently bought out for the future payment of twenty annual payments.

Practical arrangements and their variations

A decree of 28 March 1906 (2 Safar 1324) fixed the number of resident pupils of the College at 40, whilst that of the half-bursary holders was not to exceed 100.

These pupils were admitted after a competitive examination embracing the whole of Tunisia. A certificate of elementary primary studies was required of all candidates, whose age had to be (on the 31 December of the year of the competition) between 12 and 15. Between 1906 and 1929 the total number of pupils was 625. In comparison, one may note that in 1903, there were at the Lycée Carnot 846 pupils, including 44 Tunisian Muslims. It was not till the 1930s, under the direction of Gabriel Mérat, that numbers passed the peak of 160. But it was above all under the direction of a former pupil of the College, the first Tunisian who had surmounted the barrier of the competition for aggregation in Arabic language and literature, Muhammad ʿAtīyya, that its evolution became spectacular. The number of pupils admitted to the entrance competition passed, in 1951, the maximum of 305. The effective total was multiplied by ten, and the prodigious efforts of the director were crowned by the building, on a plot of land belonging to the Crown demesnes, of an annexe to the College, the Lycée Khaznādār, to which the internal and part of the external students were transferred.

The syllabuses and their successive reform

It was political considerations which usually determined the changes in teaching programmes. Thus it was that, at the beginning of the Protectorate from 1882, the French Minister-Resident Paul Cambon understood the services which the College could render to the new administration. Under the direction of Delmas, in 1892, the secondary education syllabus was modified: kept at a level below that of the lycées, in the scientific field, instruction took on above all a practical and professional aspect. Special courses in literary, administrative and legal translation were introduced there in the light of the certificate and higher diploma in Arabic required for entry into the public service (decree of 1888). The first graduates of the Sadikiyya were caught up by the administration, which dangled before the eyes of the youth an assured position and treatment. The Sadikiyya ceased to be basically a place for shaping the learned education of Tunisian youth, but became a "nursery" for officials of the Protectorate administration, a "producer of white-collar workers".

After 1934, the director ʿAtīyya, going back to the spirit of the College's founder and the letter of its foundation statue (respect for and preservation of the national heritage, with an opening on to the modern world), brought the syllabuses up to the scientific level required by the baccalauréat and assured Arabic language and literature of an adequate role. He diversified studies and, at the second level of instruction, increased the number of specialised sections corresponding to the different series of the baccalauréat:

Section A: classical literature (Latin and Greek introduced for the first time, whence, eventually, were formed cadres for the archaeological service and teachers of the history of ancient Tunisia).

Section B: Sciences plus languages (English, then Italian and German).

Section C: Latin plus sciences.

Section D (crowned by the sole Diploma of completed studies), an education on an administrative (legislative) and legal (elements of law and Islamic jurisprudence) basis.

An innovation should be noted. The director of the Sadikiyya could admit, as an option at the oral examination for the baccalauréat, questions on Arab-
Islamic philosophy (al-Farabi, the Ikhwan al-SafaD, Ibn Sina, Ibn Khaldun, etc.).
The success of the Sadikiyya encouraged an increasing demand from Tunisians for it to be extended to other establishments. After 1944, the Direction of Public Instruction decided to create, on the same model, classes which were described as “Sadikian” and then “Tunisian” in a number of lycées and colleges: the College Aalou, the Lycées of Sousse and Sfax and even, under pressure from the Union of Tunisian employees in Public Education, at the Lycée Carnot in Tunis and, for Muslim girls, at the Lycée Louis-René Millet in the rue du Pacha in Tunis.
In 1955, the numbers of participants in the “Tunisian” classes reached 6,000. Studies there were crowned by the “Diploma of Sadikian studies”, which was replaced, after Independence in 1957, by that of the “Tunisian baccalaureat”.

Finally, one should mention the indelible impact which the Sadikiyya has had on Tunisian society, quite apart from its role in the domain of education. “By bringing together on the same benches, in the same refectory and dormitory, children from all classes of this society, Sadiki went on to create the democratic education of youth ... Thanks to the possibility of boarding there, provincial and country-dwellers, hitherto disdained (as by the children of the capital, found themselves in contact with each other, and learned to know and love each other” (Ali Bach Hamma, 1960).

A mixing-together of youth from all social levels, a free comradeship and close solidarity of feeling, an atmosphere of hard work and a strong feeling of responsibility and duty, have characterised the atmosphere of the Sadikiyya right up to the present day.


SADIN (♀), in early Arabia, the guardian of a shrine (abstract noun, sidana).

The root t - d - n contains the sense of “veil, curtain”, which puts the sadin on a level with the hujdib, the first term designating the guardian of a shrine, and the second, the “door-keeper” of a palace, hence “chamberlain”. The hujdib acts under the orders of someone else, whereas the sadin acts on his own initiative (L.4, xvii, 69, citing Ibn Barrî). However, the two terms may be found juxtaposed, e.g. in Ibn Highâm, who says, “The Arabs possessed, as well as the Ka’ba, tawâqîth which were shrines (bâyât: cf. Fr. le baillant arabe, 132 ff.) which they used to venerate just as they venerated the Ka’ba; these sanctuaries had sadana and hujdâfigh” (Sîra, 55, l. 10). According to him, the personnel of the cult could be reduced to the sadin and the hujdib. The site of the cult itself is called bâyî al-masdan in a verse attributed to Rûba b. al-‘Adîdjâdî (loc. cit., l. 11). For al-Dhâhib, sadin belongs to the Dâjjaliyya; it is replaced by hujdîfigh (Hayyânîn, 1, 160 ult.). Amongst the orders created by Kûşây [q.v.] figures that of the hujdâfigh “guardianship of the Ka’ba”.

As well as his function as guardian of a shrine, the sadin watched over the offerings made to the divinities and practised belomancy [see AL-IŞTIKIŞAM BI ‘L-KALAM]. This was the situation regarding the custodian of the Ka’ba; he shook up the divinatory arrows in the god Hubâl’s [q.v.] quiver.

The sadin appears thus in the sources concerning primitive Islam, when Arabian paganism was in full decadence. Going further back and placing him in the context of the surrounding Semitic world, one notes that there was both a complementariness and a rivalry between the sadin and the kâhin. The first had a mantic and auroral role, the second, an oracular and ecstatic one. But it often happened that the two were in rivalry and trespassed on each other’s territory; also, the absence of one enabled the other to exercise both functions.


SA’DIYYA, a Śūfi tarīka [q.v.] and family lineages particularly Syrian and Shâfiī in identity, still active today, that grew to prominence also in Ottoman Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans. Notable aspects of the Sa’diyya are their distinctive rituals and their role in the social history of Damascus. The eponymous founder is Sa’d al-Dîn al-Shâfi’în al-Djibawi (hereafter “Sa’d”). His dates remain uncertain, but most probably fall in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. To the extent to which any tarîka may be marked by the practice of khâwârik al-‘sâdat (deeds transcending the natural order, such as healing, spectacles involving body piercing, darî al-sîlah, and, best known, the darsa [q.v.]), the shâﬁî riding horseback over a “living carpet” of men and by wide appeal among the middle and lower classes. Few “sâlîm” appear in the Sa’dî silsila and the biographical compendia of notables and “sâlîm” are ambivalent about Sa’dî activities.

Through successful business and generous extension of their inherited baraka, many Damascene Sa’dîs became extremely wealthy and offered a safe haven of hospitality for Ottoman dignitaries at their main zdwîya in the tempestuous Midân quarter. The order has been fraught with an unusually high level of competitive struggles over the mazhâ’îya of the family, the Śūfi order and its awkâf. Because the order by and large is hereditary in leadership, family connections predominate over acquired knowledge and training. The Sa’dîs are a good example of the outcome of the combination of saintliness, Śūfi organisation and wealth in the Ottoman world.

The encyclopaedic Śūfi silsila collections of the 11th-13th/17th-19th centuries do not feature the Sa’diyya prominently. Al-Kushâshî (d. 1071/1661), al-‘Udjaymi (d. 1113/1702) and al-Sanûsî (d. 1276/1859) seem concerned with the order, but Murtada al-Zâbitî (d. 1205/1790) received the Sa’dî tarîka from the Damascene Abraham al-Manînî (d. 1173/1759) and gives a second sanad following the familiar Dûnaydît/Ilmâmî line (‘Ikd al-dawwar fi ’l-nâdkir wa-turuk al-shîb wa-l-tâlîn, ms. Dîr al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, tasaawwuf, 3, 322, p. 58). Kamâl al-Dîn al-Hârîrî (d. 1299/1882) presents four silsîlas, only one of which he received in a personal encounter (Tibîyân wasâ’dî al-hâbîbh fi bayân salâsi al-tarîkâ, ms. Fâîhîn Ibrâhîm 431, ii, fols. 129a-138a). This line, of his Aleppan shâﬁî Muhammad b. Yâsin (d. 1292/1873), can be collated with al-Muḫabîb and other sources to form a reasonably reliable silsîla (Tibîyân, ii, fols. 130b-131b; Kûshâshî, 1, 34-5).

1. The founder. The hagiography of Sa’d, eponym of the tarîka, serves a symbolic function for the order. Historical details about him are scant as is literary production by members of the tarîka. A 20th-century Sa’dî awrâd work puts his birth in Mecca in 460/1067 and his death in Djibâ in the Hawrân (Golan, see al-Mâlîbî, 1, 144-5). The year 621, closer...
to Margoliouth's 700/1300 reckoning (El 1), as a death date is more probable (al-Hariri, iii, 132, and others) but, based on other members of the siida, al-Nabhan would place Sa’d’s transformation into a Sufi shaykh is the earliest found (1, i35).

The father of Sa’d al-Din, Yûnis al-Shaybânî, is traced genealogically by the Egyptians to Isdîrî, the conqueror of the Maghrib, and, through him and Sa’d’s mother, Sa’d is considered both Hasanî and Husaynî (al-Khûdari, al-Wafâ’ bi L-‘ahd, 168-9). The Banû Shayba [q.p.] have the right to drape the Ka’ba, and in a poem attributed to Sa’d he speaks of being among the ‘‘protectors of the Ka’ba’’ (al-Hariri, ii, fol. 123b; Abâza and al-Hâfiz, n. 2, 505). He claims, as well, to be the ‘‘shaykh of each tarîqa’’ as the direct murîd of the Prophet. This meeting with the Prophet is the climax of Sa’d’s conversion story. The young rebellious son of Yûnis had left Damascus for a life of highway robbery in the Hawrân. Either the Prophet alone, or with Abû Bakr and ‘Ali, or with all the ‘‘ten repentant Paradies’’ posed as victims of Sa’d al-Din on the road. When the answer for Sa’d’s demand for goods and money is the first horseman’s recital of tanka, "Has not the time come for the hearts of those who believe to turn humbly to the remembrance of God (dhikr Allah)?’’ Sa’d goes into ecstasy and falls unconscious. The Prophet制订s some dates in his mouth and feeds them to a now-beardless boy, writing amulets and treating all, ‘‘free of reprehensible acts and halakdt al-dhikr’’ (d. 1010/1601) was reported to the Damascene Sh. Sa’d to the Othmanîs in 967 (iii, 157). It is worth noting that the Sa’diyya never switched from the Shâfî to the Othmanîs Hanafî. One of many inner-tarîqa struggles occurred among the wealthy Aleppan Sa’dîs, whose zaïyiyya stood outside Bab al-Nasr. They held a large dhikr, mainly with fallâhi participants, at the Umayyad Mosques of Aleppo. Sh. Abu ‘l-Wafâ’ (d. 1010/1601) was reported to the Damascene Sh. Sa’d al-Din by a slighted Aleppan for being guilty of sexual misconduct. Sa’d al-Din was convinced to strip the khilâfa from Abu ‘l-Wafâ’ and to confer it on one ‘‘Abd al-Rahîm al-Rawwâs in a written document, which neither Abu ‘l-Wafâ’ nor his disciples obeyed. Thus two competing circles of Sa’di dhikr took place in the mosque. The scandal, coming to civil authorities, was not Abu ‘l-Wafâ’ violent temper or prodigious learning, but the climate of fîna in the mosque as the two groups hurled abuse at each other during dhikr, such that people came to hate both sides (Khulasa, i, 152-4).

Sa’d al-Din’s son Muhammad came to Aleppo, be-moaned his father’s involvement in the affair and ordered the two groups to separate places in the mosque. Abu ‘l-Wafâ’ brother and successor Abu Mahir (d. 1105/1694), a pious and humble man,
avoided conflict with ‘Abd al-Rahīm’s ḥukūrat (al-
Muhībbī, i, 298-9).

A bitter struggle between the brothers Ḫibrām (d.
1190) and Muḥammad ibn Mūsa al-Muwslīmī for
power (d. 1020/1611) led to the former’s being ousted
from heading the Sa’di  dhikr at the Umayyad Mosque
and from the family complex in Kubaybāt (al-Būrīnī, i,
305-6). Muḥammad held control of ṣawādīyat Baṇī
Ṣa’d al-Dīn and safdīyat al-tarīkh for 35 years in
Damascus. Holdings in agricultural and commercial
properties, along with continuous gifts, made him one of
the wealthiest men of his time (al-Muhībbī, iv, 160-
2). Nonetheless, he was also the shrine at the
ṣawīya, and Muḥammad was invited to their homes.
Describe the daily elaborate four-part ritual at the
ṣawīya of offering rare coffees, sweets, savories and
perfumes (al-Qaṣṣāzī, Lutf al-samar, 56-61). In a
telling scene in 1118/1706, Ibn Kānān points out that while
most of the great ḥulamā’ (including the three local
muḥtārs) witnessed Muḥammad al-’I Ṣa’dī’s ceremonial
fard darṣ at the Suṣulmānīya, the Ottoman Kādī
Arīf al-Shāghūnī was there as the shrine of Saṣyīdā Yānāb with a Sa’di  ṣawādīkh in the company of
a crowd of men and women (Hawādīth, 104-5).

A second Sa’di  ṣawīya, in Shāḥgūr, was headed by
Abū ’l-Waḥīf Ḫibrām (d. 1170/1756). Received by three
Ottoman sultans in Istanbul, he established ṣawīyas and
appointed ḥulamā’, probably for the first time outside the
hereditary line, in Anātolia, Egypt, and Aleppo. The new order was the Sa’da-
ṣawīya fi’l-tarīkh (Hilml, 270, not to be confused with the
khalīfāt, zāwiyās and appointed ẓalīmāt. (It should be noted
cf. Ahmad al-Sa’dī’s minaret inscription catalogued
today called “Masjīd al-Zawiya” (al-Ulabī, 419-20;
Dawkdf 170-1; cf. CA1I Mubarak, ii, 71-2).

A prudent pro-imperial stance. (It should be noted
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Sa'diyya. The Fatimid dome over the Sa'di shrine at Bab al-Nasr has been under discussion since the 19th century. However, recent research has suggested an earlier construction date, possibly as early as the 12th century. The dome was originally built as a mausoleum for the legendary Sufi master Hariri, who is said to have been buried there. The dome has undergone several renovations and additions over the centuries, with the latest works carried out in the 1990s.

The current structure was built in 1994, replacing an earlier dome that was destroyed in an earthquake. The dome is considered one of the most popular in Upper Egypt, and it is a significant landmark for both locals and visitors.

The dome is also a site of religious significance, hosting a number of Sufi orders and practices. The Muradiyya, for example, has a tekke (a Sufi lodge) located nearby. The dome is regularly visited by pilgrims and tourists, who come to pay their respects and seek blessings from the venerated saint.

In conclusion, the Sa'diyya dome is a testament to the rich cultural and religious heritage of Upper Egypt. Its history and significance continue to attract the attention of scholars and visitors alike.
SA'DIYYA — SADJ


The most important healing powers ascribed to sa’dî are the following. If the wood, after burning, is extinguished with the juice of the horned poppy (Glaucium corniculatum L., Papaveraceae) and rubbed on the eyes, and so people

...
According to I. Goldzihcr, the oldest form of Arabic poetic metre, since radjaz ['q. v.'], the oldest meter of Arabic prosody, is nothing but a "rhythmisch diszipliniertes saff" ('Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie, i, 76; the same opinion by Wellhausen, Reste, i, 155 n. 3), whilst Landberg (La langue arabe et ses dialectes, Leiden 1905, 712) rejected this view and thought that radjaz and radjaza were equally ancient (cf. A. Musil, Die Gitten der Dichter, New York 1928, 403 ff.). Concerning the connection of radjaz and its derivatives r-dj- in and n-dj- with the pagan cult, see Fahd, op. cit., 153 ff.

In origin, saff and radjaza must have designated approximately the same idea, sc. the state of ecstasy, the oracular pronouncement which ensued and its formal expression. But gradually, radjaz took on a more specialised meaning, sc. that of the oracular utterance of war. Henceforth, radjaz was gradually removed from the functions of the kahin and came to approach more closely those of the shg tir ['q. v.'], two functions primitively combined in one person (see Goldzihcr, Die Gitten der Dichter, in ZDMG, xl [1891], 685 ff.; and Kahin: Muhammad considered as kahin and shg tir, but progressively differentiated, since their respective sources of inspiration grew more diverse. It is in this sense that one can say that radjaz was the origin of secular poetry, whereas saff reigned the mode of expression of the diviner, who was always as conservative as the priest with whom he was often identified.

The sources for the first centuries of Islam have preserved for us a large number of oracular pronouncements in saff, attributed by tradition to the pre-Islamic kahins and kahines. They are generally considered by critics as "more or less successful pastiches" (R. Blachere, Introduction au Coran, 178 n. 242); however, they are taken as pieces of linguistic evidence. Blachere continues, "In effect, these are apocrypha, but capable of evoking compositions now disappeared for ever" (HLA, ii, 189-90). And further on, he adds that one might ask oneself whether these apocryphal oracular sayings do not reflect, more than one thinks, the ancient "prophecies" of the kahins, addressing their tribe in a clumsy and unpolished language (192). Noldke avoided pronouncing on their antiquity, at the same time allowing this to emerge clearly (G des Q, i, 75 n. 1). Wellhausen wrote that the oldest surs of the Kur'an were the most important pieces of evidence for the style of the kahins ('Reste', 137 n. 4). Fück averred that the feature of rhyme in the ecstatic outpourings of the ancient diviners was above all that of the common language, and this was the same for the Kur'an (Arabia, Fr. tr. Paris 1955, 129-30).

References to these oracular sayings are collected together in Fahd, op. cit., 159 1; their themes have been briefly enumerated by Wellhausen, op. cit., 135, see also Noldke, loc. cit.). Wellhausen brings out the following features, often borrowed from procedures attested in the Kur'an. The kuhhan have the custom of covering themselves at the time of their visions, whence the name Dhu l-khamsa "the man with the veil" given to some of them. They use the poetic form saff, short, parallel phrases, of which four to six are held together by a single rhyme. He wrote that "das saff ist ohne Zweifel die älteste Form der Poesie, entsprechend dem hebräischen Parallelismus der Glieder" (i, 153 n. 3). They are often themselves surprised in the face of their strange visions and utterances (mad adhkara), a formula cited 13 times in the Kur'an but not attested in non-Kur'anic oracular pronouncements. They begin with formulae of swearing, and swear by the sun (XCI, 1), the moon (CXI, 1; LXIV, 32; LXX XIV, 18) and the stars (LIII, 1; LXXVI, 1-2), by the evening (LXXXIV, 16; CIII, 1) and the morning (LXXXIX, 1; LXIV, 34; XCI, 1; XCI, 115; XCI, 1), by the clouds (LI, 2) and the winds (L, 2; LXXVII, 1 ff.?), by the mountains (XCV, 1 (Yàkit), BTL, 115 ff.) and the rivers (LI, 7 ?), by the plants (XC, 1) and animals (LI, 1 ff.?) by the woodpecker (?) and the pigeon (?), by the wolf and the frog (see al-Tabari, i, 1933-4). Noldke only enumerates the sites and edges of the roads, animals (?) and birds (?), the day (XCI, 3; XCI, 2) and the night (CXXIV, 33; LXX, 17; XCI, 4; XCI, 1-2), the light and the darkness, the sun, moon and stars, the heavens (LI, 7; LXXVII, 1; LXV, 9; LXXVI, 11; XCI, 5) and the earth (LXXVI, 12; XCI, 6).

The two authors give shape to the model of the Arabic oracular utterance on the basis of the ancient surs of the Kur'an, in so far as they are convinced that Muhammad utilised the style of the inspired persons of Arabia, whose roots go back to the ancient Semitic past. It should, however, be noted that there are some Kur'anic sayings which are marked by the cosmicogonic, eschatological and prophetic ideas of monotheism, such as XXXVII, 1 ff.; LII, 1 ff. (cf. XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 1; XXXIII, 1; XLII, 1; XLIII, 1; LXXIV, 34; LXIV, 102; LXXV, 2; XCI, 7; LI, 1 ff.; LXXIX, 1 ff.; LXXIX, 1 ff.; C, 1 ff.).

There was, consequently, an adaptation in the Kur'an of the oracular saying to the exigencies of the new concepts which it had to express, a process of adaptation which, on the whole, led to the Prophetic aim of freeing himself from all the compromising forms of paganism in order to place in relief the originality of his own message and its transcendence.

From this fact, one can say that, although its vision of the created universe, whose witness it invokes solemnly, is expressed by the stylistic forms of divination, their spirit and terminology—which must have undergone substantial changes—do not permit us to discern the primitive model which must certainly have been much more sober and poorer in ideas; likewise, in the eyes of the nomads, the image of its inspirer must have been sketchy and the idea which they formed of themselves must have been feeble.

There is an analysis of some oracular utterances representative of the genre in La divination arabe, 192 ff.: one of 'Amr b. Luhayy, two of Tarifa, one of the kahins of the lyd, one of the kahins of the B. Asad, one of the kahins of the B. Ghann, and those of the legendary Shikk and Satîth.
the night—the case of the hdtif [q. v.—or through an idol—this is ventriloquism, cf. Fahd, op. cit., 171-4—or by the summoning of the spirits of the dead—sc. necromancy [see FAL, ]—or, finally, by the interpretation of the behaviour of living or inanimate objects—this is cleromancy [see FAL, ] oneiromancy [see VRV] and all similar procedures [see DAFR, FARA, HURF, KITILAIJ, KAFF, KATIF, KHATT, KUR'A and MAYSIR]. All these forms arising out of the oracular utterances can be found attested in the traditional literature.

Bibliography this article is essentially taken from Fahd, op. cit., Paris 1987, 140-76, where can be found details and references. (T. Fahd)

2. Outside kahana before Islam.

Other uses of rhymed sayings refer to weather phenomena. There are two genres. One is represented by a closed corpus of astrometeorological sayings of the Bedouins, the nasad edages [see ANW], which form a kind of a farmer’s calender. They relate the heliacal rising of a star, or group of stars, to certain weather changes and activities connected with them. Characteristically, they start with nigah tala’a [‘t-nadjm], ‘when [the Pleiades] rise,’ and usually consist of between four and six cola rhyming with the name of the star(s). The oldest preserved book on the anwa3 is Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889 a[l-]) says at the beginning of his K. Wasf al-matar wa ‘l-sahab, ed. M. Hamdullah and Ch. Pellat, Haydarabad-Deccan 1375/1956; here the sayings are introduced with yakuš sadf u ‘t-arab, ‘the rhymed of the Arabs/Bedouins says,’ or, more freely, ‘a rhymed folk-saying is.’

The other genre is descriptions of clouds and rain in what one might call Bedouin ornate prose. It is mostly characterised by ‘strophic’ sadf; i.e. a change of the rhyme after two, three, or four cola. Typical is also a liberal use of recherché arabic vocabulary. Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933 [q. v.]) says at the beginning of his K. Wasf al-matar wa ‘l-sahab, ed. Izz al-Din al-Tanukhi, Damascus 1382/1963: ‘This is a book in which we have gathered together what the Bedouins (‘arab) before and after Islam have said in the way of rain and cloud description.’ Some of the specimens collected in his book are clearly Islamic (e.g. at 30-1), others leave the impression of lexical études; but given the enormous importance of spotting rain and pasture, there is nothing inherently unlikely in stylised or even somewhat hieratic language already before Islam.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): C. Pellat, Dictions rimés, anwād et mactions tunaires chez les Arabes, in Arabica, ii (1955), 17-41. (W.P. Heinrichs)

3. In Arabic literature of the Islamic period.

Since pre-Islamic times, the word sadf in the sense ‘to recite or speak with assonances, using cadenced verse,’ has denoted a type of more or less rhythmical prose of which the principal characteristic is the use of rhymed units which are generally quite short (from 4 to 10 syllables, on average), terminated by a clausula. These units are grouped sequentially on a common rhyme. The rhymed or assonanced clausula at the end of each rhythmic unit constitutes the essential element of sadf5, which is appropriately translated as ‘rhymed and rhythmic prose.’ It seems that this mode of expression pre-dates free prose and even metrical poetry, with which it has numerous aspects in common, but from which it is distinguished by the absence of metre and of a single rhyme. In the opinion of some scholars, this stylistic form could have been the origin of metrical and prosodic poetry.

A. Principal phases in the evolution of sadf6

The origins of sadf in literature.

Although no doubt apocryphal or corrupt, some examples of pre-Islamic rhymed and rhythmic prose have been preserved. They consist for the most part of proverbs, maxims, stories and legends (R. Blachère, HLA, ii, 190). Here there are also found formulas chanted communally on the occasion of the Pilgrimage to Mecca (see EP, TALIBIA; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Les pélerinage à la Mekke, Paris 1923, 179-80). Sadf had, furthermore, close links with magic; for these, see section 1, above. Also, the group of men who led the pre-Islamic Arab tribe often included among its members an eminent orator (khatib), who should not be confused with the kāhin, although the same person might be both soothsayer and khatib.

When he was not a poet himself, ‘the orator played a role analogous to that of the poet, in acting as the spokesman of the tribe in embassies, gatherings and fairs, also in aiming through his oratory the tribal sentiment of the members of his group’ (Ch. Pellat, Langue et littérature arabes, 58). A semi-legendary individual, Kuss b. Sā‘ida al-Iyādī [q. v.], was considered the greatest orator of the Djāhilīyya [q. v.], (al-Dāhib, Bayān, i, 52). His eloquence became proverbial, so that there were expressions such as ablab ascend Kuss (‘more eloquent than Kuss’) (al-Maydānī, Madjma‘, i, 117-18). The Prophet Muhammad, during his adolescence, is supposed to have encountered him delivering a sermon (kūsha) while mounted on his camel at ‘Ukāk. Then, some years later, the Prophet is said to have had occasion to recite in public a passage from this speech, which is no doubt apocryphal but is famous nonetheless, and which begins thus: ayuha l-nās / 'iddgarna / wa-smarn / wa-tamīna / Man 'āqā mā a-ta ma-na ma-ta fā / w-kul/ka ma hawa dīna ait (Bayān, i, 52, 308-9) (‘O [good] people/gather [around me] / hear / and ponder / Every living being is mortal / he who dies belongs [for ever] to the past / and everything which [must] come to pass will [assuredly] come to pass’).

Connections of sadf with the Kurān.

Form and stylistic refinement play a very important role in the Kurān, of which one of the principal characteristics is assonance. It is striking to ascertain to what extent the monumental poetry of the Arabic language is akin to rhymed and rhythmic prose which—without being used there systematically—nevertheless constitutes its most remarkable artistic peculiarity. The sūra ‘The Men’ (al-Nās, CXIV), for example, consists of eight very short rhythmic units. By means of examples of this type, the Kurān fully legitimised sadf.

However, instead of profiting from this providential legitimisation, of developing and expanding, rhymed prose, contrary to all expectation, encountered a certain reticence on the part of a large number of the disciples of the new religion. Thus, in spite of this evident kinship and probably on account of it, sadf was to experience a net decline and suffer a long eclipse. Although the reasons for this discredit are not entirely clear, it is possible to identify some of the factors responsible. It is known, first of all, that the Prophet Muhammad then was to experience a number of occasions by his adversaries of being a common soothsayer, and that some of them were intent on comparing the revealed text to the vaticinations of the kuhban of the Djāhilīyya. On the other hand, the Muslims of the time dissociated themselves from this mode of expression which, in their view, was still too
closely linked to magic and to certain practices belonging to paganism (al-Djahiz, Bayân, i, 289-90).

Furthermore, the decline of rhymed and rhythmic prose was a logical consequence of the dogma of the ‘rare quality of the Qur’an’ (Kur‘an), a principle respected by the entire community. However, in spite of this suspicious attitude towards saдж’s, the latter was never completely banned. It succeeded in surviving, for almost two centuries, especially in the oral form. Muhammad’s oration at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage in 10/631 belongs within the framework of this oratorical genre which, subsequently, struck a moderate and considerable success. After the death of the Prophet, the orators (al-khutaba3) spoke in saдж before the first four caliphs without exposing themselves thereby to the least criticism (Bayân, i, 290) (but it should nevertheless be noted that, since at that time, many orators used saдж-less prose, the authenticity of speeches in saдж is very much in question).

Under the Umayyads, the multiplicity of politico-religious parties gave a facet favourable to the development of the oratorical art, skillfully cultivated by political figures who knew how to make an impression on audiences who remained in spite of everything very partial to saдж. Around the mosques, the tellers of edifying stories (kussads, pl. of kass [q.v.]) charmed the crowds, telling them edifying stories (kisja [q.v.]) in seductive language (Pellat, Le milieu bâzîrîen, 108 ff.).

Another resounding speech was that which was delivered by al-Hadîjâdic b. Yûsûf [q.v.], the new governor of ‘Irâk, on arriving in Kûfâ in 75/694 (Bayân, ii, 138-40; M. Messadi, Essai sur le rythme, 117). Of untypical violence, the harangues of al-Hadîjâdic were full of threats designed to intimidate all those who opposed the central power of Damascus. In a general fashion, the expansion of Islam played a capital role in the development of the oratorical art.

Official and progressive rehabilitation of saдж

Under the reign of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (65-85/685-705), Arabic was finally established as the administrative language of the Arabo-Muslim empire. In gradual stages, a specialised bureaucracy came into being. Scribes distinguished themselves in the epistolary genre, official and private. The most eminent among them, ‘Abd al-Hamîd b. Yâbûk, nicknamed al-Kârîb (d. 133/750 [q.v.]), created the administrative style which was, at the outset, a sort of moderately rhymed and ornate prose. In a well-known epistle (risâla [q.v.]), he established the rules of the profession of the kâtib [q.v.] and authorised to some extent a more or less discreet return to saдж, which progressively becomes fashionable again through the expedients of the administration and of the chancelleries.

Ibn al-Mukafîa (d. ca. 140/757 [q.v.]), a disciple of ‘Abd al-Hamîd, followed the latter’s example in composing manuals to be used by scribes. Subsequently, he attempted to extend the use of this elegant but moderately rhymed and ornate prose. In a well-known epistle (risâla [q.v.]), he established the rules of the profession of the kâtib [q.v.] and authorised to some extent a more or less discreet return to saдж, which progressively becomes fashionable again through the expedients of the administration and of the chancelleries.

Ibn al-Mukafîa (d. ca. 140/757 [q.v.]), a disciple of ‘Abd al-Hamîd, followed the latter’s example in composing manuals to be used by scribes. Subsequently, he attempted to extend the use of this elegant but relatively sober style to texts of a more literary nature. This is what he did in his adaptation in Arabic of the Indian fables known by the title of Kâtîla wa-Dimnâ (collections of Indian fables known by the title of Kalila wa-Dimna [q.v.]), which is considered one of the first books written in literary prose. The successful experiment was followed up and amplified by a number of authors of the 3rd/9th century and most notably by al-Djahiz. This author played a primary role in the rehabilitation of saдж. He contributed to this by adopting attitudes in favour of rhymed and rhythmic prose, which he defended on numerous occasions in his work and in the Bayân in particular (i, 287-91, iii, 29). But the best homage which he rendered to saдж consisted in the fact that he practised it himself ‘with the flexibility, the intelligence and the sense of proportion which appear in all his prose and which give it its subtle and rare quality’ (Messadi, Essai, 159).

The defeat of the modernist trend and the appearance of the neo-classical movement, which engendered a certain latitudo with regard to ancient poetry, seem to have had the effect of compelling a large number of writers of the 3rd/9th century towards the more free and more varied rhythms of saдж.

From the 6th/10th century onward, saдж enjoyed immense success. Little by little, it invaded all domains of literature. ‘It would seem that the basis of this invasion is to be sought in the high respect accorded to the works of poets by the unanimous opinion of the educated classes. Becoming the substance of literature, a fully harmonious prose... represents, in the eyes of people in love with poetry, a Cinderella figure. Her simplicity seems to them like poverty, and in order to keep her preserved they learn to make it appropriate to adorn her with at least one of the ornaments of her sister and rival, this being rhyme’ (W. Marçais, La langue arabe).

In this period, the use of saдж became generalised, in the first instance among the secretaries of the administration who adopted the habit of furnishing their texts with rhetorical artifices and literary reminiscences.

The eminent vizier of the Buayid princes, al-Sâhib Ibûn ‘Abbad (326-85/938-95 [q.v.]), left a collection of letters of great value. The writer and philosopher Abû Hayyân al-Tawhîdî (after 400/1009 [q.v.]) often compared to al-Djahiz for his style, of which one of the essential characteristics was the use of saдж which was both erudite and simple. Bâdî’ al-Zamân al-Hamadhânî (357-96/968-1007 [q.v.]) was one of the most illustrious epistolary stylists of the 4th/10th century. After being the protegé of al-Sâhib Ibn ‘Abbad, he went to seek his fortune at Nîshâpûr. A collection of his letters in artistic prose has been preserved. There was in fact a veritable explosion at this time of ornate prose, seen further in the rasâil (collections of which have also been preserved) by Abû Isâhâk Ibrahim b. Hilâl al-Sâhibî, Abû Bakr al-‘Irânî, Ibn al-Amîd and Kâbûs b. Wûghmâगîr. It was even used for recording history, seen in al-‘Uthîr’s al-Ta’rikh al-Yamînî. Another major name emerges from the host of letter-writers of the later centuries, this being al-Kâdî al-Fâdîl (529-96/1135-1200 [q.v.]) who was for a long time the secretary of administration and then associate and vizier of Sâlah al-Dîn; and he had an equally illustrious ‘competitor’ in Dîyâ’ al-Dîn Ibûn al-‘Atîqî and his collection of rasâil, likewise published. The few specimens of his official writings which have been preserved are characterised by the almost systematic use of rhyme, a highly-affected style which tends to be somewhat wearisome, an abundance of metaphors and of rhetorical devices. This style was to serve as a model in the chancelleries of later periods.

The makâmâ [q.v.]

Al-Hamadhânî’s masterpiece is his collection of ‘sessions’ which are stories characterised by the use of rhymed and rhythmic prose, sometimes blended with verse, and by the presence of two imaginary persons, the hero and the narrator. In his makâmî, al-Hamadhânî did not use saдж in a systematic manner. He resorted to free prose, for example, in the transitions or when he wanted to quicken the pace of the narrative. In any case, ‘he remains perfectly the

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master of his thought; the rhythmic units designed to convey the idea are constructed according to its terms, the idea is not at all dependent on them" (R. Blachère, Stones, 36).

The principal successor to al-Hamadhānī was a grammarian of Bāṣra, al-Hārīrī (446-516/1054-1112 [q.v.]), who not only gave the "session" its classic and definitive form, but also, and more significantly, composed the finest monument of sadf which the Arabs possess. Al-Hārīrī is considered by many Arab critics an incompareable stylist. The interest and the originality of the narrative do not interest him greatly. His principal concern is the style, the rhetoric and the artistic prose and, most important of all, the Kurānic and the Holy Qurān. His rhythmic units can, in fact, be limited to two or three units as diverse as love, wine, religion or Sufism. The subject addressed, history, geography or medicine, were arranged in impeccable sequences. The structure of the Arabic language has without a doubt favoured the emergence of sadf and its considerable development, from the Ḥadhīlīyah to the present day. The great variety of morphological themes of the same syllabic structure and of identical or similar rhythm constitutes an inexhaustible supply of clausulas rich in rhyme for lovers of assonance and of verbal sonority. Thus the pattern fiṭḥā is common to a singular such as kisām ("book"), ḥaḍām ("reproach") or to a plural such as kisām ("doggs"). Similarly, the patterns hamār ("red") and abūrāh ("poets") offer at the end identical cadences (Blachère, HLA, ii, 189).

1. External characteristics of sadf

(1) The arithmetical rhythm

A text written in sadf is articulated in members of a sentence, the length of which remains within the limit beyond which breath is exceeded. The exigencies of breath, in this context, are important since rhymed prose—like poetry—is intended to be recited before an audience, aloud and having regard to a form of delivery which should be neither too fast nor too slow. Nevertheless, the composer of artistic prose has a fairly wide margin of manoeuvre at his disposal. His rhythmic units can, in fact, be limited to two or three
syllables, just as they can be extended to comprise 13 or 14. The hemistich, the rhythmic unit of verse, which like sadf is subject to the requirements of breath, comprises from 8 to 15 syllables, according to the length of the metre in question. For this reason, there is a tendency to recite the line, not in its entirety and in a single breath, which is difficult, but hemistich by hemistich (Messadi, Essai, 17).

In his Maqal al-sârîr (i, 257-8), Ibn al-Athîr distinguished between two types of sadf: a short type and a long. The unit of measure which he used to determine the average length of each of these two types of sadf is not one but the whole line, which leads him to draw very approximative conclusions. In fact, he defined the short sadf as that where each rhythmic unit could comprise from two to a maximum of ten words. Beyond this limit, there begins the long sadf, the members of which may be moderately long (11 to 15 words), long (15 to 20 words), and very long (20 words and more). Ibn al-Athîr stressed his own preference for the short sadf, stating that the fewer words there are in each of the parts of the couplet, so much the better (ibid., i, 257).

The rhythmic units being often coupled with clausulas on the same rhyme, the couplets thus constituted can be perfect or unequal. They are perfect when their two members are equal. Ibn al-Athîr considered this type of sadf as that "which occupies the most noble rank, on account of the equilibrium which characterises it" (ibid., i, 255). But too much equilibrium and regularity engender a monotonity and lassitude, which often spoil the rhymed prose of al-Harîrî but which al-Hamadhanî was able to avoid by means of the rhythmic variety of his style. On the other hand, to perfect couplets, Badiî al-Zamân preferred unequal couplets, of which the first member is longer than the second. This category of couplet has the advantage of conforming to the requirements of breath, demanding less effort in the second, shorter member, than in the first, longer member. Ibn al-Athîr, on the other hand, had no regard for this latter type of combination; for, he explained, being shorter than the first, the second member "then resembles a thing so mutilated that the listener remains tense like one who stumbles, falling short of an objective which he seeks to attain" (ibid., i, 257). This point of view is developed by the author himself, Badiî, who is hardly surprising, given that it was the makâtib of al-Harîrî which served as the basic text for Messadi's study of sadf and that, as mentioned above, al-Hamadhanî had a predilection for couplets in which the first member was longer than the second. The very rare exceptions to this rule, in the work of Badiî al-Zamân, are generally justified by the sense (cf. Messadi, Essai, 23-4).

The third and final category of couplet is that where the second member is longer than the first. It seems that this is less common and less appreciated than the other two. In any case, couplets of this type are rare in the "sessions" of al-Hamadhanî who was, no doubt, obliged to avoid them because they contradicted the requirements of breathing. In this regard, Ibn al-Athîr adopted a more equivocal position. He reckoned, in fact, that unequal couplets with longer final member were acceptable so long as the latter was "of such a length as to detract excessive-ly from equilibrium" (Mathal, i, 255).

If, in sadf, the couplet is the rule, often the rhythmic units are arranged in groups of three, four or more, on a single rhyme, and contain a perceptibly equal number of syllables. In many cases also, one or more free members, not linked by a single rhyme, succeed, for some reason or another, a series of coupled elements. Such an unexpected independent member, abruptly interrupting the cadence, can be refreshing. "It facilitates, by the relaxation thus obtained, the repetition of the cadence" (Messadi, Essai, 28).

While al-Hamadhanî resorted very frequently to free members, which represent approximately a quarter of his sadf, al-Harîrî avoided them, thus excluding free prose entirely from his makâtib but thereby rendering his style rigid and monotonous.

(2) The rhyme

To avoid confusion between the rhyme of verse (kafîya [q. v.]), and that of sadf, the Arab rhetoricians refer to the latter by the name of fâsla, karîna, sadf or sadfâ, which they define as "the correspondence of words in a position of rhyme through an identical [final] consonant" (al-'Askarî, Sûrat'atân, 262; Ibn al-Athîr, Maqal, i, 210). Rather more prolixly, Ibn Wahb al-Kitâb gives the following definition: "The sadf (rhyme) in prose is similar to the kafîya (rhyme) in poetry" (al-Burhân, 208-9). Rhyme is one of the essential components of the rhythm of sadf. It constitutes the most apparent phonetic link between two or more rhythmic units, and permits "the prominent setting of the periodicity which is the distinguishing mark of sonant rhythm" (Messadi, 29). It is this which "regulates the cadence and marks the measure", thus separating, like a frontier, the rhythmic members of a text in sadf.

The richness of the rhyme can be very variable. It is sometimes reduced to the final consonant, then comprising only a single consonantal and a single vocalic element. But more complex combinations exist, formed of two or three corresponding consonantal and vocalic elements, or even more. In the "session" of the Fazâra of al-Hamadhanî, for example, there is a pair of consecutive clausulas in which sadfîn rhyme with djanibât. One might mention also that the rhyme in the pausal form in prose is in contradiction from the rhyme in poetry (at least, in most cases) which has a vocalic element after the rauâ (kafîya muâlaka), i.e. kitâb vs. kitâbâ.

Being the most striking external characteristic of sadf, rhyme gradually comes to be seen as the fundamental element. Inferior composers of rhythmic prose, especially from the 5th/11th century onward, tended to accord it too much importance, seeing it as identical with sadf itself. However, despite appearances, rhyme plays a considerably more modest role. Admittedly, it brings to rhythmic prose the component of timbre and contributes to the regulation of the cadence of the sadf by fixing the limit which separates the rhythmic groupings, but it has no influence at all over the formation and the structuring of the latter.

II. Internal structures of sadf

While the poet is subject to the double constraint of metre and of single rhyme, the writer in sadf enjoys far greater freedom since, in principle, only rhyme is expected of him. Totally unforeseeable at the outset, the internal rhythm of the phrase depends on the talent of the writer himself. The first grouping of a couplet or of a series is always spontaneous and absolutely free, while the construction of the second is determined by that of the first, and should reflect it in a more or less faithful manner. Thus, unlike in poetry, the rhythmic unit in sadf is the whole couplet and not the clausula alone, like the hemistich with regard to verse.
Sometimes the two members of the couple present identical phonetic patterns. The symmetrical correspondences of long and of short syllables are then perfect. Here, for example, is a couplet with numerically equal panels:

yudthu l-shra wa l-shru yudthubh // wa-yadu l-shra wa l-shru yudthubh

... He (sc. the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā) poetizes melody and poetry melts him // He calls upon the enchantment and enchantment replies to him ...

Besides phonetic coupling, another element engenders and regulates the rhythm also: this is semantic parallelism. The groupings which rhyme together are very often closely linked by a relationship of sense. Al-Djahiz, who did not seek out rhyme at all costs, but from a love of balance, showed himself very stern in this regard, and, in particular, to

the predominance of short syllables is raised to the highest point, this is rhymed and by definition the rhythm is a reflection of timbre” (in this regard, the remarks made by Messadi concerning the Makdāmī of al-Hamadhānī apply most often to sadī in general; see his Essay, 47-51).
tion of the Ribâb, in obedience to one of her revelations, but were severely beaten. Repairing to al-Nabâb (in Yamâma) they suffered a second defeat at the hands of the Banû Amr, and Sâdжа had to promise that she would leave the territory of the Tamim. Followed by the Yarbâb, she decided to join the prophet Musâylîma [q. v.], who still controlled most of Yamâma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore her own. Their encounter happened at al-Amwâr or at Hâdjîr. Musâylîma was menaced by the Muslim army, and the neighbouring tribes threatened to shake off their authority. To save the remains of a vanquished, ambitious and desperate colleague, accompanied by many armed followers, proved a trying, indeed a dangerous visitation. There is no reliable account of the hour of his tragic death. Al-Tabârî preserves this union, which must have been rather a political alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to one version, the strange alliance than a lustful orgy; the wedding, according to one version, the meeting: according to one version, the wedding, according to another, the marriage, and says that the prophet tried to persuade his rival and would-be ally to attack the Muslims, hoping thus to get rid of her; on her refusal he offered, if she consented to depart, half the year's crops of Yamâma; she declined to go unless he promised half of the next year's harvest as well, set off with the first part of the booty, and left her representatives with Musâylîma to wait for the rest, repairing to her kinsfolk. The second part of the ransom was never collected, as Musâylîma was vanquished and massacred by Khâlid ibn al-Hawrân before the next harvest.

Whatever the outcome of Sâdжа's relations with Musâylîma, her own career was either merged into his, or cut short by repulse, and we hear nothing more of her mission. According to all accounts, she went to Yamâma, in order to unite their fortunes or to restore the territory of the Tamim under the Umayyads, lived and died there a Muslim, and was buried with the customary prayers and ceremonies.


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Village half-way to the east of the route from Kâbul to Ghazni in the vicinity of Sayyidâbâd, dominated by a high-lying citadel, now in ruins, called Takht-i Sâdジャ or Shâh-i (Shabd-i) Djamshid. On the foot of this mound is placed the mausoleum of Khâdjâ Khâmîm (Muhammad). Here, even today, the Shaykh is revered as a great and popular Kurgan reader. His system of five, or seven, kinds of pauses in recitation of the Kurân (1. *lazim = m*, 2. *mu'allak = i*, 3. *dâl = d*, 4. *mu'awwas = wawâd = z*, 5. *mu'akkâl ãafr = d*, and 6. *ka'd kâfr = t*), is retained, as *tâ'ânis* not only in the East but it is also substantially adopted in the official Cairo edition of the Kurân (Gesch. des Qur., iii, 236-7).

The manuscripts of his K. al-Wâkîf or al-Wâkîf uâ 'l-tâbisal are numerous. These are differentiated into: (a) a complete or ‘greater’ book, (b) a brief or ‘shorter’ book, often commented and glossed by others, and (c) compendia on this topic by later compilers who follow al-Sâdжаwândî's system, also in verses (Garrett 2067, 1). The ‘greater’ as well as the ‘shorter’ wâkîf book should have originated from his K. 'Ayn al-tâfisîr, which has not been discovered until today. According to the somewhat younger Ibn al-Kiftî [q. v.] (Inbâh, iii, 153), al-Sâdжаwândî in this commentary on the Kurân treated also kizâ'at, nahu, lughâ, gawhari, âdî, etc. His son Abu Nasr (Abû Dja'far?) Ahmed—father and son are sometimes confused—excerpted and presumably modified his father's work under the title K. Insân al-'âsîn. Under several other titles attributed to the father dealing with specific themes seem to be hidden other excerpts and adaptations of his main work, for example on syntax and etymology, on strange words and morphology (e.g. Mâkhâzî, Gâwar Shâd, iii [1367/1988], 1617 no. 1161).

Allāh [q.o.]; M."A. Mudarris, Rāyḥanāt al-adabā', Tabriz 1347/1968, ii, 443. (R. SELLEHAM)

SADJDJA (s.) "bowing down", the name of two Kur'ānic suras (XXII, also called tanzil al-sadjda, and XLI, more commonly called fassiyat or hā-mīm) and within the technical phrase sadjad (or sadijat, or plural sadjud) al-tildwa, fussilat and XLI, more commonly called D passages (variant traditions suggest 16, 11, 10, or 4 passages) which require a ritual of bowing to be performed at the end of their recitation. The passages are marked in the margin of the Kur'ān text, usually with the word masjid/masjud is used). The passages vary in their suggestions regarding the practice. Some are direct commands to perform it: XXII, 77, "O you who believe, perform the prostration and bow down" (but it is primarily the Shāfi'i tradition which implements bowing here and sometimes omits it at XXII, 18, thus maintaining a total of 14 verses of sadjud; XLI, 37-8, which indicates that God should be bowed down to, not the sun and the moon; LIII, 62, "So bow down to God and worship" (this verse is not included in some versions of the Mālikī tradition of sadjud); and XCVI, 19, "Bow down and approach (God)" (not included in the Mālikī tradition). The command is expressed negatively in LXXIV, 20-1, "What is with those who do not believe? When the Kur'ān is read to them, they do not bow down" (again, not included in the Mālikī tradition).

Less than commands but suggestive of Muslim practice are passages which speak of the past: XVII, 107-09, which speaks of those who "given the knowledge before you (Muhammad), when it is recited to them, fall on their faces, bowing down"; XIX, 58, which describes the patriarchs who bowed when the signs/verses of the Merciful were recited; and XXXVIII, 23 as in the printed text) is mentioned; the practice in relationship to Kur'ān XIX, 58 (not XXXII, 15 as in the printed text) is mentioned; the emphasis of the chapter in this book, however, falls on weeping (bukā') during recitation, a practice which in later texts (e.g. al-Nawawī, d. 1278/1961), al-Dā'ī’ī, ed. M. Muranly, Wiesbaden 1992, 62-78, sadjad is treated fully, in a manner similar to later hadīth collections.

The hadīth books are replete with references to bowing in recitation and the practice of the bowings in the various passages may be established through their testimony. Much of the hadīth material reflects a debate over whether the practice was actually required or simply meritorious. Later jurists discussed many additional aspects of this practice, including what to do when one hears somebody else reciting a verse which requires sadjad and whether (and in what context) the sadjad could be delayed.

After any one of those passages is recited, whether in the context of salāt or sadjad in general, the following ritual will be observed, although the precise details vary between the legal schools: the takbir is pronounced, a prostration is performed such that the forehead touches the ground, words of praise or supplication appropriate to the verse in question are uttered, and the takbir is uttered again upon rising. Performing these acts requires the state of ritual purity associated with prayer.

Among the oldest datable sources dealing with bowing during Kur'ān recitation is Abū Ḫayyād (d. 224/838), Fida’ al-Kur’ān, Beirut 1991, 66, where the practice in relationship to Kur'ān XIX, 58 (not XXXII, 15 as in the printed text) is mentioned; the emphasis of the chapter in this book, however, falls on weeping (bukā') during recitation, a practice which in later texts (e.g. al-Nawawī, d. 1278/1961), al-Dā'ī’ī, ed. M. Muranly, Wiesbaden 1992, 62-78, sadjad is treated fully, in a manner similar to later hadīth collections.


SARDJADHUsayn, Sayyid [see HiojA. iv Urd.)

SADJDJA (s., pl. sadjudjud, sadjudjud, sadjjud), the carpet on which the salāt [q.o.] is performed. The word is found neither in the Kur'ān nor in the canonical hadīth; the occasional use of a floor-covering of some kind was, however, known at quite an early period.

1. Early tradition. In the Hadīth [q.o.] we are often told how Muhammad and his followers performed the salāt on the floor of the mosque in Medina after a heavy shower of rain, so that their noses and heads came in contact with the mud (e.g. abukhrārī, Adīn, bāb 135, 151; Muslim, Siyām, nads 214-16, 218, etc.). At the time when such traditions arose, the use of some form of carpet was not so general that their origin can be dated so far back as the time of the Prophet. In a series of traditions, the saying is put into Muhammad’s mouth that it was his privilege, in contrast with the other prophets, that the earth was to be for him masjid wa-tahur (e.g. al-Bukhari, Taṣawwum, bāb 1; Salāt, bāb 56, etc.). Al-Tirmidhī, Salāt, bāb 130, also tells us that some fakāhī prefer the salāt upon the bare earth.

The canonical Hadīth gives us the following picture: Muhammad performs the salāt on his own garment, protecting his arms against the heat of the soil during prostration with one of its sleeves, his knees with one end of his robes and his forehead with the 'imāma (turban) or the kalansuwa (cap) [see līrās. (i).]
The central and eastern Arab lands; (al-Bukhari, Salat, bdb 22, 23; Muslim, Musnad, trad. 191; Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, i, 320). Al-Bukhari, Salat, bdb 22, tells us that Muhammad performed the salat on his frisht (quilt).

The Hadith also informs us that the salat was performed on mats; e.g. al-Tirmidhi, Salat, bdb 131, where a bizis [q. v. in Suppl.] is mentioned; also Ibn Maja, Ikmat al-salawat, bdb 63; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 232; iii, 160, 171, 184, 212; also a bagis (a mat the length of a man), e.g. al-Bukhari, Salat, bdb 20; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 52, 59, 130 ff., 145, 146, 179, 184 ff., 190, 226, 291. This tradition is also found in Muslim, Musnad, trad. 266. It is evident from Abu Dawud, Salat, bdb 91, that at the end of the 3rd/9th century, dressed skins of animals (farwa masdjhada) [see FARWA] were already being used.

We also frequently find it mentioned that Muhammad performed the salat on a khamma (al-Bukhari, Salat, bdb 21; Muslim, Musnad, trad. 270; al-Tirmidhi, Salat, bdb 129; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 269, 308 ff., 320, 358, ii, 91 ff., 98; al-Nasa`i, Musnad, bdb 43; Ibn Sa`d, i, ii, 120). According to Muhammad b. `Abd Allâh al-`Alawi's marginal glosses to Ibn Abd Allah al-Madja, Ikdma, bdbs 63, 64, the khamma afforded just sufficient room for the prostration (see above).

The word sadsdjada is found a century after the conclusion of the canonical Hadith literature. Al-Qawa, Sadisb, explains it to mean synonymous with khamma. Dozy, Suppl., quotes passages from Ibn Ba`tisja, who mentions among the customs of a certain zauwiy in Cairo that the whole congregation went to the mosque on a Friday, where a servant laid his sadsdjada ready for each one (i, 73, cf. 72). The same traveller tells us something similar regarding Malik (f.e. Malik [q.e.]) where everyone sends his servant with his sadsdjada to the mosque, to lay it ready in his place. He adds that they were made out of the leaves of a palm-like tree (iv, 422).

Some early traditions survived until this century. In Mecca, everyone in the great mosque performs the salat on a sadsdjada, usually a small carpet just large enough for the sadad [q.v.]. After use it is rolled up and carried off on the shoulder. In place of a carpet, a towel is sometimes used, for example the one used by the karta. In the mosque, the lamp was often replaced by a bouquet of flowers. Sometimes a pair of candlesticks flank the mharab; in later periods, two columns of flowers may be found. Sometimes a short text from the Kur'ân is woven at the head of the mharab. For communal family prayers, a sa`f (row), a long rug with a row of mharabs side by side, may be used. In Turkey, the sadsdjada was known as namazlik (T); in Persia, as đa-yi namaz (P).

A few rare sadsdjadas in museum and private collections are attributed to the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, but the majority of "antique" sadsdjadas date from the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries. A few earlier representations of sadsdjada survive in Persian miniatures. A manuscript of Bal'ami's translation of al-Tabari's Ta[ârîkh, painted in Shiraz about the second quarter of the 8th/14th century, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington D.C., contains a miniature of Muhammad seated upon a sadsdjada, in conversation with Abu Bakr and `Ali. The sadsdjada is here interpreted as a seat of honour, and a kind of spiritual throne. Similarly, a miniature in the Mi`râjdânamâ from Harât, dated 840/1436, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, depicts Muhammad with an aureole around his head to indicate his spiritual authority, seated upon a sadsdjada. To the left are Adam, Noah and David; to the right, Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Representations of the salat being performed are rare, but a miniature of the early 11th/17th century, in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, depicts Djahângir and his son in prayer upon two sadsdjadas; the courtiers share a large bisis.

Turkey has for centuries been famous for the production of pile carpets. When weaving a sadsdjada, the weaver uses the finest materials within his means, and his best workmanship. Turkey adheres to strict Islamic artistic tenets, wherein the representation of living creatures is forbidden. Turkish designs thus have a balanced formal structure, though the decoration is very rich, incorporating flowers with geometrical ornament. The most famous centres for the weaving of sadsdjadas are Gordes (Ghiordes) and Kula.

The artistic tenets of Islam are less rigidly interpreted in Persia, where animals and birds often appear upon many carpets. Sadsdjadas are more graceful in style than in Turkey; but though the mharab may have more naturalistic elegance, and the lamp and floral ornament more realism, when weaving a sadsdjada the injunction against representing living creatures is observed. The mharab is sometimes filled with the traditional "Tree of Life", or with a large flowering plant. A particularly rich sadsdjada may be woven with warp and weft, or even pile, of silk.

In both Turkey and Persia, the rural people and the religious societies and in the dervish orders (see 3. below).

A whole series of mystical interpretations is associated with the sadsdjada or bisid. References are found to the sadsdjada of the paths of salvation, and the profession of tawhid is called the sadsdjada of the faith.

2. Surviving examples. The distinguishing iconography of the sadsdjada as familiar today is the large central mharab [q.v.], the arch of which is placed to one end of the rug; the field may be plain or decorated. The rug is surrounded by a series of decorative borders. When spread in a mosque, the mharab is laid pointing towards the kibla [q.e.]; for private prayer in the home, the mharab is similarly laid pointing in the direction of Mecca. In early sadsdjadas, a representation of a mosque lamp is sometimes placed within the arch of the mharab; by the early 13th/19th century, the lamp was often replaced by a bouquet of flowers. Sometimes a pair of candlesticks flank the mharab; in later periods, two columns of flowers may be found. Sometimes a short text from the Kur'ân is woven at the head of the mharab. For communal family prayers, a sa`f (row), a long rug with a row of mharabs side by side, may be used. In Turkey, the sadsdjada was known as namazlik (T); in Persia, as đa-yi namaz (P).
nomadic tribes practise rug-weaving, including sadjdjadas. The designs are bold, colourful and often profusely ornamented with geometrical and stylised motifs. In addition to pile rugs, tapestry-woven rugs (kilim) are woven. The mihrab of the sadjdjada is often very simply delineated, and usually of angular form.

The rugs and sadjdjadas of the Caucasus have been little known until the 13th/19th century. The sadjdjadas have distinctive geometrical ornament, and stylised motifs of local tradition; many sadjdjadas are kilim-woven.

The normal floor-mat in India is the dari, a flat-woven pile-less rug of thick cotton. In the hot season, a light floorspread of fine cotton, painted and printed, was practical. The art of pile-carpet weaving was not introduced until the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1566) [q.v.], and even then only in the region of Burhanpur, Khandesh, in the 12th/18th century. A few rare cotton sadjdjadas survive, made in the region of Burhanpur, Khândehg, in the 12th/18th century. The design is restrained and dignified, the mihrab and the borders being ornamented with fine painted and printed floral meanders; a particularly Indian feature is the conventional representation of the domed minarets of a masjida rising from the sides of the mihrab (Irwin and Hall [1971], 26 and plate 8). Printed cotton sadjdjadas made in the late 13th/19th century at Masulipatam, at very small cost for the ordinary people, survive in museum collections.

A few rare cotton sadjdjadas survive in museum collections. The rugs are undated, but may be 12th/18th or 13th/19th century. Other dari-woven sadjdjadas, of attractive simplicity, from the 13th/19th century, survive in museum collections.
poses, the prayer rug has become neither an unmistakable sign nor an exclusive prerogative of the Sufi djalāl. Rather, most Muslims considered it to be a symbol of righteousness, an important, albeit optional, condition of ritual purity not necessarily restricted to the realm of Islamic mysticism (see e.g. E.W. Lane, Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, London-New York 1966, 73). This may explain why Ibn al-Djawzi [q.v.], the Hanbali legist who undertook an exhaustive critique of contemporary Sufi thought and practice, tellingly omits the prayer rug from his discussion of the Sufi ‘accesories’ and exotic ‘innovations’ such as living in isolated lodges (ribāt [q.v.]), donning exotic clothes (murakka’s, khirka), making light of the ablutions and the prayer, encouraging voluntary poverty and begging, indulging in disgraceful musical sessions and dances, etc. (Taḥlib Ibtī, ed. Muhammad ‘Ali Abū l-‘Abbās, Cairo 1990, 145-340). This probably indicates that, in Ibn al-Djawzi’s time at least, the sadjīda was not regarded as an exclusive feature of Sufi piety and the concomitant development of the mystical tradition. On the contrary, it has become an unreservedly link it to the Sufi piety and way of living shared by the generality of Muslims, the blessing and wondrous imaginable qualities it may possess result from the sanctifying presence of the Sufi wali, whose divinely given ‘grace’ (baraka [q.v.]) miraculously transforms everything around him. When a Sufī saint spreads his shabby prayer rug above the waves (Landolt, op. cit., 253) or performs his supererogatory prayers standing on the mat suspended in the air (Ibn ‘Arabi, al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya, Cairo 1329, i, 186; tr. in R.W.J. Austin, Sufis of Andalusia, Oxford 1971, 28-9), one realises that it is the saint, not his sadjīda, that makes such wondrous things possible. In the case of Ibn ‘Arabi’s narrative, the ordinariness of the prayer mat is intentionally stressed in order to throw into relief the supernatural powers that the presence of God’s friend conveys to it. It is noteworthy that in both cases the flying rugs are brought into play with a view to persuading some sceptical, rationalist onlookers who doubted the reality of the miracles ascribed to the Sufī saint.

In keeping with a widespread Sufi belief that was shared by the generality of Muslims, the blessing and the beneficial grace of the wali pervade all things and individuals that have come into direct contact with him/her. Such miracle-working grace does not cease with the wali’s death. It is thought to be inherited by his/her progeny. On the other hand, it is also immortalised in the wali’s shrine as well as his/her personal effects. Both symbolise the saint’s invisible presence among his/her relatives and followers. This helps to explain why such vestiges often become objects of veneration similar to that enjoyed by the relics of the Christian saints. It is against the background of this belief that one should view the concepts of the shaykh [wali] al-sadjīda and its Persian analogue sādīğīdān-nishin, meaning ‘the prayer rug sitter’ (see e.g. H.A.R. Gibb, Muhammadanism: an historical survey, Oxford 1968, 152). These terms were normally applied to leaders of Sufi communities or heads of holy lineages (see gūr) who fell heir to the spiritual authority of a revered saint. In the case of a revered saint founder (see F. Meier, Abū Sa’dī Abū Ħayr (357/440/1067-1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende, Leiden-Tehran-Liege 1976, 438-67, esp. 458). By extension, the entire mystical ‘path’ initiated by a founding saint was regarded as his/her sadjīda. It can, therefore, be treated as another synonym of ṭarīqa [q.v.], sīsilā [q.v.], and ḥāldīla [q.v.], section 3], i.e. of the terms applied to various Sufi organisations.

This usage superseded particularly prominent in Egypt and, to a lesser extent, in North Africa, whereas in the West it appears only sporadically, and does not carry the precise technical meaning ascribed to it in Western Islam (for such occasional usage, see e.g. H.R. Roemer, Staatsschriften der Timuridenzeit. Das Saraf-nama des Abdallah Marwardi in kritischer Auslegung, Wiesbaden 1952, 64, 158). In Egypt, the phrase maktūb shaykh al-sadjīda (and its correlate the term arbāb al-sadjīda), as technical terms used in official documents, do not seem to have gained wide currency before the end of the 11th/17th century. Both terms were applied to the leaders of Egypt’s major Šufi jurāk and jurāk-linked institutions, i.e. zāwiya [q.v.], takyya, and popular Šufi shrines. The term arbāb al-sadjīda, however, seems to have been reserved for the four family-based mystical associations, namely those
which traced themselves back to the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the Companions. According to F. de Jong, they were: al-Bakriyya (deriving from Abī Bakr al-Siddīk), al-Sajjadiyya (Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), al-Khuḍayriyya (al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām), and al-Wofāʾiya (Abī Taḥlib) (Turq and Turq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt, Leiden 1978, 13-14).

Of the leaders of these family jurūd, the ṣawājī ṣaḥba al-sajjadiyya was to assume special importance when in 1227/1812, in a drive to secure better state control over the Egyptian religious establishment, the Viceroy of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī (q.v.) invested the holder of that office with authority over all mystical communities (waṣīfāʾ al-fukard*A al-ṣaḥfiyya) as well as the Ṣūfī shrines and lodges of that country (al-Djabarti, ʿAhydrate al-bakriyya Cairo 1297, iv, 165; for a tr. of Muḥammad ʿAlī’s firman, see de Jong, op. cit., 192-3).

For almost a century the holders of this office endeavoured, with varying success, to steer a middle course between the assertive temporal rulers and the restive leadership of Egyptian mystical associations who were anxious to preserve their independence vis-à-vis the Egyptian government (the policies pursued by the incumbents of the al-sajjadiyya al-bakriyya from 1227/1812 until 1321/1903 are analysed in de Jong, op. cit.). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the leaders of the newly-founded Egyptian jurūd had to obtain the title of al-ṣawājī ṣaḥba al-sajjadiyya from the current holder of the Bakriyya “prayer mat”, whose hereditary office was called ṣawājī ṣaḥba al-turuk al-ṣaḥfiyya. Only after the latter’s approval were they recognised by both the government and the Śūfī establishment of Egypt represented by the so-called “Śūfī Council” (al-maḏdiṣ al-ṣufī). The latter, in turn, was always presided over by the ṣawājī ṣaḥba al-bakriyya (ibid., 132-46, et passim; P. Kahle, Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Ägypten, in Isl., vi [1916], 152-3; for a recent example of a newly-founded brotherhood seeking such an approval, see M. Gilsenan, Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt, Oxford 1973, 36, where the discussion centres on the rise and subsequent functioning of a modern tariqa called al-haḍimiyah ʿaḍhdīfiyya). In modern Egyptian usage, the central office of a Śūfī order, which today appears to be a rather bureaucratised and centralised institution, is followed over the Egyptian religious establishment (cf. Gramlich, Die Schiitischen Derwischorden, passim). Of the leaders of these family jurūd, see Gramlich, Die Schiitischen Derwischorden, passim.

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Within the framework of this imposing pageant, the sadji is or the post served as token representation of the highest witnesses to the novice's oath, i.e. God and his elect saints.

The sheep-skin belonging to the Sufi leader plays a significant role in the exotic "spiritual concerts" of another Anatolian brotherhood, the Mawlawiya [q.v.]. The Mawlawi dervishes treat it simultaneously as the seat of the spiritual pole of the universe (kiyb [q.v.]), the throne of God, and a paradise on earth. It is not surprising therefore that this post enjoys special esteem for being the focal point of the Sufis' religious association. Its centrality for the Mawlawi outlook is reflected in their colourful mystical performances as described by H. Ritter (Der Reigen der "Tanzenden Derwische", in Zeitschr. f. vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, Berlin, i/2 [1933], 28-40; M. Mole, La danse extatique [q.v.]), the throne of God, and a paradise on earth. It is the seat of the spiritual pole of the universe.

Like their Turkish colleagues, modern Persian dervishes have used a post rather than a sadji in their initiatory rites, which otherwise follow the pattern of the Egyptian juruk described above (Gralmich, op. cit., 76-7 et passim). This fact, however, does not change the essence of the rite that logically flows from the mystical doctrine of wusla. This doctrine, in turn, goes back to the pre-Islamic past (for an attempt to trace its origin to shamanism, Manicheanism and Buddhism, see Landolt, op. cit., 249, 251-2).

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(A. KNYS)

SADIJDA, a line of military commanders who governed the northwestern provinces of the caliphate (Adharbayjân, Arrân and Armenia) in the later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries on behalf of the Abbasids.

The Sadjids were just some of several commanders, originally from the Iranian East and Central Asia, who came westwards to serve in the early'Abbasid armies. The family seems to have originated in Ughrûsana [q.v.] on the middle Sîr Darya in Transoxania, the region where the Afshins [q.v.] were hereditary princes until at least the end of the 3rd/9th century, and was probably of Soghdian stock; by the time the family came to prominence in Islamic history, however, it had become culturally Arabicised to a considerable extent.

Abu l-Sâdîq Dwêdâd (I) b. Yusûf Dwêdâghâf fought in the Aghânî Haydar's army against the anti-'Abbasid rebel Bâbâk al-Khurramî [q.v.] (al-Tabârî, i, 1222) and then with Tâhirîd forces in Tabaristan against the rebel Mâyâr [see Karimî] (ibid., iii, 1276). Al-Mu'tazz later appointed him governor of Aleppo and Kinnarîn, and as šâhî al-qurta police commissioner in Baghdât he was deeply involved in the strife involving the caliphs and their Turkish guards in Baghdât and Sâmârî. In 261/875 he was appointed governor of Khûzîstân, but when in the next year the Saifârid Ya'kîb b. al-Layjî [q.v.] prepared to march into Irâq against the 'Abbâsid, Abu l-Sâdîq Dwêdâd joined Ya'kîb and took part in the battle near Dâsyd-âilik [q.v.]: hence his estates and properties in 'Irâq were confiscated by al-Mu'waffak. He nevertheless stayed faithful to the Saifârids, and died at Dîvûndîshâbûr in the service of 'Amr b. al-Laytî [q.v.] in 319/931 (al-Tabârî, ii, 1937).

His two sons, Mu'mâmad and Yusûf, remained, however, in the 'Abbâsid service. Abu 'Ubayd Allâh or Abu 'l-Musâfîr Mu'mâmad was active in the 880s in operations against rebels in the Hijâz, and acted as the representative of the Saifârid 'Amr b. al-Laytî [q.v.] in the Holy Cities. On the death of the governor of Egypt and Syria'Abd b. Tûlûn [q.v.], in 270/884, he accompanied the caliphal expedition against the latter's son Khumârawya [q.v.] led by the general Ihsâk b. Kundâdîkî of Mawûsî, now appointed governor of Egypt and Syria, and took part in the tragic "Battle of the Mills". He subsequently quarrelled with Ihsâk and in the late 880s fought with him in the Mawûsî region. In 276/889-90, however, al-Mu'waffak appointed Mu'mâmad governor of Adharbâyjân, the province which from this time onwards became the focal point of the Saifârid association (12). In 280/893 he acquired Mârâgha [q.v.] from the local rebel 'Abd Allâh b. l-Hasan al-Hamdânî, and was thus involved in warfare with the Armenian Bagratid ruler Smbat (in Arabic, Sunbât) I, temporarily occupying Nahjûjîn and Dwîn [q.v.]. He now felt strong enough to rebel against his 'Abbâsid master, and it may have been at this point that he assumed the ancient Iranian title of Afgânî (see above), which appears on a dirham of his minted at Bardînâ [q.v.] in Arrân in 285/898. But he soon made peace again with al-Mu'tâdîd, was confirmed in his governorship and renewed operations against Smbat, penetrating to Kârî and Tîfîs [q.v.], and into Vaspurakan, then ruled by the Arzrunid prince Sargis Ashôt (Arabic, Ashtût) I. Mu'mâmad died of plague in Bardînâ in Rabî' I 286/March 901. The army of his son Adharbâyjân placed Mu'mâmad's son Dwêdâd (II) in the governorship at Mârâgha, but Dwêdâd was soon forced out (Sha'bân 288/[July-August 901) by his uncle Abu 'l-Kâsim Yusûf. Yusûf transferred his capital to Ardabil [q.v.]. He insisted on maintaining the direct Sa'did suzerainty over Smbat in Armenia, despite the latter's attempts to place himself directly under the caliph al-Muktafi in Baghdât and his seeking aid from the 'Abbâsid against Yusûf. However, on the accession of al-Muktafi'd Yusûf's governorship of Adharbâyjân, Arrân and Armenia was confirmed. Now with the authority of the caliph behind him, and with the powerful support within Baghdât of the vizier Ibn al-Furât [q.v.], Yusûf invaded Armenia and conducted a campaign of violence and devastation there, capturing Smbat and then in 301/914 executing him, but by ca. 304/917 recognizing the rival Armenian dynasty of the Arzrunids as his vassals (see Waqf). Yusûf now turned his attention to northern Persia and conquered Zandjân, Abhar, Kazîvin and Rayy from the governor on behalf of the Sâmânîd Mu'mâmad b. 'Ali Su'lûk, but his relations with al-Muktafi'd deteriorated and the caliph sent against his insubordinate servant an army under his commander-in-chief Mu'nis al-Mu'asâfar [q.v.], who defeated Yusûf in 307/919. At this stage, Yusûf promised to pay tribute and leave Armenian affairs to the caliph. On his release in 310/922, he was appointed governor of Adharbâyjân, Rayy and northern Djîbâl province, securing Adharbâyjân and then Rayy and Hama'dhân. In 314/926 the caliph recalled him and appointed him to command an army to be sent against the Karâmî [see Karmašî] in Lower 'Irâq, but he was defeated near Kûfâ by the Karâmî leader 'Abâ Tâhir al-Dînâbâţî, who killed (Abû 'l-Hîdât) him (February 315/September 928). It does not seem that it was at this point that some of Yusûf's Turkish troops entered the caliphal service in Baghdât, to form there a special regiment of the Sa'dîjîya. This unit is mentioned previously (e.g. by Miskawayh, Tâdîşirît al-umam, in Eclipse of the 'Abbâsid caliphate, i, 116, tr. iv, 130, year 311/923-4), and Ibn Khallûkân, ed. 'Abâsî, ii, 250-1, vi, 415, tr. de Slane, i, 500, iv, 315, cf. iv, 334 n. 11,
Sadjdjada. (Namâzlık) (r.), from Gördes, Turkey, 18th century.
(By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum).
Sadjdjáda. (Djá-yi-namāz) (r.), from Kirman, Persia, 18th century.
(By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum).
expressly states that al-adjndd al-Sddjtyya in Baghdad were named after Abu '1-Sadj Dewdad (I), i.e. they refer to the chest of all animals, or to that of humans only. In the latter case it is contrasted with e.g. the kir kita, the camel-stallion, the labn of the horse, the saur of the lion, the dug' of the bird, etc. (see al-Tha'labi, Fith al-lugha, 109: taksim al-sudur), but the lexicographers are not unanimous in their definitions of these words (e.g. al-Asma'i, Khalq al-insan, 216, I, 12, equates saur and dug' with sudur). From these sources we derive the fact that verbs may be derived: sudara "to hit, wound the chest" and sudura "to suffer from a chest ailment."


The sadr, like "bosom," is also the seat of emotions and convictions, and interestingly this is the only sense in which it occurs in the Kur'an (with the possible exception of sura XXII, 46; see, however, below). In the singular (but, strangely, never in the plural) it is consistently connected with the idea of "constriction" (root sh-r-h, cf. XI 12; XV, 97; XXVI, 13; also root h-r-g, cf. VI, 125; VII, 2) or "dilation" (root g-d-r, cf. VI, 125; VII, 106; XX, 25; XXXIX, 22; XXIV, 1) to express anxiety, grief, and rejection vs. serenity, joy, and acceptance. The plural sudur is mostly used in conjunction with the idea of thoughts and feelings that are hidden in them (roots kh-f-y, see III, 29; III, 118; IX, 5; XL, 19, and k-n-n, see XXVII, 74; XXVIII, 69), but which God knows nonetheless; this is particularly expressed in the refrain-like formula inna 'lladha sadrahu li-l-islam..." which prompted Abu al-Husayn al-Nuri (d. 295/907 [q.v.]) to establish a parallelism between sadr as the seat of islam and— moving inward and upward— between kalb, fa'd, and labb, all Kur'anic terms, as the respective seats of iman, mu'afa, and ta-wedd (Makamad al-kalb, 130, cf. P. Nwyia, Exégèse coranique, 321, who also points to a similar terminology in the Tafsir attributed to Dja'far al-Sadik [d. 148/765 [q.v.]], where the parallelisms are: sadr and submission (taslim), kalb and certainty (piku', fa), and labb and the secret (sim), and the safi as the refuge of all good and evil; damir not being Kur'anic, al-Nuri stays closer to the Kur'anic. A similar scheme is proposed by al-Hasim al-Tirmidhi (d. after 318/930) in his K. fi Bayan al-fark bayn al-sadr wa-l-kalb wa-l-fa'd wa-l-lubb, 33-47, 79-83 (tr. 28-36, 244-5). He offers several analogies to characterise the relationship of the four parts of the heart (note that kalb has two meanings,
one comprehensive and one specific), of which the following two may be quoted:  

He-

Bibliography: Sakkaki (see above); Ibn Rashid.

Similar divisions remain popular with later writers, although the term sadr is not always included, while other terms may be added (relevant sections tr. and ff.). Al-Tirmidhi’s scheme is taken up again, with certain alterations, in the Persian Kur'dh, which assigns the two functions of mithak and shaghaf (Kashf al-Asr Var, viii, 411-12; cf. Murata, op. cit., 296-7).

The sadr is described in a number of metaphorical ways as the place in which the internal dramas of good and evil are staged. According to one passage in al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, the heart is the home of faith, the soul is the home of passions. Between them is a wide space called sadr, from which emanate (sadara), the orders executed by external organs. Both heart and soul have an opening leading to that place. Through that the heart of light would shoot into the sadr, as the fire and smoke of passion would shoot into the breast through the opening of the nafs. Whichever triumphs over the other brings about obedience or disobedience. “Et telle est toute l’histoire du cœur et de l’âme” (P. Nwyia, op. cit., 279, summarising a passage from the Masadah). For other descriptions, in al-Tirmidhi’s work, of the struggle in the sadr between heart and soul, see al-Furuk wa-man* al-tardduf, apud P. Nwyia, op. cit., 122; Beyân al-jarj, 46-7; Khattam al-ausiy, 130-1; B. Radtke, Al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi, Freiburg 1989, 56-71 and index).

A strangely generalised use of the term sadr appears in al-Futakht al-Makkiya of Ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 638/1240 [q.e.]). Here the sadr is presented as a universal feature of creation; each thing can boast of one. Knowledge of it is among the loftiest knowledge on the Path, since the world and each genus is according to the shape of man (microcosm), who is the last created thing. Man alone is according to the Divine shape, externally and internally, and God has made for him a sadr. Between Him and man there are sadur whose number only God knows (ii, 652). This is followed by an enumeration of twenty-seven sadur, after which Ibn al-‘Arabi adds that every sadr has a kalb and, as long as the kalb remains in the sadr, it is blind (cf. sura XXII, 46), because the sadr is a veil upon it. If God wills to make it seeing, it goes out from its sadr and thus sees. E.g. the causes (ashâd) are the sadur of their existence, and their sadur are like hearts. As long as an existent thing looks at its cause from which it emerges (sadara), it is blind to seeing God as the one who made it existent (ii, 652-3).


In everyday life, the idea of the sadr being the container of something hidden is expressed in the proverb sadraka awwa’tu li-ṣirrâti (‘Your bosom is wide enough for your secret’) admonishing a person to keep his secret to himself (al-Maydani, Magîma’ al-ammâli, ed. Muhammed Muray, ’l-Din ’Abd al-Hamid, 2 vols., Cairo 1379/1959, i, 396a). In a figurative sense, sadr means any “first, front, or upper part” of a thing. A number of technical meanings result.

(a) In prosody sadr has two unrelated meanings. One refers to the first foot of a verse, as opposed to ’adjuz, the last foot. This latter is also known as dahr; this, however, defines it as the last foot of the second hemistich as opposed to the last foot of the first hemistich, the ’arid. The structure of a complete line in terms of characteristic elements (arkân) is the following: sadr-’adjuz-’ardid/bidâ’id-’adjuz (dahr) (see al-Sakkaki, Mu’in, 523-4; Freytag, Darstellung, 117-120; Elwell-Sutton, The Persian metres, 40). Hadj feet occur, of course, only if the hemistich consists of more than the initial and the final foot, i.e. in musaddas and muhamman lines. The terms sadr and ’adjuz are often also loosely applied to the entire first and second hemistich, respectively (see Lane, s.v.). This has influenced their use in the technical term radd al-’adjuz ‘ala l-sadr, referring to the rhetorical figure of anticipating the rhyme word in the first half (at times even the beginning of the second half) of the line (see G. E. von Grunebaum, who compares the epanadiplosis of classical rhetoric, Tenth-century document, 32 n. 247, 116; G. Kanazi, Studies, 56-7; note that, while ’adjuz is still used in its narrow sense of rhyme foot, sadr has acquired the broader meaning).


The other meaning of sadr in prosody occurs in the context of the phenomenon called ma’âkaba, i.e. the obligatory alternation of the shortening of two adjacent lines [see sâbas]. Thus in the ramael metre, the foot fa’iltu has may have its first cord shortened, thus fa’iltu, only if the last cord -tu of the preceding foot is not shortened; this case is called sadr. Or it may have the last cord -tu shortened, thus fa’iltu, but only if the first cord fas of the following foot is not shortened; this case is called sadr. Or, finally, it may have both its first and its last cord shortened, thus fa’iltu, but only if the preceding following cords are not shortened; this case is called fa’iltu or, more logically, su dhila’alayn (the latter in al-Sakkaki, Mu’in, 527). These phenomena occur in the metres madâl, ramael, khaff and mu’âkaba (Ibn Rashîd, al-’Unda, i, 149). The apparent reason for their existence is to avoid a sequence of four moving letters. Bibliography: Sakkaki (see above); Ibn Rashîd,
al-Umda fi 'inda'lat al-dhi'ir wa-adaabih wa-nakdih, ed. M.M. Ab al-Hamid, 2 vols., Cairo 1383/1963-4; Freytag, Darstellung (see above), 108. (b) In epistolography and the composing of texts in general, the term sadr refers to the introductory formulae of letters and prefaces in books (the latter also tasdir). For an extensive disquisition on sadur in epistles, including the way one alludes to the main topic already in the ta'mid and how one moves (idgali) from the sadr to the actual topic (ghara'ar), see al-Kalǎi, lhitam san'at al-kalami, ed. Mub. Ribwǎn al-Dabas (Beirut 1985), 58-72. Sadr is used in the "old translation" of Aristotle's Rhetoric as one of the terms to render πρόοδος, the exordium or proem, of a speech (see M.C. Lyons, Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica. The Arabic version, ii, Glossary, Cambridge 1982, 123-4, 226). This remains the rendition of choice with the later philosophers. Ibn Sīnā compares the proem which leads into the speech with clearing one's throat before the call to prayer and with warbling on a reed instrument before playing the actual piece (al-Shifa', al-Manṣīk, 8. al-Khwāsī, ed. M.S. Šālim, Cairo 1373/1954, 237, ll. 12-24). In books, the sadr may mean a non-technical "beginning, first part", but may also refer to preliminary remarks that precede the actual "introduction." Thus al-Ghazzālī, in his Mustaṣfī min l-İmāl, Bālīk 1322, prefixes the lihim san'at al-usul, i.e., in the "introduction" of Aristotle's Rhetoric as one of the terms to render πρόοδος, the exordium or proem, of a speech (see M.C. Lyons, Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica. The Arabic version, ii, Glossary, Cambridge 1982, 123-4, 226). This remains the rendition of choice with the later philosophers. Ibn Sīnā compares the proem which leads into the speech with clearing one's throat before the call to prayer and with warbling on a reed instrument before playing the actual piece (al-Shifa', al-Manṣīk, 8. al-Khwāsī, ed. M.S. Šālim, Cairo 1373/1954, 237, ll. 12-24). In books, the sadr may mean a non-technical "beginning, first part", but may also refer to preliminary remarks that precede the actual "introduction." Thus al-Ghazzālī, in his Mustaṣfī min l-İmāl, Bālīk 1322, prefixes the following introductory materials to his book: 1. the ta'mid (2-3); 2. the kawsha (after ammi bâd'), mainly in sadr2, with general remarks about reason and knowledge, as well as some autobiographical indications, ending with the titling of the book (3-4); 3. the sadr al-kitāb, expressly so called, dealing with the definition, the hierarchical status, and the internal structure of usul al-fikr, as also with the reason for the introduction (4-10); and 4. the mutaddāma, "introduction," again expressly so named, in which the author presents an outline of logic and epistemology (10-55). Derived from this sadr is the verb sadara kitābah (L4), cf. al-Fārābī's introductory epistle to his work on the Organon, the Riṣāla sadrā rāh bārī 'l-kitāb, ed. Rāfīk al-Adām, in al-Maṣīk 'ind al-Fārābī, Beirut 1985, i, 55-62. Again, this sadr contains general notions indicating the status of logic, such as logic vs. grammar, syllogistic vs. non-syllogistic crafts, review of the five syllogistic crafts, overview of Organon and of Plato, and, particularly, idem, The rise of humanism, Edinburg 1990, 203-7. Bibliography: Given in the text. (c) From the expression sadr al-mađlis, the upper or front part of the assembly, i.e., "the place/seat of honour," the term sadr for an outstanding person is synecdochically derived (cf. kāna sadrā) fi 'l-fard wa 'l-hišāb, "he was an eminent expert in inheritance and computations and arithmetic," Dory, s.v.). This developed into an academic and an administrative sense. For the latter, i.e. the terms sadr and sadr al-suďar for the head of the religious administration in post-Mongol Iran and sadr-i ašām for the grand vizier in the Ottoman empire, see below. In the academic sense, it is mostly applied to a professor in adab and mostly in the derived forms muṣaddar and mutaddādar. The respective verbs, sadara and tapaddara, mean "to appoint s.o. a professor," and "to be appointed" or "to be made professor," all with the implication of insufficient preparation (see G. MakDISI, The rise of colleges, Edinburgh 1981, 203-6, and, particularly, idem, The rise of humanism, Edinburg 1990, 203-7). Bibliography: Given in the text.

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SADR (A.), used in a personal sense, with an ex- tended meaning from Arabic "breast" > "foremost, leading part of a thing", denotes an eminent or superior person or præsumptuare, whence its use for a chief, president or minister; cf. the Ottoman Turkish Grand Vizier's title sadr-i aşām [q.v.]. The title was especially used in the Persian world for a high religious dignitary whose function (sadrat, şidrat) was concerned especially with the administration of religious affairs. In the first mentions of the title and in the structural evolution of the office in the post-II Khaṇīd period, the titles and prerogatives of the sadr evolved considerably, and despite lacuna in our sources of information, their evolution can be traced chronologically, as described below. (J. Calmard)

1. In Transoxania.
2. In the period from the II Khaṇīds to the Timūrids.
3. In the Timūrid and Turkmen periods.
4. In the Safawīd period.
5. In Mughal India.

1. In Transoxania.

In the cities and towns of Transoxania, the Islamic religious institution, by Karakhanid and Saldūk times predominantly Hanafi in madhhab, came to enjoy a special position of religious, social and often administrative power vis-à-vis the Karakhanids [see İLER-KHAŅ] and subsequent incoming Turkish dynasties. The members of this institution who held office as imām and rażī [q.v.] also came to enjoy the title of sadr; such sadrs were to be found, e.g., in Samarkand, Khudjand, Özkend, Almalk, etc. They were especially influential in Bukhārā, where the Burhānī ones (see below) were further dignified by an intensive form of the title, that of sadr al-suđar. Already during the Sāmānid period there is mentioned (e.g. by the local historian Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Bukhrāi, Chowondj, d. 412/1021, cf. Barthold, Turkestän, 15, and by al-Sam'ānī, Anāb, ed. Haydarābādī, i, 243-6) the family of the Ismā'īlī, who held religious and civic power in Bukhārā. After them there came in 5th/11th century the Șafārīs. In addition to their religious and civic authority, such families were clearly economically powerful also, doubtless possessing urban property and/or rural estates; hence in the assertion of what they took to be their spiritual or political and profane may be considered, and, particularly, idem, The rise of humanism, Edinburg 1990, 203-7. Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Edward William Heinrichs)

2. In the period from the II Khaṇīds to the Timūrids.

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When the Saldjuq sultan Sandjar (q.v.) came to Transoxania in 495/1102, he apparently deposed the reigning ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. ʿUmar Maza, who assumed the title of raʾis, and then changed the title of the highest religious dignitary to the sadr al-sudur, hence preferred to flee and to take refuge with the Kara Khitay. But by now, these last members of the family continued to dominate Transoxania in 616/1219) was renowned for his wealth and arrogance. We also know of eulogistic Persian poetry addressed to them by such authors as the satirist Sūzanī (d. 565/1175-6) and Shamsī-yi Aʿrāдж Būkhārī (fl. ca. 1200 AD) (see F. de Blois, Persian literature, v/2, 427, 452).

The end of Burhānī dominance came with the outbreak at Būkhārā of the popular movement led by the vendor of shields Mahmūd Tārābī (636/1239-9), and the last Burhānī, ʿAbd al-Muḥammad (II) b. Ṭabarī, was reduced by Tārābī to the status of khalīfa or deputy of a new sadr al-sudur, hence preferred to flee and to take refuge with the Kara Khiṭay. But by now, these last being hard pressed by the Mongols, and were not strong enough to replace ʿAbd al-Muḥammad in his former status.

In his place, a new family took over the sādara of Būkhārā. The Ḥanafī šāhs Sham al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muḥūbī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was Tārābī’s candidate, and there now began a line of sādara as long-lived and as influential as the Alī b. Burhānī, that of the ʿAlī Muḥībī, who inherited from his predecessors the additional form of the title, sād-r al-gāhar. The Muḥībīs, like the Burhānīs, traced their ancestry back to the Arabs of the time of the Prophet, and they likewise at times employed the lakab of Burhān al-Dīn. Already in the 6th/12th century they had produced notable Ḥanafī scholars, such as the theologian Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥībī (546-630/1151-1232), and in the next century or so members of the family continued to write many textbooks of Ḥanafī fiqh which became standard. They are mentioned in the sources until the second half of the 8th/14th century, it has been incorrectly thought that it was a Timurid creation (R. M. Savory, The principal offices of the Safavid state during the reign of Tāhir al-Dīn I (930-85/1524-76), in BSOAS, xxiv [1961], 103, also in his Studies on the history of Safavid Iran, Variorum, London 1987) or even a Safavid one (K. Röhrborn, Provenienz und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966, 117; and H. R. Idris, Regierung und Verwaltung des Vorderen Orientis in islamischer Zeit, Hb der Or. Leiden-Köln 1979, 46-7; criticisms by G. Herrmann, Zur Entstehung des Sadr-Amtes, in U. Haarmann and P. Bachmann, Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer, Beirut-Westbaden 1979, 278, 282). A detailed study of the chancery literature (ingāla) and of official documents shows that there was no nomination of sadar under the Djalāyirīds (q.v.). The highest magisterial function in Islam was at that time exercised by the lāḥīr l-i kudūd, with other religious affairs being the responsibility of the chief vizier or other officials like the hākim-i dīvān-i wasūkī-i māmālik (analysis of the Dastur al-kūtbī; cf. Roemer, Staatschreiben der Timurid-Zeit. Das Saraf-ndmā des Ḥabdalldh Marwārid in kritischer Auswertung, Wiesbaden 1952, 142, and Herrmann, op. cit., 284-5). Under the Muzaffārids (q.v.), the highest religious dignitary was still the lāḥīr l-i kudūd. The combination of the terms (but not of distinct functions) of wuzūrat and sādara is attested under the Karts (q.v.) or Kurds of Harāt, with the bestowing of the wuzūrat on Shaykh Muḥīn al-Dīn Djamī (J. Aubin, Le khanat de Cağatay et le Khurasan (1334-1380), in Turcica, viii [1976], 30; Herrmann, op. cit., 294). The first document which we possess on the specific appointment to an office of sādara concerns Muḥīn al-Dīn’s eldest son, Diyaʾ al-Dīn Yusuf (mangīr of Rabī‘ II 782/July-August 1380; see Aubin, op. cit., 51; the document is ed., tr. and commented upon by Herrmann, op. cit., 287 ff.). Timūr considered himself as a disciple of Diyaʾ al-Dīn, who took part in the five-years’ war and died at Tabrīz in 797/1394-5. His brother Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar was linked with Mīrān Shāh, the prince who held the apnanage of Khūrāsān (Aubin, op. cit., 53). The office of sādara attributed to Diyaʾ al-Dīn encompassed the direction of affairs concerning all the religious dignitaries (imāms, sayyids, shaykhs, kāds, kāṭibs, muḥātib, amins ‘and other religious authorities’) of the city of Harāt and its dependent districts. All decisions concerning judicial sentences, teaching, the leadership of the worship, the mākbū, the supervision of weights and measures (ḥuṣnāb), the administration of the usufrūk, the inspectorship of finance (isgāf) and...
Activities of the treasury (bayt al-mal), as well as nominations, distributions, appointments and participations of all religious dignitaries and theological students, had to be submitted for his approval.

3. The Timurid and Turkmen periods.

Despite Timur's devotion to Diyya al-Din, the mention of three persons bearing the title of sadr (after their ism) in his reign does not clearly show that they occupied the actual functions of sadarat (Herrmann, Zur Entstehung des Sadr-Amtes, 293-4). This is, on the other hand, attested under his son Shâh Rukh (807-50/1405-14). The practice became the rule under Husayn Baykara (875-912/1470-1506). During his reign, the revenues from awkaf which, like other grants and favours enjoyed complete fiscal immunity, became so important that it was necessary to appoint several sadrs at the same time in order to supervise these revenues (Khwândamîr, Tehran 1333, iv, 321; cf. M. Subtelny, Centralizing reform and its opponents in the late Timurid period, in Iran Studies, xxi/1-2 (1988), 126). However, in 910/1504-5, Husayn Baykara appointed a sadr whose functions were especially attached to the ruler's service (mansab-i saddrat-i Khâ'îsâyî humâyîn, Khwândamîr, iv, 327; Herrmann, op. cit., 282). The fact that the office had been held by several dignitaries at the same time leads one to suppose that there was a hierarchy amongst the various sadrs. But the mention of a chief sadr (sadr al-sadur) only appears once, in a late Timurid document, which seems to indicate the provisional or exceptional character of the office (ibid.). The sadr's department (sâdîr-i saddrat or diwân-i saddrat) occupied the third place in the Timurid administration after the diwân-i tawâîî and the diwân-i mîl. The financial support for the sadrs, made up of allowances (istung) and gratuities (inâ'am) came from a specific tax (rasm al-sadur or sahm al-sadarat) raised as a percentage on (ibid., 283-4).

For the social origins of the sadrs, a strong tendency for the post to remain within one family, leading to hereditary control over the office, has been noted (Roemer, Staatsarchive der Timuridener, 143-6; Herrmann, op. cit., 281). Although they were the superiors of the sayyids, it was only occasionally that they stemmed from this last group. Among the forty sadrs mentioned by Khwândamîr for Husayn Baykara's reign, there are only three descendants of the Prophet (iv, 321-8; cf. Herrmann, ibid.). Some sadrs were accused of corruption during this reign. A dispute between the descendants of Ahmad-i Diâm and of ʿAbd Allâh Anšârî provoked the intervention of the Nakshbandî shaykh Khwând Ahrâr [q.v. in Suppl.] (J. Paul, Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqshbandiyâ in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1991, 57-8).

As well as the supervision of the religious leaders and of the awkaf, mentioned above for the Kart sadr, the Timurid sadr was more explicitly charged with supervising and administering the application of the Shah's as head of judicial authority in the state (Roemer, op. cit., 143-6). This prerogative appears also in the Ak Koyunlu state, in which one finds the sadr al-sadur (J. E. Woods, The Aqquyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, 11).

The reform-minded minister of the Ak Koyunlu sultan Ya'qûb, the Kâfî ʿâsî Sâwâgî, held both the civil and religious functions with the rank of sadr (V. Minorsky, Turcomanica II. The Ag-Quyunlu and land reform, in BSOAS, xvii [1955], 451-8; Aubin, Etudes safawides. I. Šâh Ismâîl et les notables de l'Iraq Persan, in JESHO, ii [1959], 48-9; Woods, op. cit., 156-7). In general, under the Turkmen Kara and Ak Koyunlu the sadr held the highest religious office (Roemer, op. cit., 14304).


4. In the Safavid period.

The complex of religious institutions inherited by the Safavid administration consisted basically of mosques, religious colleges (madrasa), religious endowments (awkaf), and the offices of šâh and šaykh al-âlim. These were controlled by the state through the office of sadar al-mawṣûfât. The most important post in the realm and one which, in pre-Safavid Persia, had tended to be hereditary in nature (see 2. above). The main function of the sadr was to supervise and administer the awkaf and the distribution of their revenues to students and scholars and also to charity, hence the full title sadr al-mawṣûfât. However, with the advent of Shâh Ismâîl I (r. 907-50/1501-24 [q.v.]), the nature and function of the office of sadr changed considerably. Faced with the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword," the Turcoman military élite which had propelled him to power, with the "men of the pen," the Persian bureaucrats on whom the state was largely dependent for the efficient functioning of his state, Ismâîl made the sadr a political appointee. In so far as this arrangement gave the sadr political influence, he built a bridge between the largely Persian ranks of the "alamât" and the political branch of the administration, dominated almost entirely by the Kizilbash military commanders. Although the propagation of religious doctrine and the establishment of doctrinal conformity and uniformity were not the primary function of the sadr, some scholars believe that for a time he had also to supervise the imposition of Twelver Shi'ism and root out heresy and Sunnism. By the time of Ismâîl's death, however, doctrinal uniformity had been largely achieved, and the
energies of the sadr were devoted once more to the preservation of the religious status quo, and especially to the administration of the asfāf. It is clear that although the Persian ‘clerical estate’ from which the appointees to the sadrāt were initially taken was essential to the smooth running of the nascent Safavid administration, it was unable to provide the theological and legal backbone for the new Twelver Shi‘ism establishment. Of the ten sadrs under Shāh Tahmāsp I, for example, only one was versed in Twelver Shi‘i jurisprudence, while the Shi‘ism of the other nine was open to question. Consequently, Shah Sulayman the Great, not a practising Muslim divines and religious institutions also began to receive land-grants, and a rigorous procedure of verification was established in which the sadr al-sudur’s department played an important role. The sadr al-sudur’s office was held, like that of other ministers, at the Emperor’s pleasure, but tended to be of longer duration except during the last years of Akbar, when after the dismissal of the most powerful of these ministers, Shaykh `Abd al-Nahr, 987/1579-80, the incumbents changed quite frequently. Whereas Iranis dominated other ministerial offices in the Mughal Empire, the office of sadr al-sudur remained largely (though not entirely) the preserve of Indian Muslims and Türans, possibly because a Sunni religious orientation was generally expected here.

Bibliography: The bulk of our information comes from Mughal revenue-grant documents largely unpublished, for a catalogue of these see Mughal documents (1526-1627), ed. S.A.I. Tirmizi, New Delhi 1989. The standard official statement on the office and its functioning is to be found in Abū ‘l-Fadl, A‘nīn-ī Akbar, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867-77, i. See also Ibn Hasan, The central structure of the Mughal Empire and its practical working up to the year 1657, Oxford 1936; M. Athar Ali, The apparatus of empire, awards of ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility, 1574-1658; Oxford 1985; Rafat M. Bilgrami, Religious and quasi-religious departments of the Mughal period (1556-1707), New Delhi 1984.

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was increased first to three and later to five in the 9th/15th century, the sultan's golden signet (tughrə) which he carried with him at all times worn around his neck on a silk cord; thus əlb-i mür (holder of the seal) was another term used for him. However, the reference in the kānān-nāme [q.v.] of Mehemmed II [q.v.] specified the Grand Vizier as the "head of the waṣerə' and əmerə'," implying that his authority was limited to military-administrative matters (and did not extend to əṣ̄ar, that is, judicial matters). The sa'dr al-Dīn Ardbilī, who was named his əsdh-i muhr (holder of the seal) was an independent in his own sphere in the capacity as the "absolute deputy in all matters" (qāmət umārət-ə wəkəl-i mułaʃkdır). Neither was his position vs. the defterdār (chief of the treasury [q.v.]) clear-cut; the latter was independent in his own sphere in his capacity as the minister of the sultan's own treasury (məltəmə wəkəlili, "the deputy for my treasury") although the Grand Vizier was named his əsdh (or supervisor) (Kānān-nāme, əli 1-ə Quṭmən, ed. Mehməd Ərəf (in TOEM, Suppl. 1330 A.H.); 10). Even in the late 10th/16th century, when the sultan's treasury had become, for all practical purposes, the state treasury, a defterdār accused of corruption was not tried by the imperial council on the grounds that he was directly responsible to the sultan.

From the time of Mehemmed II, the sultan stopped routinely attending meetings of the imperial council and, from the mid-10th/16th century, he was hardly ever present; he left it to the sa'dr as'əm, as the deputy, to chair the proceedings. After the council meeting, the sa'dr as'əm would report in person to the sultan by reading a telkhus (précis) of the most important matters discussed. Sometime during the reign of Murəd III [q.v.], instead of reading the telkhus face-to-face with the sultan, the sa'dr as'əm was required to send in his telkhus and await written instructions, especially on appointments (for examples of telkhus and analysis of its significance, cf. Cengiz Orhonlu, Telχisi, Istanbul 1970 and Suraiya Farooqi, Das telχiş, eine akten-kundliche Studie, in: Istit., xlv [1969], 96-116).

This change allowed the inner circle of the palace, rather than the vizier, to have the sultan's ear and influence decisions. Consequently, in the first half of the 11th/17th century the istiklāl (independence) of the vizier that is, independence of the state in the influence of persons close to the ruler—his mother the dowager sultan (wulidde sultan) or his consort (khasjeh) or companions (muṣābih) emerged as one of the most important political issues in the affairs of the empire. Na'mā [q.v.] claims that in 1066/1556, at a moment of internal and external crisis, Köprülı [q.v.] Mehməd Pəşə accepted the grand vizierate after the young sultan Mehemmed IV [q.v.] and his mother Turākən Sultan accepted to his conditions of absolute independence in affairs of state (for an analysis of this appointment, cf. M. Kunt, Na'ma, Köprülı, and the grand vezirate, in Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi—Humaniter Bütümler, i [1973], 57-63). The sultan and the dowager were so pleased with the old vizier's competent and wise service that, on his death five years later, he was succeeded in office by his son. Indeed, the Köprülı household supplied no less than seven Grand Viziers in the next half century, providing, after the Dünderli [q.v.] and Şehzadə əl-dər əlb-i mür, the 13th/19th century, a second case of a vizierial dynasty (see also I.H. Uzuncarşılı, Çandarlı vezir ailesi, Ankara 1974). It is in this period of restoration of vizierial authority that the kānān-nāme of Tewkii-šī Abd al-Rahmān Pəşə (1087/1676-7, published in MTM, i/3 [1331], 506 ff.) speaks of very comprehensive and far-reaching duties and powers of the office, without the limitations and the constraints of the two centuries earlier kānān-nāme of Mehemmed II. Barely 20 years later, however, was a particularly ambitious şeyhül əl-islām, Feyd Allah Efendi, with the full support of the reigning sultan, Mustəfa II [q.v.], attempted to dominate the Grand Vizier: this was one of the causes of the rebellion and constitutional crisis of 1115/1703.

In 1837, at the height of Mehmūd II's [q.v.] programme of political restructuring, the title sa'dr as'əm was converted to bəşəbəşlə, chief minister, while at the same time the deliberative function of the imperial state and council was divided among several new councils. These measures served to reduce both the position of the vizier as absolute deputy and the independence and centrality of government: the ruler and his palace once again became the focus of political as well as administrative life. Mehmud II died soon afterwards, in 1839, and the forceful Khusrow Pəşə took over the crown, restoring both the title and the authority of the sa'dr al-Din Ardbiili, at the accession of the young and dilletent ʿAbd al-Mejidd [q.v.]. In the early years of ʿAbd al-Hamīd II's [q.v.] reign, there were two more, equally unsuccessful, attempts to change the title to bəşəbəşlə: this time, however, the impetus came not from the sultan but from reformist ministers, for the purpose of establishing the principle of a government sharing collective responsibility to parliament. In the event, even after the constitution was restored in 1908, sa'dr al-Din remained the title for the chief minister until the end of the sultanate, though now he was responsible to parliament (for an analysis of the grand vizier's position in the transformation of governmental and administrative institutions in the reform period, see C.V. Findley, Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman Empire, Princeton 1980, 141, 153, 240 ff.).

Bibliography: In addition to items mentioned in the text, see Pakalın, s. vv. Sadrəzam and Vezir, providing extensive details and comments; the most comprehensive discussion is in I.H. Uzuncarşılı, Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı, Ankara 1948, 111-79; both the Osmanlı tarikhi sponsored by the Türk Tarih Kurumu (authors, Uzuncarşılı and E.Z. Karal), 7 vols., Ankara 1948-59, and I.H. Danışmənd's İlahı Osmanlı tarhi kronolojisi, 4 vols., Istanbul 1947-55, include lists and brief biographical sketches of all grand viziers; see the general account of the viziers by G. Gibtal and B. Bowen, especially i/1, 107-37, is still useful; for an excellent study of the palace of Süleyman the Magnificent's famous vizier İbrahim Paşa [q.v.], see Nurhan Atasoy, İbrahim Paşa Sarayı, Istanbul 1972; the closest we have to a biographical study of a grand vizier is R. Dankoff's translation of relevant passages in Evliya Celebi, The intimate life of an Ottoman sultan, Mélek Ahmed Paşa (1580-1662), New York 1991 (M. Kunt).
Shah 'Abbas I's wakf of porcelain to the shrine (see J.A. Pope, Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine, Washington 1979).

Although the powerful Mongol amir 'Abdun [see CUBANID] had professed to be a disciple (murid) of Shaykh Safi al-Din (Sharaf al-Din Bidlisi, Sharafnama, ed. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 132-3), Amir 'Abdun's son, Malik 'Asraf, possibly alarmed by 'Abdul's growing political influence, threw him into jail at Tabriz. He released him after three months, but again tried to seize him; this time 'Abdul al-Din escaped to Gilan. When Djani Beg Mahmud, ruler of the Blue Horde of Western Kipchak (742-54/1341-57) [see BATUN] overthrew Malik 'Asraf and put him to death, 'Abdul al-Din returned to Ardabil, but Djani Beg's promise to allot all Safavid lands to the Shaykh in the form of a wakf was not been enacted before Djani Beg's death (Silsilat al-nasab, 42-3); see also B. Spuler, The Muslim world, ii, 'The Mongel period, Leiden 1960, 54-5, and J.B. van Loon, Ta'rikh-tdiyya, The Hague 1954, 11).

'Sadr al-Din died in 794/1391-2, and was buried in the Ardabil sanctuary (Silsilat al-nasab, 45). He left three sons: Khazda 'Ali (who succeeded him as head of the Safawid Order); Shihab al-Din and Djamal al-Din (ibid., 40).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Professor S. A. RASOY)

'SADR AL-DIN 'AYNI. Russian form SADBIZDIN AYNI, one of the leading figures in the 20th century cultural life of Central Asia and in Tajik literature (1878-1954).

He began as a representative of the reform movement amongst the Muslims of Imperial Russia, that of the Djadids [see MAHDI].A formal education at the traditional madrasas of Bukhara left him intellectually unsatisfied. In the early part of his career he was a talented poet in both Tadjik and Uzbek, but after 1905 he became increasingly involved in the social and educational aspects of Djadidism. In 1917 he espoused the cause of the revolutionary movements and, eventually, that of the Bolsheviks, and when in 1920 the Tadjik S.S.R. was set up, he held leading positions in its cultural life, becoming the first President of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences and retaining this office until his death. He now turned from poetry to prose-writing in a wide variety of fields—literary criticism, history and novels in both Tadjik and Uzbek, culminating in his unfinished memoirs (Yad-dagh-hali Yod-dagh-ho, 4 vols., Stalinabad 1949-54). He is thus the dominant figure in the prose of socialist realism, as also in the moulding of modern Tadjik literature in general.


'SADR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD b. 'ISAM b. MUHAMMAD b. 'YUNUS AL-KUNAWI (b. 605/1207, d. 16 Muharram 673/22 July 1274), disciple of Ibn al-'Arabi [q.v.] and author of influential works on theoretical Sufism.

Ibn al-'Arabi met Majd al-Din Ishaq al-Rumi, Kunaawi's father, in Meeza in 600/1203 and subsequently travelled with him to Anatolia. A source from the late 7th/13th century tells us that after Majd al-Din's death, Ibn al-'Arabi married his widow and adopted his son Sadir al-Din (B. Furuzanfar, Manakht-i Averbâd al-Dîn... Kirmânî, Tehran 1347/1968, 84); the fact that Kunaawi himself never mentions this is not surprising, given his extreme reticence concerning personal matters. The same source (85) tells us that Ibn al-'Arabi entrusted Sadir al-Din for a time to the guidance of his friend Shaykh Averbâd al-Din Kirmânî (d. 633/1238), and this is confirmed by a manuscript letter in which Kunaawi says that he was Kirmânî's companion for two years, travelling with him as far as Qum (Chittick, Faith and Practice of Islam, Albany 1992, 261). By the time he was twenty, Kunaawi appears among the listeners to Ibn al-'Arabi's works in a sama' dated 626/1229 (O. Yahiha, Histoire et classification de l'ouvre d'Ibn 'Arabi, Damascus 1964, 141). He seems to have remained with his shaykh until the latter's death in 638/1240; his name is recorded in many sama's deriving from this period. Presumably, the fa'il kulli, or total unveiling of the invisible world, that he mentions as occurring in Damascus (al-Nafahat al-ilâhiyya, 12) occurred at this time.

Kunaawi was teaching, probably in Konya, by the year 643/1245-6, when he led a group of scholars to Cairo and taught Ibn al-Fârid's Tayyba on the way [see SAID AL-DIN FARGHANI]. Little can be gleaned about his life from his works without occasional references to instances in which he gained visionary knowledge. Thus, for example, on the night of 17 Shawwal 635/19 November 1235, Ibn al-'Arabi appeared to him and confirmed that he was this pre-eminent disciple, even greater than his son Sa'd al-Din (al-Nafahat al-ilâhiyya, 152-3; partial Persian tr. in Djamî, Nafahat al-un, ed. Tawhididir, Tehran 1336/1957, 556-7). Kunaawi reports that he did not receive oral explanation from Ibn al-'Arabi concerning most of his works, but instead gained knowledge of them through God's grace (al-Furûsî, ed. Khâjudâwî, 240). In his Manâkh al-zafin (ed. T. Yazici, Ankara 1959), Aflaki recounts several anecdotes showing that Kunaawi had a highly favourable view of Rumi, and he contrasts Rumi's simplicity with the sumptuous scholarly trappings of Kunaawi's circle (e.g. 96-). Among Kunaawi's important students were 'Afi al-Din al-Tilmânsî, Fâhrî al-Din 'Irâkî, Sa'd al-Din Farghâni [q.v.], and Mu'ayyîd al-Dîn Djamî [q.v.]. The most important work of Ibn al-'Arabi relevant to Kunaawi's teaching is his Fa'il kulli (ed. D. M. G. Chittick, Albany 1992), which is thus the dominant figure in the prose of socialist realism, as also in the moulding of modern Tadjik literature in general.
3. ِصلاح الاَمَّةِ الاَُحَرَمَةِ: A relatively concise explanation of the ninety-nine names of God and their places on the human level.

4. ِفِي عِلْمِ النَّاسِ: A short commentary on the essential themes of Ibn al-ʿArabi’s Fusūs al-ḥikam, focusing on the implications of the chapter headings.

5. ِمُفَتَّحَةُ الْغَيْبِ: (published on the margin of Muhammad al-ʿAynī, Mīṣāḥ al-tun bi-ʿan al-maʿṣūl wa-ʿan muntahā fi sharḥ mīṣāḥ al-ʾadām wa-ʿan laṭṭiṣād, Tehran 1323/1905; partial ed. and French tr. by S. Ruspoli, La clé du monde suprasensible, diss., Paris IV 1978). This has always been considered Kunawi’s key work; it was taught in Persian madrasas after students had mastered the most difficult texts in philosophy. At least nine commentaries have been written on it, mostly in Turkey. One of the more interesting is by ʿAbd Allāh Mūlā ʿIlāhī, written in Persian at the command of Mehmed II Fatih, the author marks several asides to the ruler in the midst of the text, indicating that he was expecting him to read it (see Chittick, Sūlan ʿArabī: the correspondence, in WZKM, lxixi [1981], 37-8).

6. ِنَافِثِ الْحَدِيثِ: (Tehran 1316/1898), a collection of about fifty “inspired breaths”, along with other miscellaneous texts including at least 17 letters written to various friends and disciples. Many of the passages refer to Kunawi’s visionary experiences.

7. ِالْفُلُوسُ: (S. Dż. Aḥṣāṭī, Tehran 1362/1983; appended to ʿAbd Allāh Mūlā ʿIlāhī, Nafaṣ al-nurdnīyā fi hāl akhātīlī al-ʿumām, ed. cit.; and appended to Ibn Turka, Tamhid al-naṣāʾīd, Tehran 1315/1897-8). A collection of 21 texts that persist exclusively to the “station of perfection”; the longest (no. 20), which is taken from the first section of Mīṣāḥ al-ghayb, is perhaps Kunawi’s most comprehensive exposition of the doctrine that later came to be known as wahdat al-wujud.

8.9. ِمُفَتَّحَةُ الْغَيْبِ: (forthcoming critical ed. by Gudrun Schubert). A commentary initiated by Kunawi with Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿUtsū [q.v.]. Kunawi’s first treatise, al-Muṣafih ‘an mutanādī l-tāḥfīr wa-sabab ikhtilāf al-ʿumām, addresses the weakness of human reason and poses a series of questions for ʿUtsū; a good portion of the introductory material is drawn from the beginning of ʿUtsū’s book and treatise, a-ḥadīth al-truṣūdī, which corresponds to ʿUtsū’s replies (for details on the contents, see Chittick, Mysticism vs. philosophy in earlier Islamic history: the ʿUtsū, the Kunawi, correspondence, in Religious Studies, xviii [1981], 87-104).

Minor works include the following: 10. ِالْإِلَمَّةِ البِيْتَاءُ: A long letter to ʿAṣif al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī describing how, when Kunawi was circumcising the Kaʿba, the meaning of certain verses he had heard suddenly became clear to him. 11. ِنَافِثِ ِالمَسْتَرَدَّ قِبْلَةَ ِالْئِفَاحَةِ: or Raḥb al-ḥāl bi-ṣurūrah al-ḥāl, containing about 50 pages of intimate mystical prayers. This work was sent by mistake to ʿUtsū along with work no. 8, and he offered polite criticism of it in his response. 12. ِالْرَيْدَةُ الْحَدِيثَةُ ِالمُرْجُحَةِ: also called al-Rīḍā al-taṣawwūfīyya yahiyā wa-Rīḍā al-tawḥīdīyya yahiyā, Rīḍā al-tawḥīdīyya yahiyā al-ṣāmīm. This short work, of which a Persian translation was prepared during Kunawi’s lifetime, provides practical instructions on the vocabulary that is much more reminiscent of texts on mysticism and not coming under the influence of any specific attributes. Every other created thing manifests specific names of God and is dominated by either oneness or manyness. Although this theme is also found in Ibn al-ʿArabi’s writings, it is not so clearly presented as the key doctrine. Ibn al-ʿArabi roots his teachings in the Kurān and the Ḥadīth, but Kunawi employs a more abstract vocabulary that is much more reminiscent of texts on mysticism, and he highlights a number of technical terms that play no special role in Ibn al-ʿArabi’s teachings, even though they become basic points of discussion in later works. These include al-ḥadādr, al-tāḥfīr, al-ṣurūrah al-ḥāl yahiy, kāmīl al-ṣūrah, l-ṭawḥīdīyya, l-tawḥīdīyya, and l-taṣawwūfīyya (for an outline of Kunawi’s teachings, see the introduction to Chittick and P.L. Wilson, Fakhrud-dīn ʿIraqī: Divine lights, New York 1982). The key term waḥdat al-wujud, although found in at least one passage of Kunawi’s works, has no special technical significance for him. In the works of Fāرغānī based
on Kūnawi’s lectures, the term is used in a way that is not picked up by later authors (see Chittick, Rūmī and waḥdat al-wujūd, in The heritage of Rumi, ed. A. Banani and G. Sabagh, Cambridge, forthcoming).

Kūnawi’s importance needs to be understood in light of Ibn al-ʿArabī’s pervasive influence on the schools of theological Sufism, philosophy and kalām. Ḍāmī had already recognised that Kūnawi was the primary interpreter of Ibn al-ʿArabī’s teachings (Naḥādāt al-uns, 556). In effect, the later intellectual tradition read Ibn al-ʿArabī’s works according to the interpretation of Kūnawi and his immediate disciples. His role is symbolised by the correspondence he initiated with Ṭūsī. In the Persian letter that accompanies al-Hādiyya, Kūnawi explains that he initiated the correspondence in order to combine the rational approach of the philosophers with the “unveiling” (kaʿf) of the Verifiers. In the correspondence, Kūnawi reveals himself as thoroughly familiar with Avicenna’s writings and with Ṭūsī’s commentary on Avicenna’s al-ilmār waʾl-tanbihāt; his philosophical bent, in any case, is already obvious in other writings.

Far more than Ibn al-ʿArabī, he employs clear and reasoned argumentation to demonstrate his conclusions, even if he also depends explicitly upon mystical intuition. Largely because of the themes that Kūnawi establishes in al-Fuṣūkā and in the oral teachings that are reflected in the works of his students, the main body of Ibn al-ʿArabī’s legacy was the fear and concern that Kūnawi’s work would in any way stress certain dimensions of the master’s teachings that are not necessarily central to his own writings. This explains Michel Chodkiewicz’s remark that Kūnawi “a donné à la doctrine de son maître une formulation philosophique sans doute nécessaire mais dont le systématisme a engendré bien des malentendus” (Épitre sur l’Unicité Absolue, Paris 1982, 26).


Despite the influence and respect which Ṣadr al-Dīn enjoyed, the hagiographical and historical sources concerning Ṣadr al-Dīn are often repetitive and controversial. The family’s ambitions in acquiring extensive estates and other landed property took shape. Only a small part of these were constituted as waqf, proper, the remainder being acquired in full personal ownership (milk) or in the shape of family waqf and transmissible to the family’s descendants. These acquisitions were purchased from other notables; sometimes they were obtained by questionable means, and this gave rise to litigation and conflicts, in particular between the Ḍuwayni and Ṣafawī families. As well as the revenues accruing from his direction (sawdiyya) of these sources of wealth, Ṣadr al-Dīn must have had a substantial personal fortune, especially as his mother died soon after his father, and he was the second in line. With these riches, Ṣadr al-Dīn contributed extensively to the growth of the Ardabīl shrine, which became a complex worthy of the order’s prestige and functions. Apparent in a sense of politics as much as by family sentiment, Ṣadr al-Dīn extended his care and control over the whole of the Ṣafawī family.

With these riches, Ṣadr al-Dīn contributed extensively to the growth of the Ardabīl shrine, which became a complex worthy of the order’s prestige and importance. The construction of Ṣafī al-Dīn’s tomb, completed towards 1344, is said to have taken ten years. The Dar al-Huffāz was built on the site of a demolished house, and the building (or perhaps reconstruction?) of various buildings, whose original functions are uncertain, is attributed to him, including one called a ḍīn-khāna in Shāh ʿAbbās I’s time, a cūla-khāna and a shabāt-gīth.

With the respect behind him of the Mongol and Turkmen authorities, Ṣadr al-Dīn continued his father’s work for the extension of the Ṣafawīyya order, in particular, by sending out khalīfās to places like Georgia. The most famous of these khalīfās, a controversial figure on account of his heterodoxy, Ḥurūfī
doctrines [see HURUFIYYA] was Shah Kasim al-Anwar [see KASIM-I ANWAR]. According to an apparently late tradition, Sadr al-Din is said to have made the pilgrimage in 770/1368-9 and to have brought back from his visit to the Prophet's tomb in Medina a banner allegedly held by the Fatimids. Its fame is linked with the history of the Meccan Pilgrimage. The names al-Safa and al-Marwa (this last also sometimes qualified, e.g. by the local historian al-Azraqi [q.v.], as al-Bayda? "the white") both mean "the stone(s)" (see al-Tabari, Tafsir, ad sūra II, 153/158). The twin hillocks mark the beginning and conclusion of the course taken by the pilgrims (the mu'ammar performing the 'umra and the hadj performing the hajj), sc. the area of or more or less rectangular traversing forms the sa'y [q.v.], the prelude to the hadj proper.

According to tradition (see e.g. al-Bukhari, Anbiya, bāb 9), the sa'y between the two hillocks commemorates the fact that Hādjār ran backwards and forwards seven times between these two eminences to look for a spring for her thirsty son. It is certain that cults were located at al-Safa and al-Marwa, even in the pre-Islamic period. According to most traditions, there were two stone idols there, Isāf on al-Safa and Na?ila on al-Marwa (sometimes, incorrectly, on their sa'y used to touch. On the origin of these images, the following story is given in the commentary of al-Nisabūrī on sūra II, 153/158, and al-Shāfi?i gives his approval to it: Isāf and Na?ila were guilty of indecent conduct in the Ka'ba and were therefore turned into stones, which were placed on the two places of raised ground al-Safa and al-Marwa to be a warning to all. In course of time, the origin of the stone figures was forgotten and people began to pay them divine worship [see further, ISAF WA-NA?ILA]. According to another tradition, there were copper images there (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Het Meekkaanske Feest, 26); according to a third story, demons lived on the two hills who shrieked at night (given in al-Tabari, Tafsir).

Bibliography: This is given substantially in the article SAFI AL-DIN ARDABI, but see also J. Aubin, Le pantheon de VArabie centrale, Paris 1990, 139 ff., 205-210. See also HADJDJ; MAKKA; SAJJA, H. (B. JOEL*)

2. It is further the name of a volcanic region of ca. 55 x 25 km to the south-east of Damascus. It is trapezoid and runs north-west/south-east, to the south of the Dirât al-Tulul and north-east of Djabal al-'Arab (Djabal al-Durūz or Djabal Hawrān). It forms the southern and eastern borders respectively of Mardž Rāḥī and Mardž al-Suljaf [q.v.], the scenes of several notable battles in the Islamic period. The name has sometimes, incorrectly, been extended to cover the whole harra, or basalt desert, east of Djabal al-'Arab, particularly in connection with the misnamed "Safaite" inscriptions [q.v.].

The Safa proper is composed of three distinct volcanic cones, Tulûl Raghâlaya (873 m), Tulûl al-Durs (Dârâr or Dahlr) (860 m) and Tulûl al-Safa (741 m), the first two being separated from the third by a depression, between one and five km wide, known as Missâf al-Yahâyā. It is covered with the twisted and uneven lava flows from extensive volcanic eruptions in the Holocene, which have suffered very little erosion. Movement within the massif is consequently extremely difficult and there is only one track across it, all others running around its edges.

The lack of erosion means that there is very little
soil, and vegetation is limited to a few small, scattered areas free of rocks. However, there is a forest of pistachio trees spread over a dozen km on the south-western edge of the Tell el-Safa.

With the exception of the Miftah al-Ghayla, the interior of the Sa'af is too barren and too difficult of access to attract settlement, or even the attentions of nomads. However, it is bordered on all sides, except the north, by fertile silt-filled depressions, such as the Rubha, which are fed by the seasonal floods from Jabal al-'Arab. These depressions are known as riḥba (sing. ribba) and are not, as some writers assume, kūfān (sing. kēfān), of which the soil is sterile. Some of the water from the winter floods passes into underground channels and some runs on to the riḥba, forming lakes which can last for several months. This compensates for the low rainfall in this area (mean 100 mm p.a., with considerable variations).

The availability of water, together with the fertility of the soil, has attracted nomads to these riḥba from the Epipalaeolithic onwards. Traces of prehistoric campsites, and graffiti by nomads of the Hellenistic and Roman periods [see SAFAITIC] have been found in large numbers near the ribāb on the eastern and south-western edges of the Sa'af, while, in the 19th century, Wetzstein (30-1) describes the Ghayath section of the Ahl al-Djabal sowing grain on the Rubha.

The semi-nomadic tribes known as ʻArab al-Safa (Dussaud and Macler, 52-3) are not in fact resident in the Sa'af but spend most of their time in the Harra of Wādi Rājdil, the basalt desert to the south-east of it. On present knowledge, sedentary occupation seems to have been restricted to the edges of the Sa'af and to have occurred only in the Early Bronze Age (e.g. Khirbat al-Dab').


SAFAD, a small city surrounding the ruins of a once impressive fortress in the hilly region of northern Palestine, 40 km east of 'Akka [q.v.] and 20 km north of Tabariyya [q.v.]. The fortress is situated at the summit of a hill ca. 840 m high, and enjoys a fine view of the surrounding area, including the Sea of Galilee to the east. In the Crusader period, Safad was an important Templar stronghold; in the Mamluk period it served as the capital of a province (mamlaka), while under the Ottomans it was the centre of a sanjak [q.v.]. Today it is the principal town of the upper Galilee region in the State of Lebanon, and is noted—as in the Middle Ages—for its mild and salubrious climate in the spring and summer (see al-Ṭūḥmānī, ed. B. Lewis in BSOAS, xv [1954], 490). The name Safad derives from Hebr. Safat < root ș-f-ș “to look, observe, watch”; appropriate for the site, which was afforded by its location. Safot is not mentioned in the Old Testament, but has been identified with the Sepphor or Seph of Josephus’ Jewish wars, ii, ch. 20, § 6. Its location is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud as one of the mountain tops on which bonfires were lit to announce the new moon and festivals.

Little is known of Safad in the early Islamic period, i.e. until the coming of the Frankish Crusaders in 1099. Yākūt, Bulādān, ed. Beirut, iii, 412, has virtually no information about the town, and wrongly locates it in the mountains near Himis, an indication of its relative obscurity even in the early 7th/13th century. According to Ibn Shahaddād, Aṭlab, ed. Dāhhan, 146, Safad was originally a tall on which was found an inhabited village under Burdī al-Yātim, evidently referring to the future Frankish keep (or the main tower of the inner ward). The Arabic niṣba al-Safadī is found in a document from the Cairo Geniza, dating from the first half of the 9th/11th century, as is the Hebrew parallel Hai-Safati in another, almost contemporary document; whether this indicates a Jewish community in the town is a moot point (cf. M. Gil, A history of Palestine, 634-1099, Cambridge 1992, 213-14).

The Arab historians state that the Franks built the first fortress at Safad in 495/1101-2, having taken the town in the initial conquest of the country. In 1140 it was apparently renovated (or perhaps built) by King Fulk, and served as a refuge for Baldwin III after his defeat north of the Sea of Galilee by Nur al-Dīn [q.v.]; and eleven years later, it was transferred to the Knights Templar, since the local lord could no longer afford to keep it up (S. Runciman, History of the Crusades, Cambridge 1954, ii, 343, 376; R.C. Small, Crusading warfare (1097-1193), Cambridge 1956, 102). After the Muslim victory of Hijīn [q.v.] in 583/1187, Ayyūbids troops kept the fortress under observation, but it was not till the next year that Šalāb al-Dīn was able to undertake the conquest of Safad; it surrendered in Shawwāl 584/December 1187 after a fierce six weeks’ siege, and the garrison received amān and departed for Tyre (M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, Safad, Cambridge 1982, 141, 145, 283-6, 291; J. Prawer, History of the royal town of Jerusalem, Paris 1969-70, 1, 560, 562; J. Riley-Smith, in Ibn Furūṭ, Ayyūbid, Mamlukes and Crusaders, tr. M. Lyons, Cambridge 1971, ii, 213).

Šalāb al-Dīn initially gave Safad and Tabariyya as an īṭāb [q.v.] to one of his Commanders, but in the early years of the 7th/13th century, al-Malik al-ʻAdil’s son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Ḥaṣān [q.v.] resumed control over these towns, and in 617/1220 razed the fortress, fearing an attack by the Franks, who had scored initial successes in Egypt. Then 638/1240 al-Malik al-Salāḥ ʿIsā ʿAlādīn of Damascus, seeking a defensive alliance with the Franks against Ayyūbids, made overtures to the Franks, and turned over to the Franks his possessions in Galilee and southern Lebanon, including Safad, whose fortress the Templars now restored (see R.S. Humphreys, From Saladin to the Mongols, Albany 1977, 78, 142-3, 266-8; Prawer, History, ii, 154-5, 166 and n., 279-80, 286). The restoration work was initiated by Benedict d’Alignan, bishop of Marseilles, and took five or six years at an immense cost; its annual upkeep was reportedly 40,000 bezants and its peacetime garrison 1,700, which in wartime swelled to 2,200.

The main strategic value of Safad was that it offered the Crusaders an excellent observation point over the Tabariyya-Toron road, and more significantly, the Damascus-ʿAkka road, particularly the important Jacob’s Ford (Djīsr Banāt Yaḥūk [q.v.], Vadum Jacob) over the Jordan River, which is only 12 km away. Thus the fortress would gain early warning of approaching Muslim troops, be they raiders or invaders, and notify the other Frankish centres so that an appropriate response could be made. It is dubious whether the garrison of Safad had any real control over these routes, particularly if the Muslims were out in any force, but it certainly served as a symbol of
Frankish power in the area. The fortress was the administrative and economic centre for the area, in which some 260 villages were supposed to be found; this figure, which was supposed to refer to the Galilee as a whole and not just the immediate hinterland of the town. In the 12th century, at least, there was located there a court of Burgess, indicating a large Frankish presence.

For the Muslims, Frankish Safad was a continual nuisance, and the Mamlik sultan Baybars (658-76/1250-75) soon set his sights on Safad. In summer 664/1266 he began a six-week siege until the garrison, weakened by dissensions, surrendered under amān, which did not however allow them to take out arms and property; in fact, the sultan broke this amān and had almost the whole garrison killed (the Arabic sources are at pains to justify the sultan’s evident rupture of the amān) (see P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, tr. P. M. Holt, London 1992, 168-70, 183-4 nn. 61-3; Prawer, *Historia*, ii, 470-4). Baybars set about reforming the fortress, the town, and the administrative centre of a new province, with new civilian buildings, including a mosque, markets, caravanserais and baths (see L. A. Mayer and J. Pinkerfeld, *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel*, Jerusalem 1950, 44-6).

Geographers of the next century or so, including al-Dimāḏki and al-ʿUmārī, describe Safad as quite prosperous, although it was evidently something of a backwater intellectually. The chronicles give little information about events and conditions there, but like the province as a whole, it probably suffered decline from the time of the Black Death (ca. 749/1348) onwards. When the Ottomans took over Syria, the Mamlik province of Safād was transformed into a sāmākı́, part of the larger wilāyatu ʿalādāt or beiylerbeylik of Damascus. Thanks to the relatively systematic tax registers of the Ottoman authorities in the first decades of their rule over Palestine, we have some idea of demographic and economic trends in the district and town. Ottoman rule brought more stability and a consequent prosperity and population increase to both the town and its rural hinterland; by 963/1555-6 there were about 280 villages, mainly Muslim but with a few Muslim-Christian and Muslim-Jewish ones, in the sāmākı́ (see H. Rhodes, *The administration of the Sancak of Safad in the sixteenth century*, diss. Columbia Univ. 1979, unpub.; idem, *The geography of the sixteenth-century Sancak of Safad*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, x [1985], 179-218; B. Lewis, in *BSOS*, xvi [1954], 469-501; W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late 16th century*, Erlangen 1977, 175-94). The town, in particular, prospered through the textile industry, having abundant water and accessibility to ports, hence its support of trade and commerce, benefiting from an influx of Jewish craftsmen from the Iberian peninsula. There seems to have been a Jewish presence in Safad since the 11th century, and eventually, the Sephardi and other newcomers outnumbered the indigenous “Arabised” (maidsīrūbūn) Jews there. All this brought a rich spiritual life, so that in the 16th century Safad was a major centre of Jewish mysticism, and the first printing shop of any kind in Syria originated in Safad when a Hebrew printing press was established in 1563. There was some decline in the town’s fortunes in the later 16th century, but in the 1670s Euliyā Ĉelebi (Sevāhān-nāme, ix, Istanbul 1935, 438-41, tr. in *QDAP*, iv [1935], 158-61) still found there three caravanserais, several mosques, seven zāhīyās and six public baths (see Lewis, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, 5-7; Rhodes, *op. cit.*, 167-9; A. Cohen and Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978, 19-30).

By the early 17th century, Safad had reverted to the status of a small town, and had come under the control of the Druze amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn Maʿn (q. v.) of the Lebanon, with his rule subsequently recognised by the Ottoman authorities. In the later 18th century, Safad revived somewhat, probably because of the relatively more stable government provided by the local leaders, Zāhir, Dughāl, Sağhir (d. 1775), who hailed from Safad, and Ahmad al-Dājrāz (d. 1805 [q. v. in Suppl.]), and some fresh Jewish immigration began to take place (see C.-F. Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785*, 2nd ed. London 1788, ii, 230-1; P.-M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent* 1516-1922, London 1966, 117, 124; Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1975, passim, esp. 119-28). Under Ibrahim Pashá’s governorship of Gallie (1814-17), Safad became the commercial centre of Galilee, but suffered from natural disasters like earthquakes and pestilence until some prosperity began to return in the later 19th century. In 1880 Safad became the seat of a kāfḍā in the sanjūq of Akkā in the wilāyāt of Beirut. Shems ad-Dīn Sāmī, in his Kamās al-ʿalām, (iv, Istanbul 1311/1894, gave the population for the kāfḍā of Safad as 21,313, of whom 15,971 were Muslims, but a more reliable figure for the actual town is probably that of the 1922 census under the British Mandate (Safad was captured by Allenby’s forces in September 1918; 8,760, of whom 5,431 were Muslims, 2,986 Jews and 343 Christians. Under the Mandate, the population gradually grew; at the time of the 1948 war, the total population was 12,000, of whom some 2,000 were Jews. After fierce fighting, Jewish forces gained control of Safad; the Arab populations, some of which had left during the fighting, almost completely abandoned the town (see B. Morris, *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem* 1947-8, Cambridge 1987, 102-5). At the last census, in 1983, the town’s population was 15,833, of whom 379 were Muslims.

Little now remains of the fortress of Safad, already ruined in Euliyā’s time. It suffered much from earthquakes, and the remains were largely used as a quarry for building stone. Several excavations have been done by Israeli archaeologists, but the area is now covered with trees and is a park.

D. Pringle, Reconstructing the castle of Safad, in PEQ, cxvii (1975), 139-49; T. Ta'Afat, Mamlakat Safad fi 'alid al-Mamluk, Beirut 1982.

AL-SAFA'DI, AL-HASAN B. ABU MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLAH AL-HASAM, appears to have been a minor government official during the early reign of the Egyptian Sultan Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Kalâwûn [q.v.]. In any event, we know that in the year 694/1294-5 he was appointed by the wazir Ibn al-Khalîfî to head a mission to Al-Fîkus in Shârikiyya provinces charged with cultivating the crown lands over there. While on this mission, al-Safadi reports on a grisly case of cannibalism that he observed at first hand during this famine year, a report which is characteristic of the anecdotal style of his only extant work. This book, Nuzhat al-malik wa 'l mamlik fi kullat al-salatim muru' al-malikî is a short history of Egypt that ends with the year 711/1311-12 or perhaps as late as 714/1314. From a statement in a British Library manuscript (Add. 233326), it appears that al-Safadi composed the history in the year 716/1316. The earlier part of the work begins with the natural and other advantages of Egypt and gives a succinct account of the earlier rulers consisting mainly of anecdotes, but the chief interest lies in the portion which deals with the Turkish or Bahri sultans, in particular Al-Malik Al-Nasir Muhammad. Even here, however, al-Safadi records very little information which cannot be found in other sources. The B.L. ms., written for the Egyptian caliph al-Mutawakkil, proceeds to record events down to 795/1393, but these were obviously added later by another writer. Two other manuscripts of Nuzhat al-malikî are preserved in the B.N., Paris ms. 1706 and 1931, 22. The latter bears the erroneous title of Fadlî al-Miszir.


(F. Krenkow-D.P. Little) AL-SAFA'DI, SALAH AL-DIN KHALIL B. AYBAB, Abu 'l-Salâh al-Albâki (696-764/1297-1363), philologist, literary critic and litterateur, biographer, and all-round humanist.

Safad was his family's home, and he was born there. His father, al-Amîr 'izz al-Din Ayyab (b. 'Abd Allâh) was of Turkish origin; he was twenty when his father passed away. Some mamliq amîr named Albâki, seems to have belonged to him. From the apparent absence of any mention of him by his son, we may conclude that al-Safadi considered him undistinguished. Relations with his father may also have been strained, if the statement known from Ibn Hadjar that his father showed no concern for his professional religious-legal studies until he was twenty was correctly transmitted. The additional indication that he previously studied on his own would seem confirmed by the impression that no early teachers of his are noted. However, he was obviously very gifted. When he went to Damascus as a young man aged twenty and had his first meeting with Ibn Taymiyya [q.v.] in 717/1317 or 718/1318, he displayed great knowledge as he proudly and repeatedly recalls (Wâfî, vii, 20-22; Ghâythî, ii, 14; A'mânî, i, 67); his choice of the controversial Ibn Taymiyya as his spiritual guide and may have been looked upon with disapproval by his family. He soon established ties, often of friendship, with the great scholars and writers of the age in Syria and Egypt such as Ibn Nubâta, 'Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Djâmâtî, Ibn Sayyid al-Nâs, and Ibn Fadl Allâh al-'Umârî [q.v.] among many others. His relationship, both professional and personal, with the older al-Djâhali and the younger Tâdji al-Din al-Subkî would appear to have been particularly close. Al-Subkî claims him as a Shâfi'i, but in the cosmopolitan climate of Damascus and Cairo, it was natural for him to be acquainted with representatives of most Muslim and non-Muslim legal and religious groups of the time.

His abilities as a stylist and calligrapher opened up opportunities in government service. The positions he held, sometimes combined, depended on their importance for location; in roughly ascending order, they were kâsit al-darqâ, al-dast, al-inqâshâ and al-sîr, and also wakil al-khizbâ. In 695/1295-6 he was appointed by the wazir Kâfûrî to head a mission to al-Bahri b. Tawk, but the capital cities of Damascus and Cairo were the centres of his activities. He shuttled back and forth between them, keeping up his intellectual contacts wherever he went and possibly spending more time on his scholarly work than his government employment. The year 755/1354 is attested as that of his pilgrimage undertaken together with the poet Muhammad b. Yusuf b. 'Abd Allâh al-Khayyat (A'âshân, iii, 242); one of his works, Hakikat al-maâdîz 'l-Hijaz, appears to have centred on it (listed in Ibn Taghribirdî, Manhal, 244, 1, 5, cf. the quotations in 'Abd al-Kâdir b. Muhammâd al-Djâzirî, Durar al-fawâ'id, 453 ff. [Cairo 1384], referred to by van Ess, in Ilî, liv, 250, n. 1). He also travelled widely in Syria on lecture tours which led him, for instance, to Aleppo in 759/1358 (sama in Ta'sîshî al-tâsihî). Most of his time, however, was spent in Damascus where during one of the periodic out-breaks of the plague, his energetic activities came to an unexpected end in the night of Saturday to Sunday, 10 Shawwâl 764/23 July 1363.

He had a younger brother, Abû Ishâk Djâmâl al-Dîn Ibrahimî, who died on 4 Dîmâdî 722/1455 November 1341. He devoted to him an emotional obituary notice that included many of his verses on his death (Wâfî, v, 330-7). From sama in his works, we know the names of two sons, both named Muhammad (Abû 'Abd Allâh and Abu Bakr) and two daughters, one of them named al-Sâhâbâh. He appears to have written at least 450 volumes of his own composition (al-Subkî, 244, 1, 5; al-Munaqidîdî [ed.], Umarî? Dîmâshqî, pl. 3; Ta'sîshî al-tâsihî, at end of first ms., etc.).

His numerous works provide an enormous amount of varied information. They are uniformly instructive and consistently entertaining. Moreover, they are characterised by sound scholarly method and, to all appearances, even a good measure of originality. He himself spoke of 300 volumes of his own composition (al-Subkî, x, 5) or, more plausibly, of 50 volumes and 500 volumes copied (Ibn al-'Imâd, Dîshâhîr). His co-panning activity is attested already from 718/1318 for a manuscript of Ibn Nubâta's Kûshâb, according to the Princeton Catalogue of the Garrett collection, no. 1907 (298B); his own copy of one of his sources, Ibn Khallîkân, is preserved in ms. Gotha 1731 (Pertz, iii, 319). An unusual number of autographs of his own works is preserved, as is often noted by scholars and editors, see e.g. H. Ritter, in RSO, xii (1929-30), 79-88, and R. Sellheim, Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte, Wiesbaden 1967-87, i, 200-1, pl. 30, ii, 111; they require comprehensive study, together with autograph sama and摘叶. The preservation of so many autographs, the large number of preserved manuscripts, which still await a world-wide census,
SAFAITIC is the modern name given to a group translated by E. Amar in JA, having appeared by 1993; its introduction was (repr. 1962). Publication was resumed in 1949, with probably inspired by the exam-
twenty-two volumes edited by different scholars Bibliotheca Islamica first volume appeared in his wafaydt which will Tadhkira, content of ms. Chester Beatty 3861 in 7Q, vi (1961), yield further information on his literary production (so correctly in sawddji*- bayn al-bddi^ wa 'l-murddji*-, ^Ayn al-nab*-, Ikhtiydr in ms. Chester Beatty 5183, dated 753/1352, on the pangs of O. ZakI, Cairo 1329/1911, cf. F. Malti-Douglas, in Cahiers d'onomastique arabe [1979], 7-19, and, in The Islamic world. Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis, Princeton 1989, 211-37), and the later and much shorter al-Safadi, 21(1909-1910), 147-53; for a reconsideration of his sources, see D. Krawluskly, in waft, x, 241-257, with a good list of titles of Safadi's works, is only rarely marked by modern bibliographers as spurious, cf., for instance, ms. Berlin, Alwardt 4216, as against Princeton, Yahuda collection, Mach 5123; T. Fahd, La divination arabe, Strasbourg 1966, 226-7. A collection of stories and geographical data entitled Magdsma' al-bid'an wa-fawdkh al-djinin in ms. Yale Landberg 516 = Cat. Nemoy 469 is likewise wrongly ascribed to him. Bibliography: While the autobiographical sketch mentioned by Ibn al-Imad has not yet been recovered, Safadi's habit of frequently indicating the place and date of receiving information provides much biographical detail. This has been successfully exploited by D.P. Little, al-Safadi as biographer of his contemporaries, in Essays on Islamic civilization presented to Niyazi Berkes, Leiden 1976, 109-20, mainly based on 7ayn, and, in greater detail, J. van Es, Safadi-Saygi, in I.I, liii (1976), 242-66, and liv (1977), 77-108. Already his contemporaries, such as Dhababi, in al-Mutqam al-mukhtattat, al-Tarif 1408/1988, 91-2, mentioned him as he did them, but the formal biographical notices are very limited as to the factual data they contain; if some are lengthy, this is due to ample quotations from his literary production. See, for instance, Muhammad b. 'Ali al-HasaynI, Dhayl al-Tar' iv, 203, in the Beirut 1405/1985 edition of Dhababi, ^Ib; Ibn KadhAr, Bida', xiv, 303; Ibn Rafi', Wafayat, Beirut 1402/1982, ii, 268-270: Tadj al-Din al-Subki, 'Tabakat al-Shai'iyya, x, 5-32; Ibn Hadjar, Durar, ii, 87-8; Ibn Kadi Shubha, Tabakat al-Shai'iyya, ed. al-Hafiz Abd al-Allm Khair, Beirut 1407/1987, iii, 89-90; Ibn Taghribirdi, al-Manhal al-safi, Cairo 1980—, v, 241-257, with a good list of titles of Safadi's works, and idem, Nafqun, Cairo, xi, 19-21; Ibn Taghribirdi, in ShihabShair, i, 27-9. F. Krenkow, in EF, s.v., and the introductions of modern editions are basically uncritical. Cf. also M. 'A. Sultani, al-Nad al-adabi fi 'l-karn al-thamin al-hijriyan al-Safadi wa-mu'jithin, Damascus 1394/1974. For a reconsideration of his sources, see D. Krawluskly, in waft, xvii, 704-14. (F. Roseenthal) SAFAITIC is the modern name given to a group
of graffiti in a North Arabian language, expressed in a variety of the South Semitic script. They are found mainly on rocks in the deserts of southern Syria, north-eastern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia, with isolated finds in ‘Irāk, Lebanon and at Pompeii (see M.C.A. Macdonald in Syria, lxx [1993], 304-5 for references), and their distribution and content show that they were written almost exclusively by nomads. They are conventionally dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D.

While the majority consist of the author’s name and between one and 17 generations of his genealogy, a significant number also contain statements describing his actions or emotions, or events of which he was aware. Many also contain prayers to a variety of deities, and a considerable number refer to adjacent rock-drawings. This was the only period in which literacy has been widespread among the nomads of the Syro-Arabian desert—there are inscriptions by men, women and slaves [95]—and these texts (and most of the Thamudic [q.v.] graffiti) are therefore the only surviving first-hand records of their way-of-life, before the pre-Islamic poetry. They are thus of considerable importance since they contain historical, linguistic and palaeo-ethnographic information which is not available from any other source. For a discussion of the phenomenon of literacy among these nomads, see Macdonald, op. cit., 382-8.

The inscriptions were first discovered in 1857 near the eastern edge of the Ṣafā [q.v.] in southern Syria, and continue to be known by the 19th-century misnomer ‘‘Ṣafaitic’’, despite the fact that none have ever been found within the Ṣafā itself (see ibid., 305-10). More were discovered in 1860, and by 1901 the script had been deciphered. Throughout the 20th century a handful of expeditions have recorded vast numbers of these texts, and by the 1950s over 20,000 had been found in the limited number of areas which have been searched. There are clearly scores of thousands still awaiting discovery.

The Safaitic alphabet belongs to the North Arabian branch of the South Semitic script. The palaeographic development, and the exact relationships within and between the North and South Arabian branches of this script are still disputed (see B. Sass, Studia alphabeticca, Freiburg 1991, 28-93, and Macdonald, in Proc. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, x [1980] 68-72). The Safaitic script appears to have been used solely for graffiti and to have been spread informally rather than in schools (idem, in ibid., 382-8). Gemination of consonants is not available from any other source. For a discussion of the phenomenon of literacy among these nomads, see Macdonald, op. cit., 382-8.

The language of the Safaitic graffiti belongs to the group known as ‘‘North Arabian’’. Safaitic, together with Lihiyante/Dedanite, the different types of Thamudic, and Hasaitic, form a sub-group, known as ‘‘Frühnordearabisch’’, which is most obviously distinguished by its use of the definite article h-the, in contrast to the other sub-group (which includes pre-Semitic and late Aramaic, a group which uses al-; see W.W. Müller, in W. Freiberger (ed.), Geschichte der Philologie, Wiesbaden 1982, i, 17-36). For descriptions of the grammar, see E. Littman, Safaitische inscriptions, Leiden 1943, pp. xii-xxiv, and Müller, in Proc. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, x [1980] 68-72.

The nature and number of the Safaitic inscriptions have produced an extraordinarily rich onomasticon (see Müller, op. cit., 72-3 for a brief survey). Affiliation to a social group is expressed by taking the lineage back to the eponymous ancestor, or to one of his immediate descendants, or by use of the nisba (h-dh the Dayfite) or by use of the phrase dh ‘I at the end of the genealogy (dh ‘I of ’the tribe of Dayfite’). However, the word ‘I (cf. Ar. ‘I) is used of all social groups from immediate family to tribe, and even of peoples such as the Romans. On tribes, see Lankester Harding, in al-Abhath, xxii (1969), 3-25, and Macdonald, in Syria, lxx (1993), 352-67.

There is no trace of Christians or Islam in the Safaitic inscriptions. Prayers are offered to a number of deities among which the commonest are Lī (variants ?) ‘I (as in Nabaitean and Palmyrene), and in theophoric names h-‘I, presumably equivalent to the nūh ‘it in the 5th century B.C. Aramaic inscriptions on bowls found at Tell al-Maskhūṭa in Egypt, one of which is by a king of Kēdrā (Rabinowitz, in JNES, xv [1956] 1-9 and xviii [1959] 154-5), the Alilat of Herodotus 3:8, and Arabic al-Lāt [q.v.]; Lh (variants ?) ‘Ih and h-‘Ih: Rduh/Rdy—appears to be of the same name, for a deity of uncertain sex, but probably male and to be identified with Rudutau mentioned in the Assyrian Annals, Orotal in Herodotus 3:8, Arīṣat at Palmyra (see J.T. Millik, Déséances faites par les dieux, Paris 1972, 49) and Rudan of Ibn al-Kalbi, K. al-Asnam, Cairo 1914, 30-1; Būt’m (the great Aramaean sky god, whose name usually appears in Safaitic as a direct loan from Aramaic Baʿalʿgamin, though occasionally it is found as a calque in the form Buʿtam), Dīr (a loan from Nabaitean Dūghr, Dūṣhara, but with variants dīr, dīr, and the etymologically correct dīr [cf. Dhu l-ʿSand [q.v.]], which is, naturally, the common form in the Thamudic E texts of southern Jordan); Sīh-qmn (equivalent to Nabaitean ḥṣ[q]-l-qmn) ‘the companion [or ‘succour’, cf. Syriac ʾṣṣq] of the group’; and Yḥk (see Macdonald, in Anchor Bible dictionary, iii, 422). Invocations are also made to the Ga (i.e. Tyche or ‘Fortune’) of the two major tribal groups, thus Ga-Df and Ga-ʾwāḥ.

Any of these deities can be invoked singly or together and there is no discernible difference in the requests made to them. By far the commonest is for security (ʾlmn), but there are numerous prayers for relief (rwb) from privation, freedom from want (ghnyt), beauty (ghnyt), and a variety of other requests made to deities. Religious expressions include ʾwāḥ b hʿkh (‘and he sought protection in hʿkh’; WH 3923, re-read by Macdonald in M. Ibrahim (ed.) Arabian studies in honour of Mahmoud Ghul, Wiesbaden 1989, 65-6) which is paralleled by ʾwāḥ b rdy (WH 390). A number of other deities are attested in Safaitic only in theophoric names, Nāl (cf. Nabaitean Munūṭ, Arabic Munāṭ [q.v.]), wdh b hʿkh (cf. Nabaitean ʾṭ ṭ and Arabic al-ʿUzza [q.v.]), and, most common of all, ṣr (ṣr). Of religious practice we have virtually no hint. The supposed Safaitic evidence for pilgrimage to the temple of Baʿalʿgamin (LP 350) is based on a misreading (see Macdonald, in Syria, lxx [1993], 315, n. 75 and 366, n. 414), though another text (CSNS 424) which refers to Būtʾmn as ‘‘the god of Sīr‘‘, suggests that the author knew of the temple of Baʿalʿgamin. Inscriptions mentioning sacrifice (dhbh) are usually found in groups, and seldom specify either the victim or the deity, though two texts (C 4358 and 4360) say their authors sacrificed to Būtʾmn and the authors of two others (unpublished) refer to a high place or altar (smd) on which they sacrificed a camel (dhbh gml ʾh).

Some texts record the building of a Cairn (rgm) over...
the dead (though cairns were often used for other purposes as well), a practice maintained by the modern inhabitants of this area, the Ahl al-Djabal (on "Safaitic" cairns, see Macdonald, in Zaghloul et alii, Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan. IV, Amman, 303-7, and references there; on modern cairns, see W. and F. Lancaster in Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy, iv [1993], 151-69). Some Safaitic texts also refer to a balyya (q. v.), or camel left to die at the grave of its master, a pre-Islamic practice described by Islamic writers, and which is also mentioned in an unpublished Nabataean inscription from southern Jordan, which was found associated with a burial of this type. Large numbers of texts are concerned with mourning (ugm, ndm, velh, etc.) and a belief in a personified Death or Fate (Manā/mana, Manāyā), paralleled in the pre-Islamic poetry, is suggested by the phrase "humbled by Fate" (rghm mn), which is often used of the dead.

It is clear from these texts that their authors were aware of the beaten-track of life. Herod the Great and his successors appear to be mentioned several times, as are (unspecified) Roman emperors (kr) and at least one Nabataean king (see Macdonald, in Syria, lx [1993], 323-46, and in Trade, contact, and the movement of peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in honour of J. Basil Hennessy, Sydney 1994) and there are a number of (mainly enigmatic) references to the Romans (Rm), the Nabataeans (Nh), the Persians (Mdh). Unfortunately, in most cases it is impossible to identify the exact events referred to. There are also indications that some of the nomads were recruited into auxiliary units of the Roman army (see Macdonald, in Syria, lx [1993], 368-77). The Safaitic inscriptions provide no evidence of a "nomadic threat" to the Roman provinces of Syria and Arabia.

These graffiti provide a picture of the daily life of their authors which shows them to have been fully nomadic, rather than sedentaries or semi-nomads, as has sometimes been suggested (see discussion in Macdonald, in op. cit., 311-22). They were mixed pastoralists, migrating annually with their herds, both of camels and of sheep and goats, between the harra or (basalt desert) of southern Syria and north-eastern Jordan, and the hamād (which they called mdrb), in what is now western 'Irak and northern Sahādī Arabia (see Macdonald, in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Christentum am Roten Meere, Berlin 1971, 67-74 and the works of Oxtoby and Clark mentioned above. For a detailed discussion of the historical content of the texts, see Macdonald in Syria, lx [1993], 303-408.

Major collections: Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, pars v, Paris 1950-1 [-CSNS].

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General surveys: M.C.A. Macdonald, in Anchor Bible dictionary, New York 1992, iii, 418-23 (with script table and examples of texts) (N.B. the section on "South Safaitic" should be corrected by reference to the present article), and W.W. Müller, in PASAS (1980), 67-74 and the works of Oxtoby and Clark mentioned above. For a detailed discussion of the historical content of the texts, see Macdonald in Syria, lx (1993), 303-408.

M.C.A. Macdonald, in Anchor Bible dictionary, New York 1992, iii, 418-23 (with script table and examples of texts) (N.B. the section on "South Safaitic" should be corrected by reference to the present article), and W.W. Müller, in PASAS (1980), 67-74 and the works of Oxtoby and Clark mentioned above. For a detailed discussion of the historical content of the texts, see Macdonald in Syria, lx (1993), 303-408.

M.C.A. Macdonald, in Anchor Bible dictionary, New York 1992, iii, 418-23 (with script table and examples of texts) (N.B. the section on "South Safaitic" should be corrected by reference to the present article), and W.W. Müller, in PASAS (1980), 67-74 and the works of Oxtoby and Clark mentioned above. For a detailed discussion of the historical content of the texts, see Macdonald in Syria, lx (1993), 303-408.

SAFAKUS, conventional European form SFAX, a town of Tunisia, on the eastern coast to the north of the Gulf of Gabès.

The historical study of the towns of Tunisia poses a series of problems, the approaches to which are far from uniform, given the sparseness of information. The urban societies did not preserve the pieces of evidence, above all, the written ones, concerning with the urban public life, which would have thrown light on the activity of the towns and the exchange of commodities. Given these lacunae, stretching over a long period of centuries, historical information is necessarily laconic and disparate.

There was nothing which destined Sfax to become a great regional centre. In order to achieve this, the
Muslims did not mark down the site of Taenea, an important settlement some 12 km/7 miles to the south, of the neighbouring tribe of the Methelith. Economic life.
The town's commerce flourished thanks to its in-transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, are hidden from us, and archaeological excavations, hardly yet begun, have not provided any decisive information. Nevertheless, the orthogonal character of the Medina of Sfax and the alignments visible in its en-ironments, lead one to recall the typical Roman layout. But one has to have recourse to the information of the Arabic historical tradition, with all the attendant risks.

Origins.
An unusual fact, hence notable, is that, on the model of Tunis and Kairouan, Sfax had—if belatedly—its own historian, Mahmud b. Sa'id Mak đá al-Safa k úsi (d. at Kairouan in 1227/1813), author of the Nuzhat al-an ád ám f t y`árík al-tawd úrik zich la litres ak bár, a compilation in which the author traces the history of his natal town from the Islamic conquest to the reign of Hammúda Paghá (1196-1229/1781-1814) (ed. Ali Zouari and M. Mahfoudh, Beirut 1988). It appears from the historical schema, which he reflects, that the original town had a military function but soon acquired a commercial one. The actual layout of the town and its buildings speedily reflected this process. It seems to have begun with a k ár or burd ú or mabrí) called the Burd ú al-ahmar, on the site of the modern casbah, and in the neighbourhood of the záw i y á of Sidi Djubla. Did this begin as a simple ri b ú or strong-point and then become a ri b ú -mabrí surrounded by an agricultural-artisanal agglomeration? This particular burd ú was in fact merely one of several (Burúiya, Lawza, Inkhila, Mahris 4 Ali, etc.), numerous in the area and amongst which Ksar Ziyad (35 km/20 miles to the north-west from the modern town) was chosen for fighters for the faith, an instructional centre for religious education, or a staging-post for the bar i d (q. v.) before becoming a commercial centre? Whatever the case, the first nucleus of population was one of mará bi tún, to which two groups of fishermen (the A l t i b al- and the N i t ú l a) were to join. The hinterland had a dense network of villages (kádr). The sources all agree that trade by land and by sea was the main cause for the evolution of the town.

Urban evolution.
As a mark of its success, Sfax seems to have acquired its first and last fortifications towards the time of Ibrahim Ahmad b. al-Aghlab, between 246/860 and 249/863. The guiding spirit here was its future hád ú, the fásh ú Ali b. Salúm, a disciple of the Imám Sa b tún (q. v.). The space enclosed by these walls re-main unchanged till the 12th/18th century. It took the form of a quadrilateral 600 m by 400 m, hence covering 24 ha (Sousse, 32 ha; Monastir, 28 ha). The fact that it was only slightly set back from the sea, with a shallow continental shelf there, provided, moreover, a good warming period in case of external attack. The great mosque presumably dated from that same period. It had numerous buildings and extensions (e.g. in 379/989 and 479/1086) and only assumed its final form, the one which we now know, in the years between 1183/1775 and 1197/1783. Restricted within its rampart, the town soon became cramped, over a millennium, of the internal lay-out of the town ended up, towards the mid-19th century, in a repertoire of buildings made up of 83 mosques and various oratories, 72 záw i y ás, 2,066 houses, 19 oil presses, 35 mills, as many ovens for bread-making, and 12 burd ús. With such an array of buildings, Sfax took second place only after the capital Tunis, which had 8,000-9,000 houses. Water was scarce, hence streams had to be utilised, and three basins, as well as domestic and private cisterns, were constructed: the first, the Nassiriya, goes back to the beginning of the 7th/13th century, and the other two date from 1188/1774.

Political history.
Although comparatively important, given the scale of the country, Sfax never assumed a political importance commensurate with its commercial one. Often coveted by outside powers, which often passed it by, it was never subject to any domination except a com-mercial one. Hammú b. Mall resided assuming independent power there in 451/1059 when Zirid power was in decline. After several fruitless attempts, Tamín only managed to recover it in 493/1099-1100. It rebelled in 504/1110-11 against its Zirid governor Abu 4 Futúh. It took the side of the Almohad Al 4 mu min, the master of Ifrikiya, in 532/1136 before passing into the hands of the Majorcan Yáh b ã Ghamriya. It was seized for short periods by the rebels Ibn Abl 4 Umá r (681/1282) and the Ban ú Mak k ã (757/1356). It declared for the Ottoman Turks during the period of Hafsid decline in the 10th/16th century, but only reluctantly. In effect autonomous, a aqás a took the leading political role there. Even Shá hib Sidi 4 Arsá (948/1542) was unable to bring it within his control, though his warriors seized Darb ú udh. When Kairouan had been left in 696/1297, a rás called Abu 4 Abd Allah al-Makk áni was master of Sfax. It was attached to Tripoli and only restored to the san ú dan of Tunis in 996/1588.

However, the people of Sfax were not lacking in initiative when they managed to escape from the domination of their elites or acted in concert with them. Despite its trade, and perhaps connected with it, Sfax was none the less a corsair centre. For this reason, George of Antioch gave control of it to Roger II of Siciliy. Mastered in 538/1143 but occupied in 543/1148, it was only broke free in 551/1156. It was caught up in the policies of Venice and Malta, and local tradition preserves the memory of a naval victory at Rás al-Makk h b in 1160/1747. Venetian attempts at an occupation (1200/1786 and 1205/1791) failed. Ships of Sfax asking permission to go out raiding represented 15% of all requests made between 1212/1797 and 1213/1798. These ships all belonged to the Al 4 Abd Allah al-Makk áni was master of Sfax. It was attached to Tripoli and only restored to the san ú dan of Tunis in 996/1588.

The town's commerce flourished thanks to its in-
habitants’ spirit of enterprise, with a trade orientated towards the Levant. The establishment of the Proctorate dealt a blow to this, but the local people have been recovering their economic enterprise since independence.

Cultivation of the olive has been known from the 3rd/9th century, and after a period of decline under the Hafsid, recovered in the 11th/17th century; a survey in 1852 enumerated 110,518 trees in the area to the north of the town. These were progressively replaced by almond trees from 1910 onwards. But olive cultivation in the whole of the Sfax region enjoyed an immense increase under the Protectorate, with a large injection of French capital, with 350,000 trees just after 1881, 5,159,829 in 1951 and 6,100,000 in 1972. This monoculture was without its dangers, and potential difficulties were only regulated by the creation in Sfax in 1930 of a special Office for Oil, which was to play a leading role in marketing and commerce. Whereas there were only 19 oil-pressing establishments in the mid-19th century, there were some 250 counted in 1972.

The economy of the town of Sfax itself rests on both artisanal production and on service industries (the latter comprising 37% of all enterprises in 1980). As well as the dominant position of olive production, their had been an industrial transformation from the establishments in the mid-19th century, there were commerce. Whereas there were only 19 oil-pressing Oil, which was to play a leading role in marketing and by the creation in Sfax in 1930 of a special Office for

The local commercial mentality expresses itself in private capitalism, not unlike that of the people of Djerba.

Population.

This is difficult to evaluate because of the diaspora, rural emigration and, above all, because of administrative boundary changes. The municipality, created in 1884, had 54,800 people in 1946. The Medina alone had 16,700 in 1954, compared with 130,000 for the rest of the agglomeration. The population tripled between 1936 and 1966, and reached 275,000 ca 1975. The town grew in consequence, at the expense of the Rhât, the Frankish quarter, razed after the bombardments of 1943, of the surrounding sabkhas and even of the nearby sea, whilst the surrounding orchards and gardens, qûnûns, have now olive, cultly disappeared. The urban area continues to grow in an anarchic and uncontrolled fashion. Even the Medina has been affected by the invasiveness of commercial and artisanal activities spreading out from the sâqas and altering the ancient pattern of residential usage. There has also been threats of flooding and of atmospheric pollution. The safeguarding of the historic areas and rehabilitation of residential quarters will require official intervention, and is tied up with a public debate on the nature and characteristics of the towns of Tunisia, their pasts and their presents.


In Islamic law, travelling permits certain mitigations in the carrying out of ritual duties. This applies to three topics: 1. ritual purity: according to most schools, a traveller may extend the period during which he is allowed to perform the minor ritual ablation (wudu? [q.v.]) by rubbing his foot-covering instead of washing his feet, from one to three days; 2. ritual prayer (salât [q.v.]): a traveller is permitted to shorten (kafr) the salâts with four rak’as [q.v.], i.e. the salât al-asr, the salât al-‘asr, and the salât al-zuhr; to two rak’as, and, according to most schools, to combine (gâmî) the salât al-asr and the salât al-magârib with the salât al-zuhr; 3. fasting: a traveller is permitted, or according to some, obliged to break the fast of Ramadan, but must later make up for the days not fasted. A journey has to satisfy certain requirements in order to allow these mitigations. It has to be undertaken with the intention to cover a certain minimum distance (masâfî al-khaq). Most schools define it as 16 farâsâks, which modern jurists equate with ca. 82 km. The Shâfîs mention a distance of 24 miles, i.e. ca. 48 km. According on the Hâfizis, this distance is three days’ travelling with an average speed. The Zâhiris, however, acting on the obvious meaning of the word safâr in Qur’ân and hadîth, hold that any journey permits these mitigations. According to most schools, the aim of the journey is important. The Hâfizis assert that only journeys with a religious purpose, such as performing the hadjî or dhâhil, count in this respect, whereas the Shâfîs, Mâlikis and Shî’is hold that the journey must have a lawful aim. According to the Hâfizis, the aim of the journey is irrelevant.


2. In Islamic life.

See for this, FUNDUK; KHAM; RİHÂL; TİDARÀ. For envoys and ambassadors, see ELÇI; SAFPÊR.2. For the pilgrimages to Mecca, see MECÂ. To these of these articles, add I.R. Netton (ed.), Golden Roads. Migration, pilgrimage and travel in medieval and modern Islam, London 1993.

SAFAR, name of the second month of the Islamic year, also called al-Qâyûr or al-mu'afar because of its being considered to be unlucky (C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Alchemeh, i, 206; idem, Mokka, ii, 56). The Muslim Tigré tribes pronounce the name Shafar, the Achnashen Thapa. According to Wellhausen, in the old Arabian year, Safar comprised a period of two months in which al-Muharram (which was later named, al-Muharram by most Muslim innovators) was included. As a matter of fact, tradition reports that the early Arabsians called al-Muharram Safar and considered an ‘umra during the months of the Hadjî as a practice of an extremely reprehensible nature. They embodied this view in the following saying: ‘Iqqa bâara‘ l-dabar waa-wa-fah l-raqâ or wa-nâla’ka Safar halalati l-‘umra il-man i’sâmar, i.e. “When the
wounded backs of camels are healed and the vestiges [of the pilgrims] are obliterated and Safar has passed, then the "Umra is allowed for those who undertake it."

Bibliography: E. Littmann, Über die Ehrennamen und Neubenennungen der islamischen Monate, in IsI., viii (1918), 228 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, The Alchemists, i, 194-5; J. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, 95; Bughârî, Ḥadîth, bâb 34; Manâkîb al-АНsr, bâb 26 and Kastallâni's commentary. See also Al-Muharram.

(A. J. Wensinck) - Safar. Neubrennmann spelling, Shihab al-Mamdhul el-Baghîr a leading figure in the early Tunisian reformist ("evolutionist") and Young Tunisian movements, of Turkish parentage (1865-1917).

Born at Tunis as the third son of Brigadier-General (amir liwa) Mustafâ Safar, he received a strict education, attended first a Kurînic school and then the elitist Sadîkî [q.v.] College from its inception (1875). His excellent record won him the favour of his founder, Khayr al-Dîn Pâsha [q.v.] and a scholarship to Paris. Having lost it a year later owing to the diversion of the school's endowments by Khayr al-Dîn's successor, he entered government service (1882), where he rose in seven years to the position of head of the Accountancy department (ra'is kism al-mukhtabat) of the General Administration, concurrently running and teaching a new Sadîkî branch. More significant were his subsequent roles as (a) founder member of, and contributor to, the semi-official, elite, Islamic, Arabic weekly, al-Ḥâdîrî ("the Capital", first issue 2 August 1888); (b) co-founder and president of the Khâldûniyya Association (opened 5 May 1897 [q.v.]), where he also gave courses in history which fostered national consciousness, won him a following among students of the Zaytûnî [q.v.] and helped bring about a Sadîkî-Zaytûnî alliance. One of his disciples was the future leader of the Algerian Salafîyya [q.v.], Ibn Bâdîs [q.v.]; (c) president of the Beylical Habûs Council (jamî'at al-abhâb or al-aqâifs, in the mid-1890s). In this capacity, he won particular popularity for the renovation of the Tunis hospice (taksiyya, 1905) and for his resistance to colon pressure for acquisition of habûs lands (see inzâl and B.D. Cannon, The Beylical Habûs Council and suburban development: Tunis, 1881-1914, in The Maghreb Revue, viii/5-6 [1983], 32-39 [1984], 59-63 [1984]; P. Lambert, Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881), Paris 1959, 456, 481-2; Ch.-A. Julien, Colonies françaises et Jeunes tunisiens (1882-1912), in Rev. fr. d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, liv (1967), 87-150; M.S. Zmerli, Figures tunisiennes. Les successeurs, Tunis 1967, 13-29; M.F. Ibn 'Ashîr, Tunâqîm al-âlam, Tunis 1970, 197-206; N. Sraieb, Enseignements, idées et systèmes de valeurs: le Collège Sadiki de Tunis, in Annaire de l'Afr. du Nord, x (1971), 122-35; idem, Une institution scolaire: le Collège Sadiki de Tunis, diss., Doct. d'État, Paris 1989, unpubl.; B. Tili, Rapports culturels et idéologiques... en Tunisie au XIXe siècle (1830-1881), Tunis 1974, 651-65; idem, Crises et mutations dans la Tunisie (1907-1912), Tunis 1978, x, 36-38, 428; P. Shinar).

SAFAWIDS, a dynasty which ruled in Persia as sovereigns 907-1135/1501-1722, as faqâ'înats 1142-8/1729-36, and thereafter, existed as pretenders to the throne up to 1186/1773.

I. First, political and military history.
II. Economic and commercial history; trade relations with Europe.
III. Literature.
IV. Religion, philosophy and science.
V. Art and architecture. [see Suppl.]
VI. Numismatics.

I. Dynastic, political and military history.

The establishment of the Safavid state in 907/1501 by Shâh Ismâ'îl I [q.v.] (initially ruler of Ahdar-bâyqân only) marks an important turning-point in Persian history. In the first place, the Safawids restored Persian sovereignty over the whole of the area traditionally regarded as the heartlands of Persia for the first time since the Arab conquest of Persia eight and a half centuries previously. During the whole of that time, only once, during what Minorsky termed "the Iranian intermezzo" (334-447/945-1055), did a dynasty of Persian origin prevail over much of Iran [see BAKTRIANS; for the rest, Persia was ruled by a succession of Arab caliphs, and Turkish and Mongol sultans and khâns. Secondly, Shâh Ismâ'îl I de facto brought the area of Sea of Iran and Turkistan into the ambit of Shi'i Islam to be the official religion of the new state. This was the first time in the history of Islam that a major Islamic state had taken this step. Ismâ'îl's motives in making this decision were probably a combination of religious conviction and the desire to provide the nascent Safavid state with an ideology which would differentiate it from its powerful neighbour, the Sunni Ottoman empire. At all events, the policy had
far-reaching consequences, because it introduced into the Persian body politic the potential for conflict between the turban and the crown, representations of ‘secular’ government, and the mujtahids, whose dream was theocratic government. This conflict, always latent, emerged into the open from time to time during the Kādgār period, and finally burst forth with cataclysmic force in the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

(i) The origins of the Safawids.

The origins of the Safavid family are shrouded in mystery. This mystery is compounded by falsifications which were perpetrated, probably during the reign of Ismā'il I and certainly during that of Tāhmasp I [q.v.], in order to produce an "official" Safavid genealogy [see Şafi AL-DİN ARDABİLİ, Bibliography]. Petrushevski thinks that the fabrication of the "official" Safavid genealogy occurred even earlier, at the beginning of the 8th/14th century (see B. Nikitine, Essai d'analyse du Safwat al-safd, in Jd [1957], 386). There was never to be a consensus among scholars that the Safavid family hailed from Persian Kurdistan, and later moved to Ardabil, finally settling in the 5th/11th century at Ardabil. There, they lived an uneventful life, gradually acquiring a reputation for piety which attracted to them disciples (murīd), but it is only with the birth of Shāh Şafi al-Din in 650/1252-3, the eponymous founder of the Safawiyah or Safawid order, that Safavid history really begins.

(ii) The development of the Safavid order (700-907/1301-1501).

In 700/1301, Şafi al-Din assured the leadership of a local Şūfi order in Gilân, and, under him and his successor, Şadr al-Din Mûsâ [see ŞADR AL-DİN ARDABİLİ], the order was transformed into a religious movement which conducted its propaganda (da'wa) throughout Persia, Syria and Asia Minor. As yet there was no sign of the militant Shi‘ism which became a feature of the movement later; indeed, Şafi al-Din himself was apparently a Sunnī of the Shafi‘i school. However, the order was beginning to have a political impact, judging by the fact that it attracted the hostility of the Mongol amir Malik Aqârâf. We have few details of the development of the order under Khâqân al-Din (794-892/1391-1492) and İbrahim (815-817/1410-1412). It is tempting to see the esoteric doctrine of the Safavid order assuming a Shi‘ī character under the leadership of Khâqân al-Din [see, for example, W. Hinz, ‘Zusammen- züge zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert’, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 23; and E.G. Browne, in JRASt [July 1921], 407, quoted in V. Minorsky’s review of Hinz’s book in Deutsche Literaturzeitung, xxiii [1937], 954). In the opinion of H.R. Roemer, however, although Shi‘ī elements were always present in Folk Islam, ‘it cannot be proved conclusively that any of the ancestors of İsmâ‘îl ‘had abjured the Sunna and turned Shi‘ī’ (The Safavid period, in Camb. hist. Iran, vi, Cambridge 1986, 196-7).

At all events, there is no doubt that the Safavid order, like many other religious movements that flourished in Anatolia from the 7th-10th/13th-16th centuries, was the direct beneficiary of the destruction by Hulegii of the Sunnī caliphate in 656/1258, and of the policy of the Mongol Il-Khans of tolerance toward all religious faiths, which facilitated the spread of heterodoxy generally. While not going as far as to endorse Henri Corbin’s famous dictum that “True Shi‘ism is the same as Ta’ṣawwuf, and similarly, genuine and real Ta’ṣawwuf cannot be anything other than Shi‘ism” (quoted in M.M. Mazzauoi, The origins of the Safavids, Wiesbaden 1972, 83 and n. 2), M.F. Köprülû seems correct in saying that, during that period, “Le Soufisme est en faveur, mais l’hétérodoxie recrée facilement des adeptes” (L. Bouvat’s tr., quoted in Mazzauoi, 57).

When Shákh Djiyanaqd [q.v.] assumed the leadership of the Safavid order in 951/1447-8, the history of the Safavid movement entered a new phase. Not only did he possess religious authority; he also sought material power (salâman-t-i sâri) (Khâqân al-Dîn b. Kûbâd al-Husâyni, Tarîh-i ‘Ilî-yî Nizâmî, B.L. ms. Add. 23,513, fol. 443b). The most powerful ruler in Persia at the time was the Shirwânshâh Djinâdî [q.v.], but he was threatened (Amin b. Ahmad al-Hâfiz, Hist. B.L. ms. Add. 16,734, fol. 516a), and ordered Djiyanaqd to disperse his forces and leave Ardabil; otherwise, Ardabil would be destroyed (B.L. ms. Or. 3248, fol. 19a). Djiyanaqd fled, and eventually found asylum with Shîrâwânshâh’s rival, the Ak Kouyunlû, at Diyar Bâkâr. In 864/1460, Djiyanaqd was killed during a foray into Shîrâwân, and his son Haydar [q.v.] succeeded him as head of the Safawiyah. Initially, Haydar continued the alliance with the Ak Kouyunlû and cemented it by marrying Djinâdî’s daughter. After Djinâdî’s death, however, his son Ya’kûb in his turn felt threatened by growing Safavid power, and allied himself with Shîrâwânshâh to defeat and kill Haydar in 893/1488. Safavid supporters were now distinguished by the distinctive headgear (tâḏîg) of twelve gores, denoting the twelve Ikhân ʿAṣâhîr Imâms, surmounted by a red spike; this tâḏîg is said to have been revealed to Haydar in a dream by the Imâm ʿAli, and the wearing of it caused the Ottomans to dub Safavid supporters kizîl bash [q.v.] or “redheads”; this derrisory appellation was adopted by the Safawids as a mark of pride. Halîl Inâlikîc has noted that, already in the 8th/14th century, Turcoman warriors wore a red cap known as kizîl bork.

After the death of Haydar, the Şûfis of the Safavid order gathered round his son ʿAli at Ardabil. The Ak Kouyunlû sultan Ya’kûb, now thoroughly alarmed, seized ʿAli, his two younger brothers İbrahim and İsmâ‘îl, and their mother, and confined them in the fortress of İ斯塔ḫrî in Fârs. He is said to have spared the lives of the brothers only out of consideration for their half-sister, Beqat Aghâ known as ʿAlâmîgûr Begum, whose mother was Šâh Şahrâbakhsh’s sister (B.L. ms. Or. 3248, fol. 24a). In the struggle for power which followed the death of Ya’kûb in 896/1490, one of the contenders, Rustam, released the Safavid brothers from jail after four-and-a-half years (898/1493) and, with the assistance of their followers, defeated his main rival Bâysûkuruk. He soon realised that the political aspirations of the Safawids constituted a danger to himself; he re-arrested ʿAli and his brothers, and planned to kill ʿAli, and his followers at Tabriz and Ardabil. ʿAli escaped from Rustam’s camp, and made for Ardabil, but was overtaken and killed by Ak Kouyunlû troops.

According to Safavid ‘official history’, ʿAli, before he died, designated his younger brother, İsmâ‘îl, to succeed him. However, A.H. Morton, in a paper given at the 2nd Safavid Round Table, held at Cambridge 8-11 September 1993, raised some important questions on this issue: why was İsmâ‘îl given precedence over his elder brother İbrahim, who might normally have been expected to succeed as leader of the Safavid order? Did İbrahim in fact succeed ʿAli, and did İbrahim’s early death make it easier for Safavid historians to “edit him out” of official Safavid history? And, finally, does the passing over of İbrahim in favour of İsmâ‘îl mark a division in Safavid ideology between İbrahim,
representing Sufi quietism, and Ismā‘il, representing militant Shi‘ism or extremism? At all events, Ismā‘il made his way to Qum, where he was given sanctuary at Lāhijān by the local ruler Kār Kiyā Mirzā ‘Ali. Rustam prepared to invade Gīlān, but was prevented from doing so by further dynastic feuds between rival Ak Koyunlu chiefs.

**Prima facie**, one might have expected that the Safawid revolutionary movement, for such it had become, would have petered out after suffering what would normally have been the devastating loss of not one but three leaders within the space of 34 years. The fact that it did not underlines the extraordinary effectiveness of the Safawī da‘wā, particularly among the Turkoman tribesmen of eastern Anatolia and Syria.

There were three principal elements which together made up what Minorsky called the “dynamic ideology of the Safawid movement” (Tādzhikrat al-mulāk, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. XVI, London 1943, 23). First, the Sufi disciples (murids) of the Safawī order went unquestioning obedience to their murgūd-i kāmil (see Mughūtdī), the head of the order, who was their spiritual director. Second, the apothecosis of the Safawid leader as a living emanation of the godhead. Already in the time of Ḏunayd the Safawī murids “openly called” their leader “God (islāh), and his son, Son of God (ibn Allāh) … in his praise they said ‘he is the Living One, there is no God but he’” (Mazzāzū, op. cit., 73). The poems of Shah Ismā‘il, composed in the Adhār dialect of Turkish under the pen-name of Khatā‘ī (see Ismā‘īl i. 2), are unequivocal on the subject of Ismā‘il’s divinity (see R.M. Savory. Some reflections on totalitarian tendencies in the Safawid state, in Studies on the history of Safawī Iran, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, X. 231-2).

Such a deviant doctrine placed the Safawīs squarely between Ak Koyunlu control in 914/1508. In 917/1511 Ismā‘il left Lahijān for Ardabīl to make his bid for power. By the time he reached Ardabīl, 1,500 followers from Syria and Anatolia had joined him (Hasan Rūmī, Ahsan al-tawādhūk, ed. G.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 25-6). From there, he sent heralds (dgīrān) and couriers (muhīrān) to summon more supporters from those areas and also from Adhār-bāyḏān and ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam (see Dījāl) to a rendezvous at Arzīnjān (see Erzīnjān), on the high road between Ak Shehir and Erzerum. His choice of rendezvous dearly indicates where the focal point of his support lay. By the time of 906/1500, 7,000 kizīlbašī had rallied to him; they came from the Usṭāḏā, Shāmū, Rūmū, Takkārū, Dhu ‘l-Kadar, Aḏārghār, Kāḏār and Warsāk tribes. Leading them was the young leader but also with planning the final stages of the Safawid revolution. The first decade of the 10th/16th century was spent by Shah Ismā‘il in extending Safawī rule over the rest of Persia (see Ismā‘īl i.), and also over Baghdaḏ and the province of ‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, which was wrested from Ak Koyunlu control in 914/1508. In 917/1511 Ismā‘il despatched a kizīlbašī expeditionary force to Transoxania to assist the Timurids Zähīr al-Dīn Bābūr (see Bābūr) in recovering his ancestral dominions from the Shībānī Ozbegs. The combined Safawī and Timurid force occupied Samarkand, where Bābūr made good his promise, in return for Safawī help, to have Ismā‘il’s name inserted in the kūthā and coins minted in his name (Aḥsan al-tawādhūk, 127), but “the numismatic evidence for this is equivocal” (see Bābūr, and its Bibliography). Bābūr, having also occupied Bukhārā, sent the kizīlbašī troops home, whereupon the Ozbegs promptly counter-attacked and drove him out of Bukhārā. Further Safawī assistance from the governor of Bālgh temporarily stabilised the situation, but the combined Safawī and Timurid force under the wakil Amīr Naḏīm was annihilated by the Ōzbegs after many of the kizīlbašī had mutinied against their Persian commander (see Savory, The political murder of Mirzā Salmān, in Studies on the history of Safawī Iran, xv, 186-7). This defeat put an end to Safawī aspirations to extend their influence into Transoxania, and, for most of the Safawī period, the problem of the defence of the northeastern frontier against nomad invasions remained largely unsolved.

On the north-western frontier, Safawī expansionism was a major factor in precipitating war with the Ottomans, a war which so threatened the very existence of the nascent Safawī state. Not surprisingly, the Sunni Ottomans were alarmed by the vigorous propaganda of the militant Safawī da‘wā in areas of eastern Anatolia and in the region of the Taurus mountains, which in turn led to circulation of Ottoman emblems and the Mamlūk state. Even more alarming for the Ottomans was the great success of this da‘wā among the Turkoman tribes, and the recruitment of significant numbers of these tribesmen into the Safawī army. In 907/1502 the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II (g.v.) deported large numbers of Shīfs from Anatolia to the Morea, and he strengthened his garrisons on the Qum, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, 85) entered Tabriz. Coins were minted in his name; the kūthā was read in the name of the Twelve Imāms, and the Imāmī rite won the proclamation of the true religion (Khāndamir, Ḥabīb al-siyās, Tehran n.d., iv, 467). Although masters initially only of Adhār-bāyḏān, and despite the fact that Alwān was mustering fresh forces; that another Ak Koyunlu prince, Murād, was still in possession of Fārs and ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam; and that the Timurīs still controlled Kūrūsān, the Safawīs had in fact won the struggle for power in Persia which had been going on for nearly a century since the death of Timūr in 807/1405.

(iii). The establishment of the Safawid state.

Since Ismā‘il was only seven years old in 900/1494 when his brother ‘Ali was killed in battle with Ak Koyunlu troops, and was barely fourteen years old at the time of his accession, it is obvious that the momentum of the Safawī revolutionary movement during that crucial decade was maintained by others. The sources term the men responsible the ahī-i khitās, a small group of about seven kizīlbašī chiefs who were singled out by their special devotion to their leader and who had a special relationship with him. They were charged not only with protecting the person of the young leader but also with planning the final stages of the Safawī revolution.

The main feature of the 10th/16th century was the claim to be the representatives on earth of the Twelfth Imām, who was the spiritual director. Second, the Safawīs squarely between Ak Koyunlu control. In 914/1508 Isma‘il left Lahijān for Ardabīl to make his bid for power. By the time he reached Ardabīl, 1,500 followers from Syria and Anatolia had joined him (Hasan Rūmī, Ahsan al-tawādhūk, ed. G.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 25-6). From there, he sent heralds (dgīrān) and couriers (muhīrān) to summon more supporters from those areas and also from Adhār-bāyḏān and ‘Irāk-i ‘Adjam (see Dījāl) to a rendezvous at Arzīnjān (see Erzīnjān), on the high road between Ak Shehir and Erzerum (g.v.)). His choice of rendezvous dearly indicates where the focal point of his support lay. By the time of 906/1500, 7,000 kizīlbašī had rallied to him; they came from the Usṭāḏā, Shāmū, Rūmū, Takkārū, Dhu ‘l-Kadar, Aḏārghār, Kāḏār and Warsāk tribes. Leading them was the young leader but also with planning the final stages of the Safawī revolution. The first decade of the 10th/16th century was spent by Shah Ismā‘il in extending Safawī rule over the rest of Persia (see Ismā‘īl i.), and also over Baghdaḏ and the province of ‘Irāk-i ‘Arab, which was wrested from Ak Koyunlu control in 914/1508. In 917/1511 Ismā‘il despatched a kizīlbašī expeditionary force to Transoxania to assist the Timurīd Zähīr al-Dīn Bābūr (see Bābūr) in recovering his ancestral dominions from the Shībānī Ozbegs. The combined Safawī and Timurīd force occupied Samarkand, where Bābūr made good his promise, in return for Safawī help, to have Ismā‘il’s name inserted in the kūthā and coins minted in his name (Aḥsan al-tawādhūk, 127), but “the numismatic evidence for this is equivocal” (see Bābūr, and its Bibliography). Bābūr, having also occupied Bukhārā, sent the kizīlbašī troops home, whereupon the Ozbegs promptly counter-attacked and drove him out of Bukhārā. Further Safawī assistance from the governor of Bālgh temporarily stabilised the situation, but the combined Safawī and Timurīd force under the wakil Amīr Naḏīm was annihilated by the Ōzbegs after many of the kizīlbašī had mutinied against their Persian commander (see Savory, The political murder of Mirzā Salmān, in Studies on the history of Safawī Iran, xv, 186-7). This defeat put an end to Safawī aspirations to extend their influence into Transoxania, and, for most of the Safawī period, the problem of the defence of the northeastern frontier against nomad invasions remained largely unsolved.

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eastern frontier after Isma'il overran Diyar Bakr and large areas of Kurdistān in 913/1507-8. In 916/1510, after his great victory at the Marw the Özbeg leader, Muham- mad Shībānī Khān, to Bāyezīd III. The following year, 917/1511, when a major Shī'ī revolt broke out in Teke, and at the same time civil war erupted be- tween Bāyezīd and two of his sons, Selīm and Shāh Isma'il sought to turn the situation to his advan-
tage. His scheme to mobilise support for Murād, son of Ahmed, came to nothing, but a Saifawī state under ʿĀli Asfālī Rūmūtī died a sudden death. As a result, Shāh was at least as far as Tūktā, where the kadāwa was read in the name of Isma'il, and defeated a large Ottoman force under Sinān Pāsha. Meanwhile, Bāyezīd II had been forced to abdicate in favour of his son Selim on 7 Şafar 918/1 April 1512. At once, Selim set about muster-
ing a huge army of 200,000 men for the invasion of Persia, and, as an initial measure, "proscribed Shī'īsm in his dominions and massacred all its adherents on whom he could lay hands." (H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic society and the Weī, 1/2, Oxford 1957, 189). Marching by easy stages across Anatolia into Adharbāyjān, Selim reached Cādirān [g.v.] on 1 Radjab 920/22 August 1514, where a battle was fought the following day (see M. J. McCaffrey, Cādirān, in Encyclopaedia Iranica, v, 656-8; Naṣr Allāh Falsāti, Dāng-i Cādirān, in Maqālāt-i Dānīškādā-yi Adabī-yi Dānīškādā-yi Tūktā, 1/2 [1953-4], 50-127). The Safawī army was heavily defeated. Most sources say that the Ottomans outnumbered the Saifawī forces two to one, but the Ottoman artillery and hand-
guns, of which as yet the Saifawīs had little expe-
rience [see BĀRūD. V], were the decisive factor. After their victory, the Ottomans entered Tābrīz, the Saifawī capital, but recalcitrant Janissaries thwarted Selim's plan to winter there and complete the con-
quest of Persia the following year, and he withdrew eight days later, on 23 Radjab 920/13 September 1514.

The consequences of the defeat at Cādirān were both material and psychological. In terms of territory, the result was the annexation by the Ottomans of the regions of Diyar Bakr, Marāq and Albānī. In terms of casualties, many high-ranking kizilbāsh amīrs, and three prominent members of the 'islama', were killed. Naṣr Allāh Falsāti, Dāng-i Cādirān, in Maqālāt-i Dānīškādā-yi Adabī-yi Dānīškādā-yi Tūktā, 1/2 [1953-4], 50-127). The Safawī army was heavily defeated. Most sources say that the Ottomans outnumbered the Saifawī forces two to one, but the Ottoman artillery and hand-
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D'Alessandri's charge that Tahmasp was "a man of very little courage" (op. cit., 216) must be rejected (see Savory, op. cit., 57-8). In the course of his reign, the Žezbeks launched five major attacks on Khorasan, and the Ottomans, under their most powerful sultan Suleyman II, made four major invasions of Persia. It is true that Persia lost territory (Baghdad in 942/1535), and that Tahmasp was forced to move the Safavid capital from Tabriz to Kāzvin in 953/1548 (L. Lockhart, Persian cities, London 1960, 69; A.K.S. Lambton, in KAZWĪN, gives 962/1555), but, with the meagre resources available to him, he successfully fough a series of theocratic wars on two fronts (Savory, op. cit., 58 ff.) and, in 962/1555, he was successful in negotiating with the Ottomans the Treaty of Amasya on terms not unfavourable to Persia; peace remained unbroken for the remainder of Tahmasp's reign (see op. cit., 57-8). In the course of his reign, the kizīlbdsh, a political appointee, one must beware, of the concept of "wakil" as the alter ego of the ghālūdān (Tadhkirat al-mulūk, vi), and, in 962/1555, he was successful in negotiating with the Ottomans the Treaty of Amasya on terms not unfavourable to Persia; peace remained unbroken for the remainder of Tahmasp's reign (see EIr, i, 928; AMASYA; N. Itezkowitz, Ottoman empire and Islamic tradition, New York 1972, 35-6; S.J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, 2 vols., Cambridge 1976, i, 109).

Although it was Shāh ʿAbbās I who accelerated the process of converting the Safavid state from a Turk-Persian condominium into a multi-cultural society, it was Tahmasp who began it by introducing new ethnic elements from the Caucasian region, namely, Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, and by recruiting them into these groups into Safavid service. Such recruits were called ghulām-i kābīs-yi shanfa (see SHULAM, ii, Persia), an obvious analogy with the Persian kabīs khwālar. After the death of Tahmasp in 984/1576, the struggle for a dominant position in the state was no longer only between the two "founding nations", Turcomans and Tadjiks, but was a three-cornered fight for power involving ambitious members of the new Caucasian factions. This fight was complicated greatly by the emergence of the barān as an important source of political power, as Circassian and Georgian mothers of royal princes intrigued to secure the succession of their particular sons. From the time of Djiunay onwards, all Safavid leaders had had Turcoman mothers. After the death of Tahmasp, however, because neither of the "kīlībādūn" candidates, the mentally unstable Ismaʿīl and the purblind Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda, was suitable as a ruler, one kīlībādūn tribe, the kūrčībdshī, threw its support behind Tahmasp's third son, Haydar, whose mother was a Georgian. The majority of the kīlībādūn saw the prospect of a ruler strongly supported by the Georgian faction as a threat to their own pre-eminence, and assassinated Haydar; they then placed on the throne first, Ismaʿīl II (984-5/1576-7), and then Sultān Muhammad Shāh (985-96/1578-88). The history of the Safavid state prior to the accession of ʿAbbās I (q.v.; see also EIr, art. ʿAbbās I) is an evolutionary phase, during which attempts were made to deal with certain basic problems posed by the establishment of the state. An attempt was made to incorporate the original Şīʿī organisation of the Safavid order in the state. An attempt was made to prevent the kīlībādūn from acquiring a dominant position in the state at the expense of the Tadjiks or Persians. Both failed. As a result of this failure, there was a marked movement away from the political theocratic form of government of the early Safavid state toward a greater separation of spiritual and temporal powers. The second failure led to the introduction of elements which were neither Turcoman nor Persian, but Caucasian Christian, as a sort of "third force" to offset the influence of the other two.

The pre-ʿAbbās period was one in which the functions of the principal officers of state were not precisely defined, and the boundary between the political establishment and the religious establishment was not clearly demarcated. For example, one finds a military officer, the amīr al-umāra, exercising a considerable measure of political authority, and one finds sadrs and other religious officials holding military rank and leading troops into battle; the sadr himself, as already noted, was a political appointee. One must beware, therefore, of using terms like "civil", "military", "religious", and the like, in any precise sense. By the end of the reign of Tahmasp, the power of the sadr had declined. This was due in part to the fact that one of the sadr's important functions in the early Safavid state, namely, the imposition of liḥnā ʿ Ağhari uniformity throughout Persia, had largely been achieved by the end of the reign of Ismaʿīl I. With the gradual abandonment of the concept of wakil as the alter ego of the ghālūdān, the importance of the wazir as the head of the bureaucracy increased and, by the time of ʿAbbās I, the wazir had emerged as one of the most powerful officers of state.

The Safavid state at the height of its power under Shāh ʿAbbās I (996-1038/1588-1629).

The kīlībādūn inter-tribal rivalry, the succession struggles, and the attempt by a Tadjik faction to end the kīlībādūn dominance, went on for eleven years after the death of Tahmasp, and so weakened the ability of the state to resist its external enemies that the Ottomans made inroads in Adharbaydžan and the Žezbeks in Khorāsān; the citadel at Tabriz had been in Ottoman hands since 993/1585; Harāt had fallen to the Žezbeks in the spring of 996/1588. When ʿAbbās, the third son of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, was placed on the throne in 996/1588, the prospects for the survival of the Safavid state were bleak as they had been in 920/1514 after the battle of Kālīrān. The events of ʿAbbās's youth had made him determined to make himself independent of the untrustworthy kīlībādūn tribes; yet he could not dispense entirely with their fighting qualities. His solution was to raise a standing army, itself an innovation in Persia, from the ranks of the ghulāmī. The new regiments would be paid from the royal treasury, and would be loyal to him personally, and not to a tribal chief; they included regiments of mūsūms [see MUSULMĀN, v. The Safawids]. The reorganisation of the army necessitated a reduction in the number of provinces under kīlībādūn administration (mamalik), in which the greater part of the revenue was consumed locally, and an increase in the number of provinces under direct royal administration (khāṣṣa), the revenues from which accrued to the royal treasury. Ghulāms were not only recruited for military service but were appointed to positions within the royal household and the khāṣṣa administration. These policies set in train a social and political revolution. Minorsky has calculated that, by the end of the reign of ʿAbbās I, about one-fifth of the high-ranking amīrs were ghulāms (Tadhkīrāt al-mulūk, 17-18); by 1007/1698, only ten years after the accession of ʿAbbās I, an Armenian from Georgia had risen to the position of commander-in-chief of all the Safavid armed forces (see EIr, art. ABBĀS). The changes in the status and form of government of the early Safavid state toward a greater separation of spiritual and temporal powers were not only reflected in its administrative structure. The offices of wakil and amīr al-umāra, relevant to the period of kīlībādūn domination, fell into disuse. The kurčībdshī, or commander of the elite corps of kūrčīs [see KURČĪ] continued to be listed among the principal officers of state, but his importance, too, declined pari passu with the decline of the kīlībādūn. Instead, we hear of a new officer, the ḥāṣīšīr, or
commander-in-chief of all troops, kizildag and non-kizildag. The commanders of the two of the new regimented army, the kalaur-akdis, or commander of the ghulams, and the tufangeri-akdis, or commander of the musketeers, join the highest echelons of the uazir, who now boasted such titles as i'timad al-dawla ("trusty support of the state") or sadr-i 'azam ("exalted seat of honour").

The new army could not be organised and trained overnight, and it was ten years before Abbâs felt ready to take the field. In the meantime, he had been forced to sign a treaty by which he ceded to the Ottomans large areas of Safavid territory, including Adharbaydzjan, Karâbâg, Gandja, Karadja-dagh, Georgia, and parts of Luristan and Kurdistan; in the east, the Ûzbegs overran the province of Sistân, and in 998-9/1590 the Mujâhids recaptured Kandahâr, which had been in Safavid hands since 965/1558. The tide began to turn in 1007/1598, when Abbâs scored a signal victory over the Ûzbegs and recaptured Harât, but the Ûzbegs remained a formidable enemy, and in 1011/1602 a Safavid army was forced to retreat from Balsh with heavy losses. In 1012/1603 Abbâs launched a series of major offensives against the Ottomans in the north-west. Tabriz was recaptured, and the Ottomans were pushed back behind the river Aras. By 1016/1607, the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Safavid territory as defined by the Treaty of Amasya in 962/1555, and in 1033/1624 the Safavids recaptured Bagdad.

The reputation of Abbâs I does not rest solely on his military and political achievements. His reign is notable for a remarkable flowering of the arts, both fine and applied. It is also notable for a major exercise in urban planning, when Abbâs I in 1007/1598 transferred the capital from Kazvín to Isfahan, and in 1011/1602 a Safavid army was forced to retreat from Balsh with heavy losses. In 1012/1603 Abbâs launched a series of major offensives against the Ottomans in the north-west. Tabriz was recaptured, and the Ottomans were pushed back behind the river Aras. By 1016/1607, the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Safavid territory as defined by the Treaty of Amasya in 962/1555, and in 1033/1624 the Safavids recaptured Bagdad.

The economic prosperity of Persia also increased dramatically under Abbâs I. The new capital, Isfahan, became a thriving metropolis, and Western diplomatic representatives began to make their way to it. The primary objective of all European diplomats was the development of trade (see 2. Economic and commercial history). The secondary purpose of envoys, from Roman Catholic countries was the furtherance of the interests of the various religious Orders operating in Persia: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Jesuits and Capuchins. The first envoy who was not a member of a religious Order was Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, ambassador from King Philip III of Spain, who arrived at Isfahan in 1025/1617; next, after Abbâs I had enlisted the aid of ships of the English East India Company to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz in 1031/1622, was the first official English ambassador to the Persian court, Sir Dodmore Cotton; finally, in 1076/1665, Louis XIV of France followed suit, and sent two envoys to Persia.

Chardin's well-known dictum: "When this great prince (Shah Abbâs I) ceased to live, Persia ceased to prosper!", though exaggerated, contains within it a kernel of truth. Shah SafT, the grandson and successor of Abbâs (1038-52/1629-42), seemed intent only on maintaining his own position by putting to death or blinding possible rivals such as princes of the Safavid house and powerful officers of state such as kizildag. In 1047-8/1637-8 two important cities, Bagdad and Kandahâr, were lost. SafT's son and successor, Abbâs II (1052/1642-66), was a more able ruler, resembling his great-grandfather Abbâs I in his administrative skill and powers of military leadership. He was less tyrannical and the pressure from the religious leaders, however, and although Christians continued to enjoy considerable freedom of worship, Abbâs I's policy of religious tolerance was breached by Abbâs II's treatment of Jews. In fact, it was becoming clear that many of the policies put in place by Abbâs I could be maintained only by a ruler endowed with his outstanding abilities. It is the tragedy of the reign of Abbâs I that, by his own act, he made it unlikely that his successors would be of similar calibre. To begin with, he followed the traditional Safavid practice of appointing the royal princes to provincial governorates, where they were placed in the care of a kizildag chief who held the title of lala [q.v. in Suppl.] "guardian" or "tutor". The lala was responsible not only for his ward's physical well-being, but also for training him in statecraft. Thus in 998-9/1590 Abbâs I appointed his eldest son, Muhammad Bâkir Mirzâ, governor of Hamadân and amir al-umara of the province (Iskandar Beg Munshi, Tâhirih-i 'Alam-ar-ya-yi Abbâsî, text, ed. Iradj Afgâr, 2 vols., Tehran 1334-5 Sh./1955-6, i, 440, tr. Savory, 2 vols., Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 614). In 1024/1614, however, his son was murdered, probably with the Shah's connivance, on suspicion of plotting against him (ibid., text, v, 235-9). From then on, the royal princes were closely confined in the harem, where their only companions were their tutors, the court eunuchs, and the women of the haram. The new policy bore obvious similarities to the Ottoman kafes ("cage") system, which was introduced slightly earlier, during the reign of Selim II (974-82/1566-74) (see Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, i, 179). Shaw notes that the new system resulted in a marked increase in the political power of the women, the harem, and introduced the "sultanate of the women", which lasted well into the 11th/17th century. In Safavid Persia, there was a similar result. Chardin calls the harem "un Conseil privé, qui l'emporne d'ordinaire par dessus tout, et qui donne la loi à tout" (Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, 10 vols., v, 240). Moreover, the new policy failed in its essential purpose, namely, to prevent treasonable behaviour or the suspicion of treason on the part of the royal princes. On the contrary, once confined to the harem, they became the centre of intrigue to a far greater extent than had previously been the case. This led Abbâs II to blind his sons Sul'tân Muhammad Mirzâ in 1030/1620-1 (Iskandar Beg, text, ii, 965, tr., ii, 1187), and Imam Kurt Mirzâ in 1036/1626-7 (ibid., text, ii, 1684, tr., ii, 1288); two other sons had died young of natural causes, and so Abbâs had left himself without an heir.

The third factor in the decline of the Safavids was the inordinate extension of the policy, begun under Abbâs I and continued under his successors, of converting manâshik to khdss provinces. By the end of the reign of Abbâs I, only those frontier provinces in which an instant response to enemy invasion was essential, remained in the hands of kizildag gover-
The military strength of the Safawid state was allowed to decline, the consequences were predictable; second, the administration of the provinces, by officials who were royal bailiffs or intendants and were little more than tax-farmers, was more oppressive than that of the khizilbash governors of mameluk provinces. As Minorsky says, Chardin, "in his paragraph on the Khāṣaqa, has unmasked one of the basic evils of administration which contributed to the fall of the dynasty" (Tadhkirat al-mulūk, 26).

The extent to which Safawid military power had declined was dramatically demonstrated in 1135/1722, when a small band of marauding Afghans succeeded in starving the Safawid capital into surrender.

Under the last two Safawid shahs, Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94) and Sulṭān Husayn (1105-35/1694-1722), the pace of decline accelerated. Both were weak and pliable rulers, products of the haram system. Sulaymān, an alcoholic, had little interest in affairs of state. His son, Shāh Sultān Husayn, was not better, and his derisive nickname "Mullā Husayn" is significant. Unrestrained by the authority of the ruler, the "privy council" of the women of the haram and the court eunuchs usurped power at the centre of the ruling institution. Equally serious was the emergence of the mudjāhidūn and other religious leaders as a powerful political force. The political role of the sadr was assumed first by the shaykh al-islām, and then, after the accession of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā, by a new official called the mudjāhidūn. There was an outpouring of works on Ithnā ‘Ashrī theology, jurisprudence and tradition and, as Shī‘ī orthodoxy became more rigidly formalised, there was increasing persecution of heretics. Sūfis, who had brought the Safawis to power, were now a principal target of the mudjāhidūn, one of whom even acquired the sobriquet of sufi-kūsh or "Sufi-slayer" (see Browne, LHP, iv, 386 ff.). ‘Abbās I’s policy of religious tolerance, which had been responsible for much of the economic prosperity of Persia during his reign, was abandoned. Not only did the usual targets, Christians and Jews, suffer as a result, but philosophers and non-conformist Muslims as well (see Morgan, Medieval Persia 1040-1779, London and New York 1988, 149). The upsurge of religious intolerance resulting from the increased power of the ‘ulamā’ also had economic consequences (see section II), and this factor must be added to Minorsky’s "more conspicuous factors" (Tadhkirat al-mulūk, 23) for Safavid decline.

In 1121/1709 Miḥr Wāṣīṣ, chief of the Ghalzay Afghans [see ghalsays], hitherto a vassal of the Safawids, rebelled and occupied Kandahār, and this was followed by the revolt of the Abdālī [q.v.] Afghans. Miḥr Wāṣīṣ’s successor, Mḥmūd, subdued the Abdālī and, in 1131/1719, led a force across the Dağht-i Lūl and entered Kirmān unopposed. Thus encouraged, he returned two years later with a larger force, and marched on Isfāhān. Vaccination on the part of the Shāh, treachery within the ranks of Safawid officials at Isfāhān, and the pacifically weak state of the Safawid army, enabled Mḥmūd to rout a mainly scratch Safawid force at Gulnābād near Isfāhān on 20 Dīnārī 1134/8 March 1722. Mḥmūd, his force too small to carry the city by storm, starved it into surrender six months later; on 1 Müharram 1135/12 October 1722 Sulṭān Husayn Shāh surrendered unconditionally, and handed over the crown to Mḥmūd.

The third son of Shāh Sultān Husayn, Tahmāsp Mīrzā, had escaped from Isfāhān during the Afghān siege, and had proclaimed himself Shāh at Kazvin on 30 Müharram 1135/10 November 1722 with the title of Tahmāsp II, but was driven out by the Afghāns and took refuge at Tabriz. An uprising of the townspeople of Kazvin against the Afghāns precipitated the slaughter by Mḥmūd in Isfāhān of Persian government officials, members of the nobility, and about 3,000 khizilbash guards. In 1137/1722 a report that Shāh Sultān Husayn’s second son, Sāfī Mīrzā, had escaped from Isfāhān caused Mḥmūd to put to death at least eighteen members of the Safawid royal family. Shortly afterwards, Mḥmūd was overthrown by his cousin Aḥsaf, who was proclaimed Shāh on 12 Shab‘a‘ān 1137/26 April 1725. The Afghān writ only ran in central and south-east Persia, and Aḥsaf’s efforts to seize Tahmāsp II failed. The strife in Persia tempted Tāṣrīpate the Great to occupy Darband and Bāḵū in 1135/1725, and in 1138-9/1726 the Ottomans also took advantage of the situation and once again invaded Aḏḥarbāyjān; this invasion led Aḥsaf to execute Shāh Sultān Husayn. In 1140/1727 Aḥsaf was forced to negotiate peace with the Ottomans and to recognise as Ottoman territory large areas of Persian Kurdistan, Aḏḥarbāyjān, Karābāgh and Georgia. In 1139/1726 Tahmāsp II was joined by Nādir Khān Aḥṣaf (see NĀDIR SHĀH AFSHAR), who dubbed himself Tahmāsp Kūlī Khān and claimed that his goal was the restoration of the Safawid monarchy. After winning a number of victories over the rival Kāḏārs and their Turcoman allies in Khūrāsān, and over the Aḏḥābīs, Nādir rout ed Aḥsaf, entered Isfahān on 16 Dūmādād 1142/7 December 1730, and placed Tahmāsp II on the throne.

After five years of campaigning (1142-2/1730-35), Nādir regained all Persian territory lost to the Ottomans (see Shaw, op. cit., 238-9, 245), and peace was negotiated on the basis of a reversion to the frontiers laid down in the Treaty of Zūhāb in 1049/1639. Nādir’s campaigns against the Russians were equally successful. By the terms of the Treaty of Raḥq (4 Shab‘a‘ān 1144/1 February 1732), Russia returned all Persian territory south of the river Kura, and by the Treaty of Gandja (28 Dhu ‘l-Hijja 1147/21 May 1735), Russia surrendered Bāḵū and Darband. On 17 Rabī‘ 1145/7 September 1732, Nādir deposed Tahmāsp II, and placed the latter’s son on the throne with the title of Ābbās III. Four years later, Nādir abandoned the pretence of restoring the Safawid monarchy, deposed ‘Abbās III, and had himself crowned Shāh on 24 Shawwāl 1148/8 March 1736 as the first ruler of the new Āfghān dynasty. During Nādir’s absence in India, his son Rīdā Kūlī Khān had Taḥmāsp II and ‘Abbās III put to death in 1152/1740, together with ‘Abbās’s younger brother Ismā‘īl (L. Lockhart, Nadīr Shah, London 1938, 177-8, 180). The accession of Nādir Shāh brought to an end more than two centuries of Safawid rule, which had enjoyed in name only since 1135/1722, but Safawid power, which was first restored under Shaḥ Sulṭān Husayn Shāh during the reign of the Afghān Aḥsaf, continued to manifest themselves as late as 1187/1773, under the Zands (see J. R. Perry, The last Safawids, in Iran JIBPS, ix [1971], 59-69).

II. Economic and commercial history; trade relations with Europe.

(i) European attempts to develop trade with Safawid Persia.
Trade has a way of ignoring national boundaries and the wishes of political leaders. Thus it was that, when the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1204 did not put an end to the trade of the Republic of Venice in the Black Sea, the Venetians found a temporary gap in the Ottoman defences in Karaman, and continued to trade with the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan via this route. The decisive defeat of Uzun Hasan by the Ottomans on the Upper Euphrates in 878/1473, and the final incorporation of Karaman into the Ottoman empire in 880/1475, sealed the end of this line of trade. In 1488, however, the Portuguese sea-captain Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, thus outflanking the Ottoman empire and also the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa, and opening up the possibility of trade with Persia via the Persian Gulf. In 913/1507, less than a decade after Vasco da Gama had reached India, the Portuguese, under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque, arrived in the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese Viceroy in India, at once saw the great strategic and commercial importance of Hormuz [see Hurmuz], and in 921/1515 he returned and occupied the city, thus establishing the first European foothold on Safavid territory. For the Portuguese, although the vassal (titulado) King of Hormuz had, by the Treaty of Minab (929-30/1523) granted them inter alia a site for the construction of a factory, the most lucrative aspect of their occupation of Hormuz was control of the customs.

The English, conceding control of the Persian Gulf to the Portuguese for more than a century, attempted to turn the northern flank of the Ottoman empire by opening up a trade route to Russia and Persia via the hazardous sea route north of Scandinavia to Archangel. The first English joint-stock company formed for this purpose, in 1553, was called "The Mysterie and Company of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and Places unknown", and had Sebastian Cabot as its Governor. The Company was successively named "The Muscovy Company" and "The Russia Company". In 964-5/1557, Anthony Jenkinson and two other merchants reached Astrakhan, and crossed the Caspian Sea to Bukhara. Four years later, Jenkinson returned, and this time crossed the Caspian and landed on Safavid territory in Shirwan. On 23 Rabii* I 1562, he was received in audience by Shâh Tahmâsp, and delivered to him a letter from Elizabeth I, in which the Queen desired "to treat of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away thers to the honour of both princes, the mutual commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subjects" (Anthony Jenkinson, Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia, Hakluyt Society, 1st Series, nos. Ixxii-Ixxiii, 2 vols., London 1886, i, 147). Although Shâh Tahmâsp dismissed Jenkinson with the remark "oh thou unbeliever, we have no neede to have friendship with the unbelievers", the Shâh's brother-in-law, Abd Allah Khân Ustadâ, governor of Shirwan, granted important trading privileges to the Muscovy Company; but the dangers of the sea-route to the White Sea, and attacks by bandits in the Volga region, caused the Company to abandon this route in 988-9/1581.

In the same year, English merchants tried to gain access to the Persian market by the overland route from the eastern Mediterranean across Syria and Mesopotamia. John Newberie, having reached Hormuz on the Persian Gulf by this overland route, persuaded the merchants of the recently formed Levant Company to interest themselves in trade with Persia, and in 996-7/1585 he returned to Persia hoping to open a factory at Hormuz. He and his fellow merchants were seized by the Portuguese commandant as heretics and spies, and sent to Goa to stand trial; they were subsequently released. In 1008-9/1600 John Middelhain, a London merchant, again took the overland route to Persia, and went on to India, but English attempts to open up trade with Persia by the overland route from the Levant proved no more successful than for their attempts to use the sea route north of Scandinavia.

By 988-9/1581, the Portuguese had fought off a challenge to their supremacy in the Persian Gulf from the Ottomans (see Savory, The history of the Persian Gulf, in A.J. Cottrell (ed.), The Persian Gulf states, Baltimore and London 1980, 23-4), but a new challenge faced them from the merchants of the English East India Company, founded in 1008-9/1600. On 12 Ramadan 1024/5 October 1615, two merchants of this Company, Richard Steele and John Crowther, obtained a farmân from Shâh ʿAbbâs I which ordered the Shâh's subjects "to kindly receive and entertaine the English Franks or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive at Jasques (Djask), or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandise to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever" (Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgeroms, 20 vols., Glasgow 1905-71, iv, 279). The following year Edward Connock arrived at Djask to open a factory, and was cordially received by ʿAbbâs I, who granted the Company further privileges. This second farmân does not appear to be extant, but the gist of it is probably contained in the farmân of Shâh Saft dated 1038/1629, which inter alia gave English merchants the right to buy and sell freely in Persia; moreover, the English ambassador, when appointed, was empowered to appoint agents and factors in Persia (Sir Arnold T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf: an historical sketch from the earliest times to the beginning of the twentieth century, Oxford 1928, 139). In 1027-8/1618, ʿAbbâs I agreed not to export any silk to the Company in exchange for the payment of 5,000 rupees to Europe via Ottoman territory. He also promised to supply the English East India Company with a quantity of silk annually at a fixed rate, and to allow this silk to be exported from Persia free of duty. Portugal did not give up its monopoly of Persian Gulf trade without a fight, but a strong Portuguese squadron under Ruy Freyre de Andrade was defeated in two naval battles off Djask in Muharram-Rabi* I 1039/December-January 1621. These victories paved the way for the combined operation in 1031/1622 in which Safavid troops, transported by ships of the English East India Company, dislodged the Portuguese from Hormuz.

English ascendency was short-lived. The formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 signalled the determination of the Dutch to challenge both England and Portugal for control of the East Indies spice and pepper trade, and within a few years they were challenging the position of England in the Persian Gulf as well. In 1031/1622, under the terms of the agreement with ʿAbbâs I, the English East India Company was to receive one-half of all customs dues levied on merchandise passing through Bandar ʿAbbâs, but the Dutch refused to pay. On the accession of Saft I in 1038/1629, the Dutch outmanoeuvred the English and obtained important privileges from
The Safawids founded a factory at Bandar 'Abbās, and rapidly established a monopoly of the spice trade between Persia and the East Indies. In 1055/1645 they obtained from 'Abbās II a licence to buy silk and export it free of customs duty. The English, who succeeded in getting their privileges renewed by Shāh Safī only in 1042/1632, were fighting a losing battle. They started to move their factory from Bandar 'Abbās to Baṛa, but a Dutch squadron sailed to Baṛa and destroyed it. In the second half of the 11th/17th century, the Dutch reigned supreme in the Persian Gulf. The English, however, were maintained until 1722. The average value of Persia's exports in the 11th/17th century, of which silk constituted a major part, was between £ 1-2 million

The bases of the Safavid domestic economy were agriculture and pastoralism, and, as formerly under the Saljūqs and the Mongols, there was a dichotomy between the settled rural life of the peasants and the semi-nomadic life of the pastoralists. In addition, there was an ethnic dichotomy. The Turcoman tribes were cattle-breeders and lived apart from the surrounding population. They migrated from winter to summer quarters. They were organised in clans and obeyed their own chiefs (A.K.S. Lambton, Landlord and peasant in Persia, Oxford 1953, 106). The Persian peasants tilled the land and were subject to a system of land-tenure which had changed little since Abbas I's policy of making the silk trade a royal monopoly is said to have stifled the entrepreneurial spirit of Persian merchants. European travellers, however, attest to the flourishing state of the bazaars in Kāzvīn, Isfahān and Shīrāz, and it is doubtful whether Persian merchants could have survived European competition in the silk trade without state support. Indeed, they lacked sufficient capital to sustain trade on a large scale at all (R.W. Ferrier, Trade from mid-14th century to the end of the Safavid period, in Camb. hist. Iran, vi, 484).

Domestic trade alone could not have raised the Safavid state to the level of prosperity to which 'Abbās I aspired, and he devoted much effort to the development of international trade. In this effort, Jews and Indians played an important role as brokers, and Armenians as providers of international credit. 'Abbās I created a new suburb of Qulūfā [q.v. in Suppl.] at Isfahān, and transferred there several thousand Armenian families from Qulūfā in Aḍhar-baydā'īn. The third European Christian faith without harassment by the state (the Shāh even made a donation toward the cost of the Armenian cathedral), and 'Abbās I, by granting them the privilege of being represented by an Armenian mayor (kaldīntar [q.v.]), made them virtually an autonomous community (again, Ottoman parallels should be borne in mind [see Miller]). The Armenian merchants prospered, and travelled throughout Europe in pursuit of commerce. Much of their wealth derived from the silk trade, the organisation of which "must be regarded as one of 'Abbās's great organizational achievements" (N. Steensgaard, The Asian trade revolution of the seventeenth century, Chicago 1973, 381).

English merchants who tried to force down the Shāh's price by buying silk on the free market found themselves unable to do so (ibid., 377). Persian ambassadors accredited to European capitals were customarily required to include in their baggage some bales of silk; this rule applied even to ambassadors who were Europeans. With the accession of Shāh Saft (1038/1629), the royal monopoly on silk was broken, and money was diverted from the royal coffers to the pockets of Armenian merchants. For a time, Dutch merchants who, unlike the English East India Company factors, were not reluctant to co-operate with the Armenians, turned a profit by buying silk privately. In desperation, the English East India Company offered the Armenians in 1059-1100/1688 the status of "honorary Englishmen" (Ferrier, The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, in Economic History Review, 2nd series, xxii [1973], 50), but it was too late; the Armenians preferred the security of the Aleppo route, in cooperation with the East India Company. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the sea-route from the Persian Gulf (hostilities between the Ottomans and the Safawids had militated against the use of overland routes to Mediterranean ports, but the Treaty of Zuḥāb (1049/1639) ushered in a long period of peace between the two, and the overland routes once more became attractive). The English East India Company was no longer able to compete in the silk trade, and stopped buying Persian silk after 1049-50/1640 when silk prices in Europe slumped (J. Foran, Fragile resistance: social transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution, Westview Press 1993, 65). In any case, by about 1059-60/1650 Bengal silk had become a cheaper source of supply for the East India Companies. In general, however, the patterns of trade established with Europe in the 1620s were maintained until 1722. The average value of Persia's exports in the 11th/17th century, of which silk constituted a major part, was borne in mind (ibid., 69). Carpets never constituted a large part of Safavid exports. Carpet workshops existed at Isfahān, Kāshān and Kirmān, and Shāh 'Abbās I, like his grandfather Shāh Tahmās I, was personally interested in developing the carpet-weaving industry. It was quicker, easier and cheaper for Europeans to import carpets from Turkey than from Persia during the long periods when the Ottomans and Safawids

SAFAWIDS

"..."
were at war. Safavid carpets were exported to Mughal India, to the Portuguese colony at Goa, and to Indonesia, mostly shipped by the Dutch East India Company. Some of them found their way to the Netherlands and the London market. The Safavids transformed a "simple produit artisanal des régions rurales" into "art dignes de la cour et des palais princes" (Naderer Ahrar-Zanganeh, Le tapis persan aux XVII et XVIII siècles: contribution à une sociologie de l'art persan, Lausanne 1984, 12), but the luxury carpet trade, depending as it did on royal patronage, declined after the overthrow of the Safavids (see Savory, in EIr, art. Carpet). Introduction, iv, 834-41.

Both internal and external factors contributed to the decline of the Persian economy after the time of 'Abbās II, and by the end of the 11th/17th century the balance of trade had turned against Persia. Silk production probably declined, and Persia began to import large quantities of cloth from India for which it had to pay cash. Furthermore, the Dutch drained large amounts of gold and silver from Persia as payment for spices (Foran, 67-79). The merchants with the greatest reserves of cash were the Armenians; the royal treasury tended to hoard the best coins, and in addition Indian moneylenders and Armenian merchants tended to take the better coins out of circulation or out of the country altogether. The result was a considerable degree of debasement of the currency. Nevertheless, there was little inflationary pressure on the economy until the Afghan occupation in 1135/1722, when it became a significant factor. Finally, the collapse of 'Abbās I's multicultural state with its policy of religious tolerance caused serious harm to the economy. The increased political influence of the 'ulamā in the last half-century of Safavid rule (the persecution of Jews under 'Abbās II was an earlier portent of things to come) led to persecution of Armenians and Hindu merchants and the forcible conversion of Jews and Zoroastrians to Islam. Many Zoroastrians fled to the Kirman area, where they welcomed the Afghans as "liberators". From 1131-2/1719 onwards, there were uprisings among non-Shī'ī minorities in Shirwān, Kūstār, Kūhžistān and Balūdžistān (Foran, 75 ff.). The dynamic struggles which followed the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747 did still further damage to the economy, and, despite some of these found their way to the Netherlands under the Zands, a Select Committee appointed by the Court of Directors of the English East India Company concluded in the 1780s that "the comparison between the past and present state of Persia, in every respect, will be found truly deplorable" (see C. Issawi (ed.), The economic history of Iran 1800-1914, Chicago 1971, 86).


III. Literature.

It is still difficult to assess properly the effects of the Safavid conquest on the cultural life of Persia. There can be no doubt about the importance of the Safavid period to the history of Persian art. During the first half of the 16th century, the arts of the book flourished like never before. Calligraphy and book-painting benefited greatly from the patronage of the ruling dynasty and there was an equal interest in architecture, exemplified in particular by the magnificent buildings constructed in Fars during the first half of the 17th century. Philosophy also reached a high point of development in the works of Mullâ Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [q.v.] and other members of his school. Literature, however, fared less well, according to a generally held view. The founding of the Safavid state, with all its momentous consequences for the social structure of the country and its religious life, allegedly brought the golden age of Persian literature to an end. From there on, a long period of decline set in, which was not only poor in new heights of literary art but actually led to stagnation and a deterioration of style.

One of the factors which helped to create this negative view on Safavid literature was the change of literary taste in Persia which occurred about the middle of the 18th century, shortly after the Safavid period had come to an end. This brought about a strong condemnation of excesses to which the Indian style [see SABK-I HINDI] in Persian poetry had led and a "return" (baṣaghā) to the standards of earlier styles. As a result, a neo-classicist view of post-Tīmūrid literature was established which not only left its mark on Persian literary criticism until the present day, but also had a great impact on evaluations by Western scholars. Only recently a more positive ap-
precipitation of the Indian style is emerging. This seems however not yet to have led to a proper distinction between Safavid literature and the Indian style, notwithstanding the fact that the latter did not have an effect on the poets of Persia until the second half of the rule of the Safawids. This seems however not yet to have led to a proper distinction between Safavid literature and the Indian style, notwithstanding the fact that the latter did not have an effect on the poets of Persia until the second half of the rule of the Safawids (see, for instance, E. Yarshater’s essay The Indian or Safavid style: progress or decline?). As a matter of fact, the 16th century constitutes a separate chapter in the history of Persian literature. The tadhkira writers of the period provide us with a lively picture of the literary scene in Safavid Persia, which is often quoted out of context. It has been given the significance of a radical turn from the traditions of court patronage by the Safavid dynasty as a whole, whereas it probably only points to a personal change of heart of one monarch, which temporarily brought to an end a period of exceptional- ly lavish patronage to the arts during the first half of the 16th century. It is, on the other hand, evident that a very substantial part of the poets and prose works produced in this period could be labelled either secular or mystical, but do carry specifically Shi‘i characteristics.

The Safawids, both the shahs and the other members of the royal house, were well-educated and often participated personally in artistic and literary pursuits. Already Isma‘il I (reigned 907-30/1501-24) resumed the traditional function of royal patronage, which had been fulfilled so brilliantly by two of his predecessors in the late 15th century: the Timurid Husayn Baykârâ (d. 912/1506) at Harât and the Ak-Koyunlu sultan Ya‘kîb (d. 896/1490) at Tabriz. In 917/1511, during ancup of state events, Ismail’s son Sharaf Djihan (d. 968/1560), the satirist Hayratî (d. 961/1553), Damîrî (d. after 985/1578), and ‘Abdî Bîg Nawudi (d. 988/1578). After Tahmâsp lost his interest in patronage, about 951/1544-5, the support of the central court to literature remained drastically reduced for several decades. This attitude had two noticeable consequences: the aforementioned emphasis on religious poetry, as exemplified in the works of Muhtasham (d. 996/1587), and the beginning of the exodus of poets and artists to Indian courts.

This emigration of literary talent, in which also many artists and scholars took part, began in the late 16th century and continued up to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzîb (1068-1118/1658-1707), should be seen against the background of the internationalisation of Persian civilization, which transformed the Islamic lands in Asia, in particular the Indian subcontinent, Uzbek Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire, but India was by far the most important. A great demand for poets from Persia arose which could not be matched by the often wavering patronage of the Safawids. As it appears from biographical sources, the motivations to travel to India were quite varied. Ghâzâlî of Ma’dhâd (d. in Gudjrât 980/1572), one of the first to leave Persia, fled from Shîrâz after he had been accused of heresy (sibâ’d). Others had run into difficulties with their patrons at home, or were allured by the prospect of fame and riches to be won at the Indian courts.

Patronage in Safawid Persia was not restricted to the court of the Shâh. Especially during the first century of Safawid rule, the courts of provincial governors, usually appointed by the Shah himself, attached to his personal court, or were allured by the prospect of fame and riches to be won at the Indian courts. This emigration of literary talent, in which also many artists and scholars took part, began in the late 16th century and continued up to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzîb (1068-1118/1658-1707), should be seen against the background of the internationalisation of Persian civilization, which transformed the Islamic lands in Asia, in particular the Indian subcontinent, Uzbek Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire, but India was by far the most important. A great demand for poets from Persia arose which could not be matched by the often wavering patronage of the Safawids. As it appears from biographical sources, the motivations to travel to India were quite varied. Ghâzâlî of Ma’dhâd (d. in Gudjrât 980/1572), one of the first to leave Persia, fled from Shîrâz after he had been accused of heresy (sibâ’d). Others had run into difficulties with their patrons at home, or were allured by the prospect of fame and riches to be won at the Indian courts.
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Sahabl of Astarabad (d. 1010/1601-2 [q.v.]), the master of the rubad of this period, who lived for many years as a recluse in the earliest period of the Safawids. Up to a certain extent, court poetry revived under Abbâs I (996-1038/1588-1629), first at Kazvin, and since 1598 at Isfahan. The position of a malik al-
gharârâ' [q.v.], was filled by Ruknâ Mašîh (d. 1066/1655 or 1070/1659-60), and then by Shâhî (d. 1037/1627). They both also served the Şâh as physicians. In 1006/1597 Mašîh went to India after he had been accused of giving too little attention to the patron's health. Discontent with the situation of the poets at the court of Isfahan was expressed by Kâthârî of Hamadân (d. after 1015/1606) when in a poem dedicated to Şâh Abbâs he made a reference to the lavish patronage offered at the courts of India ([Abd']l Ghani, ii, 168-71). On the other hand, it is reported that the poet Shânî received his weight in gold as a reward for a single felicitous line in honour of the Imam ʿAlî (ibid., ii, 163). Among the poets at Abbâs' court were further Fârîgeh (fl. ca. 1000/1591), Kamâlî (d. 1020/1611-2), and Zulâlî of Khânânsâr (d. 1024/1615).

A last period of great literary activity at the court of Isfahân were the reigns of Safî I (1038-52/1629-42) and Abbâs's II (1052-77/1642-66). This was the time of Djalât al-Dîn Asîr [q.v.] (d. 1049/1639-40), Kûshî (d. 1056-67), Amânî of Mâzânârân (d. 1061/1651), and Fâshî (d. ca. 1080/1670), but above all of Şârîb (d. 1088/1678-83 [q.v.], the greatest poet of Safawid literature.

The ghazal continued to be the principal poetic form, but the poets of the 16th century tried to renew its rather soulless and abstract features by developing a new style called already by contemporary writers wukâ'-guî or zâhân-i wukâ'. By this they meant the fashion to introduce references to actual experiences of love and incidents occurring in the relationship of lovers and their beloveds. Although the motives they used were usually conventional most of them belonged to the tradition of taghâzâl from the earliest period onwards, they succeeded in creating an elegant lyricism, written in a simple language, often close to everyday speech, and an unadorned style.

Bâbâ Fîghânî [q.v.] is frequently mentioned as a precursor near the shrine of Naqshbandi's representatives of which was Shâhrij Dîjâh. The wukâ' style generated a number of subsidiary genres, like the one called wa-sâkht, the theme of which was the lover's turning away from the beloved (cf. Gulînî-i Maşâni, Wukâ', 681-8), and kâda wa kâdar, on erotic incidents which exhibit the workings of fate. Towards the end of the 16th century, a much more ingenious idiom began to develop: it was characterized by the search for new and unusual images and a sophisticated use of the traditional motifs. In the 17th century, Şârîb brought the ghazal back to a more abstract level, without adding much to its stock of themes and motives. Recently his poetry, marked by the frequent use of proverbial illustration (irasât-i muthâf), has been revalued by Persian critics as an acceptable form of the Indian style, to which the term "style of Isfahân" is applied.

Ruba's was still occasionally used for courtly panegyrics, but far more often as a medium for mANKABA poetry, i.e. hymns praising the Prophet and the Imâms. Stanzaic poems became extremely popular for Shî'î elegies, like the famous dawzâdah-band of Mûbâţghâm. As a secular form of love poetry, expanded patterns known as musamadâr and murabba' were put into currency, especially by Wâbah; some of these poems have survived as popular songs. Mystical rubâ'îs were written in great numbers, as is evident from the anthologies compiled in this period. Intricate rhetorical artificialities, which had come into fashion already during the Timûrid period, continued to be used in topical quatrains, especially in chronograms. The quatrain was also frequently used for poems featuring young craftsmen, known as shahrangû [q.v.] or shahrâshûb. This genre was introduced at the court of Tahmûsp by Lîsânî and Wâhîdî. Many poets attempted to compose a šûmû [q.v.] after Nasîrî's example, or even a sa'da on the lines of Djamî [q.v.]. The most well-known new artistic genre was introduced: they were either taken from ancient lore (eg. the love between Sultan Mahmûd and his slave Ayânî, or they were newly invented as allegories. Outstanding muhâwâ'î poets were 'Abdî Bêg Nawîdi, who also wrote a work in imitation of Şâdî's Bâstân, Zulâlî, whose Mahmûd wa Ayân became very popular, and Shîfà'tî, the author of Namâdân-i ba'dîlak, in the style of Sanâî. Short mughâwâ'î usually dealt with themes related to the wukâ'-guî as it was fashionable in ghâzâl. Most court poets produced a Sâkî-nâmâ, based on motives derived from anacreontic verse, which could be either devoted to panegyrics or to mysticism.

Among the prose works written in Safawid Persia, the tadhkîras took a prominent place. They were written according to the principles of this genre, which had been established in the late Timûrid period by Djalâtâshâ and 'Ali Shîr Nawâ'î [q.v.]. The latter's work provided the model for Mâdînî's al-khawâvî, written in Caghatay Turkish by the painter and poet Sâdîkî Bêg [see further MUKTÂSAR]. 2. In Persian literature. The tadhkîras are also valuable sources of critical judgments on contemporary poetry. Among the historical works written under the Safawîs, Hasan Bêg Rûmî's Ahsân al-sawârîrî (980-1577) and Iskandar Mînâhî's [q.v.] Tâdhkîrâ-i 'alamârî-yi 'Abbâsî (1038/1629-89) deserve special mention. The Tâdhkîrâ-yi Şâh Tahmûsp is a contribution to historiography made by the Şâh himself on the basis of a speech delivered to Ottoman ambassadors at his court in 969/1562. In the religious sciences, including the flourishing school of Shî'î philosophy, Arabic remained the common linguistic medium. However, several remarkable works were written in Persian as well, e.g. the Djamî'î-i 'Abbâsî by Bahâ-dîn Aâmîlî [q.v.], on religious law and various related subjects, and the theological treatise Gauhar-i marunî by Mûllâ 'Abd al-Razzâk Lâhîdî [q.v.], one of the pupils of Mullâ Sadrâ, and a long series of theological writings by Muhammad Bâkîr Maqâlsî-yi Thânî [q.v.]. Persian literature of the Safawid period has been dealt with also elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia: see Vol. IV, Iran; VIII-Literature. 340b-344a; on the most important stylistic trend of the period [see SABK-I HIND].

IV. Religion, philosophy and science.

As for all pre-modern societies so Safawid-period developments in both the "high"/"elite" and the "low"/"popular" religious discourse, philosophical inquiry and certain areas of scientific theory and practice are most usefully understood in terms of the association of the practitioners with the patronage, 'lines of interest', links or influence of different segments of society. Because of a continuity with immediately preceding social formations, developments in the discourses of these disciplines tended to be enriched and enhanced rather than to suffer breaks with the pre-Safawid heritage. More often than not the written legacy of these disciplines is dominated by the producers of "high"/"elite" discourse, i.e. the literate few, usually protégés of the socio-economic and political elite. So limited was their number that the same few names frequently appear as practitioners in different disciplines. "Popular" expression in these disciplines is also visible in this period, however, in the religious and medical realms in particular. Indeed, such was the extent of "popular" antipathy of various non-elite, social groups to some "high"/"elite" practitioners and their sponsors among the political and socio-economic elite, that only the continuous support of the latter insured the survival, if not the triumph, of their protégés and their contributions in their own time sufficient to provide some legacy for the future.

1. Religious trends

The importance of such links of association and the extent of "popular" animosity toward elite practitioners and their court patrons is particularly evident in the religious discourse of the period.

There had been Shi‘i communities scattered throughout Persia since the disappearance of the Twelth Imam in 260/873-4. The establishment of Twelver Shi‘ism by Shah Isma‘ili I [q.v.] in 907/1501-2, the Southern capital (Tehran), the adoption of a repeat of the short-lived conversion to the faith of the Il-Khanid Sultan Öljeytu (d. 716/1316 [q.v.]) an event which must later have appeared to stem more from Realpolitik than from genuine conviction. Indeed, in the first century of the Safawids, the court's identification with, and efforts to patronise and promulgate, the faith met with limited success in Safawid territory and won little credibility within the Twelver community itself and, in fact, exacerbated existing differences between and among the Akhbariya and the Usuliyya [q.v.].

Isma‘ili interest in the faith had no basis in the history of the Safawid Sufi order. Initially, the order had comprised mainly Ṣafavi Sunnis, had maintained an attitude of political quietism and had claimed no special relationship to any member of the Prophet's family [see 1. above]. Following an influx of peasants and traders, the order had become militantly messianic movement under Shaykh Haydar (d. 851/1447) and Shaykh Djinayd (d. 893/1488) [q.v.]. During Isma‘ili's reign members of the Kizil-Bash [q.v.] elite evinced little interest in the details of the doctrines and practices of the newly established faith. Safawid religious discourse simply appended extremist Twelver interpretations to similarly radical representations of other religious traditions in order to legitimise the divine nature of the ruler and his mission: Isma‘ili depicted himself variously as "Jesus, son of Mary", various pre-Islamic Persian epic figures, as well as al-imam al-ṭalā al-kāmil ("the just, the perfect Imam"), the latter title being a reference both to a just secular ruler and, in Twelver terminology, to the Hidden Imam himself. Such allusions encouraged the reverence among the lower-ranking Kizil-Bash warriors required to fuel the constant struggle against such of the order's enemies as the Sunni Ozbegs and Ottomans, rival Shi‘i elements such as the Mughal ‘ilah [q.v.] and, through the competing Shi‘i messianic movements, whose social origins and religious inclinations often approximated those of the Safawids (Newman, The myst., 68-76).

If the Safawids' commitment to orthodox Twelver Shi‘ism seemed problematic, so was the existence of the Safawid polity itself. The constant wars between the Kizil-Bash and their opponents and the Safawids' repeated losses of territory to both the Ozbegs and the Ottomans throughout this period, only underscored the fragility of the Safawid experiment.

For Arab Twelver clerics resident outside Safawid territory, a special, additional source of aggravation was the open association with and services rendered to Safawid Shi‘ism by ‘Ali b. al-Husayn al-Karaki (d. 940/1534 [q.v.]) beginning soon after Isma‘ili's profession of faith, as well as the compensation for these which al-Karaki received in land and cash. In the Djabal ‘Amil region of Lebanon, both well-established and such younger scholars as Shaykh Zayn al-Din b. ‘Ali, called al-Shahid al-Thani (the second martyr) (d. 965/1557) and his student and associate al-Husayn b. ‘Abd al-Samad (d. 984/1576) expressed their disapproval of Safawid Shi‘ism and of al-Karaki by shunning all Safawid entanglements and territory, even though both al-Karaki and Shaykh Zayn al-Din were opponents of the Usuliyya tendency within Twelver Shi‘ism.

By this period, oying especially to the contributions of such scholars as Dja‘far b. al-Ḥasan al-Muḥakkiḥ al-Hillī (d. 676/1277) and al-Ḥasan b. Yusuf al-Allāmah al-Hillī (d. 726/1325) [q.v. who had "converted" Oldjeytu, the Usuliyya had stressed the application of subjective disciplines and rationalist principles, particularly the idea of certain scientific understandings, to "establish the certainties of faith") [q.v.]. A great number of Twelver-accepted revelation and the authorisation of al-fakih al-djami‘ is sharā’i al-fā‘a ("the legitimized of such those disciplines and principles permitted him to issue a fatwa") undertaken to perpetuate the period of occultation (ghayba [q.v.]) many practical activities reserved for the Imam during his presence, based on the Imam's designation of the fakih as his nābī (deputy). The Usuliyya also divided the community into the unschooled šammi (lay believer) and the mudajahid [q.v.], requiring the former to practice taklif [q.v.] of the latter's legal ruling and accept his authority over other matters of doctrine and practice within the community. In addition, the Usuliyya permitted to the fakih a wide scope of interaction with the secular political establishment, especially insofar it might protect or further the interests of the community. Al-Karaki initially argued that his involvement with the court was permitted by virtue of his being na‘īm to al-imam al-ṭalā, an implicit acceptance of Isma‘ili's claims to the imamate. Criticised on this point, al-Karaki advanced the concept of niṣāba ‘amma ("general delegation of the Imam's authority"), identified al-fakih al-djami‘ as l-sharā’i as nābī ‘amīm ("general deputy") of the Imam, and justified his involvement with the court as that permitted by the na‘īm’s status (the tyrannous ruler)
as leader of a non-Twelver political institution.

The open criticism of al-Karaki’s association with the court by some clerics from the Gulf and the Shi‘i shrines in cities like Isfahan, Shiraz, and Kerman, demonstrated the seriousness of al-Karaki’s linkages with the Twelver community. The continuing losses by the Safawids of substantial territories to the Ottomans, beginning a year after al-Karaki’s death in 941/1534 (including Baghdad and the shrine cities), the 962/1555 treaty formalising those losses, the chaos that further shook the ‘empire’ at the death of Tahmasp, and the effort to re-establish Sunnism under Isma‘il II (984/1576-9) only pointed to the imminent demise of the Safawid experiment and underlined the precarious position of the faith in Safawid hands. Indeed, pockets of Persian Sunnism, e.g. in Kazvin, remained viable over the entire period.

Prominent Twelver Uṣūli scholars continued their boycott of Safawid Shi‘ism in the latter part of the century. Neither Zayn al-Dīn’s son al-Hasan (d. 1011/1602-3), aged seven at his father’s death, or his relative and associate Sayyid Muhammad b. ‘Ali (d. 1009/1600)—authors of the important Ma‘ālim al-dīn and Madārīk al-akhām respectively—were removed from Ottoman territory. Both studied with al-Husayn b. ‘Abd al-Samad in the Lebanon and in ‘Irak with the Persian clerics ‘Abd Allāh al-Yazdī (d. 981/1573) and Ahmad b. Muhammad al-‘Arabī (d. 993/1585, author of the influential Maqāls fi al-fāʻāda wa Zuhbat al-baqā‘īn), both of whom had abandoned Safawid territory. Both also later forsook plans for a pilgrimage to Ma‘ūsh for fear ‘Abbās I (q.v.) would press them into his service.

The existence of significant Twelver communities located at and around the shrine cities of ‘Irāk, as well as the Gulf and the Lebanon, as alternative points of focus and independent bases for the community, facilitated both the Uṣūli and Akhbārī critiques of Safawī Shi‘ism in general and the manner in which al-Karaki had cast his lot with Safawī Shi‘ism in particular.

In the 11th/17th century, however, in a gradually improving politico-military atmosphere, the patronage of the court and the Safawī political and socio-economic circumstances proved to the establishment of Twelver communities in Persia. The development of these as alternatives to the educational centres and shrines located in Ottoman territory, especially those of ‘Irāk—captured in 1033/1623-4 but lost to the Ottomans in 1048/1638 and never retaken—and Mecca and Medina, complemented Safawī efforts to develop Persian centres of commerce and trade and stem the outflow of precious metals. Attention to economic considerations grew with rising expenditures and falling revenues over the century, particularly after the accession of ‘Abbās II in 1052/1642 (Matthee, Politics and trade, esp. 218-77, and 239, citing the 17th-century account of Tavernier; idem, The career of Mohammed Baj).
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efforts made to enhance the fame of that city and its

shrine.

Many individual clerics were often direct recipients of the

patronage which these programmes involved. As part of his

massive building programme in Isfahan, ʻAbbās built a school for ʻAbd Allāh al-

Shūghtari (d. 1021/1612-13), who had come to Persia from Nağšāb, where he

had studied with al-ʻArdašīr. ʻAbbās built a mosque for Luṭf Allāh al-Māvsī (d.

1032/1622-3), grandson of a Lebanese cleric who had avoided the court. Shaykh Bahā’ī,

who had served as Shaykh al-Īslām in Harāt and composed his Zad al-

wāli, an important work of Usūlī jurisprudence, was appointed to the same

post in Isfahan, took an active role in the capital's building programme and also

undertook domestic political missions for ʻAbbās, managing the shīḥ's constitution of his estates as

wakīf.

As these clerics' close connection with the court paralleled that of al-Karāki, so many observed and

built on his Usūlī pronouncements. All staunchly sup-

ported the conduct of Friday prayer service during the

occultation, for example, Mir Dāmād (d. 1040/1630-1

[q.v.])—whose father was son-in-law to al-Karāki, and

who had studied under students of al-Shāhīd al-

Thānī, including the father of Shaykh Bahā’ī, and

was a close associate of the courts of both ʻAbbās I and

Ṣafār—triumphed that prayer, and defined the

latter as the muddāžahid/fākīh who had attained

ghāṣī al-ṣiṣṭ. Shaykh Bahā’ī supported an active role for

the fākīh in the collection and distribution of the

zakāt, and khums, following similar rulings by earlier

Usūlī clerics. Their court connections affirmed these

clerics' committment endorsement of the fākīh's

associating with the established political institution,

and legitimised the court's claim to a special, indeed

exclusive, relationship with the faith itself.

These Persian centres and clerics increasingly

became a focus for the region's Twelver community,

attracting both Persian and Arab students and

producing many of the most prominent scholars of the

later 11th/17th century. Thus among Shaykh Bahā’ī's

students were Sadr al-Dīn Muhammad al-Shīrāzī (d.

1050/1640) [see Mullā Sadrā, and also below], Muhammad Takl al-Maqālī (d. 1070/1659

[q.v.], Bābāyān, 182-5, 189-91). The same

was to lead that prayer, and defined

open association of such of the Usulls as Shaykh

Abbas I with the

court. By later in the
century, the dispute had flourished to such an extent

that among the ever-larger number of Twelver clerics

in Persia following the accession of ʻAbbās I with the

open association of such of the Usūlīs as Shaykh

Bahā’ī and Mir Dāmād with the court. The Usūlīs and the moderate

Akhbārīs (muddāžahid-muhaddithīn), however, agreed on the

authority of the fākīh as ḍāmī ṣharā’ī al-ʿidghtahād

over matters of doctrine and practice and permission for him to interact with the established political

institutions. This latter group included Muhammad Aḥmad al-Āstārābādī (d. 1030/1640) (often identified

as the 'founder' of the Akhbarī school, see Kohlberg, 1957, and 1961; and such higher-ranking, court-

connected scholars at Isfahan and provincial centres as Muhammad Takl al-Maqālī, Khalīl al-Kazwīnī

(d. 1088/1677), Fayd al-Kāshānī, Muhammad Tāhir

b. Muhammad Husayn al-Shīrāzī al-Kumlī (d. 1098/1687, and Shaykh al-Īslām in Kum during the

reign of Shāh Sulaymān) and Muhammad b. al-

Hasan al-Ḥurr al-Amīlī (d. 1104/1693 [q.v.]) (who
came to Persia, settled in Mashhad, and was there ap-

pointed Shaykh al-Īslām). By contrast, the radical Akhbarīs (muhaddithīn) were particularly a force in the provincial and smaller cen-
tres of the faith inside Safavid Persia, such as Mashhad, and peripheral regions outside Safavid ter-

nery, where they were more likely strong among lower-ranking urban clerics and recent immigrants to the

cities. Unschooled in, and rejecting the validity of recourse to the juristic legal science of these clerics

relied solely on the ḍāmī ṣharā’ī in all matters of doctrine and practice; some rejected the Kurān itself as evidence (Newman, The nature of the Akhbarī Usūlī dispute).

Religious orthodoxy did not always win the day among all segments of the 'lay' community. "Popular" religious practices and customs, of which the court and its clerical protégés disapproved and tried to suppress or control, remained widespread.
Coffee-houses, for example, were a ubiquitous feature of the country, particularly in the second Safavid century owing to the rapid urbanisation of such cities as Isfahan. These were patronised by all classes of people, but especially by such of the "lower" orders as artists, poets, tellers of religious stories, scholars, musicians and Sufis. When the court perceived its interests were threatened, it enlisted the clergy to crack down on these and other "popular" pastimes and activities. The "purge" of 999/1593 coincided with the "victory" of al-Karaki over his opponents, for example (Rumië, 115). In the second Safavid century, the mid-century encouragement of the court to develop independent religious centres, the court capitalised on clerical orthodoxy to check any coffee-house based dissent and to focus popular attention on minority merchants as prominent, subordinate, actors in the country's economic life. 'Abbâb I feared the overtly political nature of coffee-house conversations, and assigned clerics to monitor activities in coffee-houses and to preach sermons on Islamic law or lead prayers. 'Abbâb II's vizier Khâlîfâ Sulțân launched a widespread, if also temporary, suppression of certain coffee-house excesses, wine-drinking and prostitution, and a similarly short-lived effort to convert the country's Jews—like that undertaken by 'Abbâb I—and to restrict certain activities of Armenian merchants (Matthee, Coffee in Safavid Iran, esp. 26-50; ibidem, The career of Muhammed Beg, 27-9; Al-e Dawud, Coffeehouses, 1-2; Babayan, The warning, 255-6).

Also problematic were Sûfî influences rivalling the paramounty of the Safavid Sûfï order and the associated hegemonic position of the Usûli clerical establishment. These challenges frequently involved elements of rural and urban jârri Sûfism and became especially ominous when linked with messianic revivals among both rural and intra-Khâtîl-Bâsh tribal movements. The various phases of the Nuktawîya [q.v.] "herezy" typified these connections and the resultant Safavid concern, especially the Nuktâwî rebellion against 'Abbâb I in 1002/1593, in which both members of the Khâtîl-Bâsh Confederation and disaffected urban elements were implicated (Babayan, op. cit., 46-7; Amorotti, Religion, 644-5). The khârîj of Elîlâr al-Brû (853) warned against its messianic overtones and the support the latter engendered among some Safavid gnêns (Babayan, op. cit., 103-4). The urbanisation trends of the second Safavid century further encouraged the rise of urban-based lower-class "popular" Sûfï movements.

The Usûli/Akhbârî polemic intersected with the broader concern with Sûfî influence. Members of each madhhîb denounced Sûfî orders and their "heretical" practices, but imputing "low" Sûfî tendencies especially became a device of the lower-ranking, or otherwise peripheralised, clerics with which to assault the small number of court-supported Usûli and moderate Akhbâri clerics and their associates. These were a small group, often conveniently related by ties of family and education, whose interests in aspects of ûlûm-"high" philosophical or gnostic inquiry were as exclusive and elitist in doctrine and practice as their jurisprudence. These denunciations were especially frequent during the second Safavid century, coinciding with court efforts to combat such Sûfî-oriented movements as the Nuktâwî and that of Darwîsh Ridâj, the still-strong Sûfî proclivities among the Khâtîl-Bâsh and the Sûfî influence in the rapidly expanding urban centres, including e.g. Isfahan. Such criticism won sufficiently widespread appeal to help force the resignation of Shaykh Bahârî as Shaykh al-îslâm in Isfahan. Bahârî's student Mullâ Sadrâ Sîrîrazî was likewise charged with Sûfî inclinations; Rahman (The philosophy of Mullâ Sadrâ, 2-3) has suggested that Sadrâ's disagreement with his teacher Mîr Dâmîd and his subsequent repudiation of such concepts as wa'hdât al-wujûd, as in his Tarh al-kawâым, can at least be partly explained as the result of such attacks. Sadrâ's only Persian-language prose work, Sîh asl, was a defence against allegations of Sûfî tendencies.

The interest of Fayd al-Kâschâni—a student of Bahârî, Mîr Dâmîd, and Sadrâ, and the latter's son-in-law—"offered an incitation, stemming from a growing appreciation of the potential and real attacks against him for his court and family connections and his own philosophical interests. In fact, Fayd accepted enough of Usûli doctrine—arguing that the command of the ghârî was sufficient justification for the performance of Friday prayer, leading Friday prayer in Isfahan and ruling that the fâkâh, based on al-nâyâb, ought to oversee the collection and distribution of al-khums—to qualify him as a mudjibdân-mudâdith, whose philosophical proclivities similarly tended to the "high", exclusive gnosticism of his teachers. Sazâwârî was also attacked for his purported Sûfî tendencies.

Later in the century, Muhammad Bâkir al-Maqâlî, another associate of the court and Shaykh al-îslâm of the capital, was forced into a posthumous defence of his father Muhammad Ta'akî—like Fayd al-Kâschâni a mudjibdân-mudâdith with philosophical tendencies—against charges that the former was a Sûfî. His own disclaimer of interest in and his censure of Sûfism and philosophy, and also his work with Twelver hadîth, at least partly stemmed from concern lest he be subjected to similar attacks from the same quarters. Nevertheless, al-Maqâlî exhibited some interest in Islamic exoterica, and his essay on the Jews at-tâbîc al-Yahûdî, a balanced, if stern, discussion of the general duties enjoined on the ahl al-dhimma, in which he stated that some prohibitions were without legal foundation and in which he permitted Muslim rulers a widelatitude in implementing any or all of them.

If widespread approval for anti-Sûfî polemics increased such "distances" in Usûli discourse, the court's backing for its clerical supporters nevertheless assured their dominance of key religious institutions, and thus the material wherewithal to continue their intellectual activity throughout the period. By later in the Safavid period, the Persian centres of the faith were on a par with, if they had not eclipsed, the Irakî shrines, and developments in the Usûli and Akhbârî traditions in this period enabled the faith to weather its disestablishment following the fall of the Safavid house. Akhbaris fled to the Sufi shrines and were eventually defeated as a force within the community by al-Wâhid al-Bihbahânî (Cole, Shi'i clerics, esp. 15-23).

Crucial to and further cementing this Sûfî triumph, however, was the Safavid-period articulation of concepts enhancing clerical authority within the community. The final formalisation of the concept of al-mudjibdân-mudâdith, for example, was crucial in their differentiation in the clerical hierarchy and the subsequent evolution of such concepts as mardûf'i taklid (the source of emulation) [q.v.], the rankings of hadjâj al-îslâm [see Hudjâj] and ayûbîlîh [q.v. in Suppl.] and, eventually, the principle of government by an expert in jurisprudence, or 'ulûmî-îslâm. The Usûlîs' recovery of control over the Persian Shi'i religious institution—the schools, shrines and mosques—and Khâzâr patronage of the faith, on the
Safavid model, provided the clergy with resources to maintain and eventually activate these concepts in spite of, if not also as much because of, the hostility of the various established political institutions and their ubiquitous foreign backers.

II. Philosophy in the Safavid period

The written legacy of the practitioners of ‘‘high’’ philosophical and rationalist religious discussion identifies them as members of the same tiny, scholarly class who traditionally served and identified with the agencies of the established clerical institutions. The conditional nature of court interest and support, the inherent tendency to restrict the scope for inquiry permitted the untrained, and the extent to which the scope and style of their inquiry was determined by the preceding discourse, were thus as much features of ‘‘high’’ philosophical inquiry as the ‘‘high’’ religious one. As leading Usuli scholars, these philosophers also participated in the teaching and training of future generations of Shi'i philosophers, thus enhancing the reputation of the Persian centres of education and study as well as creating a new class of clerics whose interests were linked with those of the political and socio-economic elite.

That the careers and scholarly agenda of the ‘‘high’’/‘‘elite’’ philosophers of the Safavid and earlier periods were more similar than not, is evident from examining figures who lived through both. Djalal al-Din Muhammad Dawani (830/1426-908/1502-03 [q.v.]), for example, was based in Shiraz and studied with students of al-Sjarif al-Djurdjani (d. 816/1413 [q.v.]) and teachers of Ibn Hadjar al-Askalani (d. 892/1449 [q.v.]). Dawani enjoyed the patronage of and served the region’s pre-Safavid political establishments, including the Timurid Abu Sa‘id (d. 878/1471-72 [q.v.]) and the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (d. 910/1512 [q.v.]).

Although his philosophical contributions have yet to receive detailed, comparative attention, Dawani appears to have been primarily a reviver of aspects of the Illuminist tradition, while remaining loyal to the rationalist aspects of Ibn Sin’a’s thought (Rahman, The philosophy of Mulla Sadra, 9). Like Suhrawardl (d. 578/1191 [q.v.]), he is said to have rejected Ismail’s messianic claims. Dawani maintained that existence had one reality and no multiplicity. Like Nasr al-Din Tusi’s observatory at Maragha (see also below, subsection II. ii), Dawani’s cosmology involved the gradual unfolding of intellectuals, spheres, elements, and kingdoms. The active intellect—which he identified with the original essence of the Prophet—bridges the gap between heaven and earth.

The revolutions of the spheres, by nature stationary but changeable in quality, control the material world and create new situations wherein the active intellect engendered a new form to reflect itself in the mirror of elemental matter. In this way, the intellect passes through the various states of matter and finally appears in man in the form of acquired intellect, eventually re-acquiring its original form of unity of collective potential. This circular process he termed harakat-i wadwi. The motions in the process are in fact the shadow of motions proceeding from God’s desire for self-manifestation; the mystical term this the flashing of Self upon Self. In his metaphysical al-Zauna, Dawani elevated mysticism above philosophy, even as he asserted both had the same goal, because mysticism benefited from divine grace and so was free from doubt and uncertainty and thus nearer to prophethood.

At the same time, some of his works clearly reflect his other role as a royal scribe, the career for which he was probably as well, if not better, known at court. His works in this genre, written for royal benefactors, included a description of a military review in Fars entitled ʿArdr-nama, and his contribution to the ‘‘mirror for princes’’ genre Al-Safar al-ʿUqalı. Indeed, he also dedicated his royal patrons his Ibn Badis-style commentary Sharawil al-ʿnur on the Hayakal al-ʿnur of Suhravardi.

Although later sources contend that he was a Shī‘ī practising takyyiyya prior to the rise of Isma‘ili, Dawani’s Sunni proclivities were unequivocal in his early works. Even after the Safavid occupation of Tabriz, he is said to have identified with ʿAla‘ al-Din al-Hilli. The court functionary’s traditional capacity for adjustment was evident, however, in Dawani’s almost perfunctorily Shī‘ī work Nūr al-hildya, probably composed as the Safawids approached Shiraz, where he died before the city’s capture. Dawani’s student Djamal al-Din al-Astarabadi (d. 931/1524-5) was the sixth Safavid sadr but, like his teacher, was more comfortable with philosophical disputes than the tenets of the newly established faith (Newman, The myth, 75 n. 24).

Dawani clashed with his contemporary Sa‘d al-Din Muhammad Daštaki (d. 903/1498), another ‘‘high’’ philosopher associated with both the Timurid and Safavid courts, both in treatises and also in glosses on works by al-Tusi and Suhravardi. Sa‘d al-Din’s son Ghiyath al-Din Mansur (see also the preceding section) continued the anti-Dawani polemic after the death of the original protagonists. Although the details are still poorly understood, the disagreement involved points of debate well within the tradition of Islamic ‘‘high’’ philosophy to date. Dawani, like Suhravardi, argued e.g. that existence had but one, single reality, where Ghiyath al-Din argued there was no existence at all.

Like Dawani and his own father, Ghiyath al-Din was as much a court protégé and functionary as other Shirazi philosophers in the tradition of Kurb al-Din al-Sharazi [q.v.; see also below, subsection III. ii], himself a student of al-Tusi. Ghiyath al-Din maintained good relations with Bayezid II, and served as vizier to the Timurid Sultan Husayn Baykara (r. 874-911/1469-1506 [q.v.]). Although for the Safawids the religio-political proclivities of both Daštakis were less important than their status as prospective court functionaries, later Safavid and post-Safavid biographers claimed that Sa‘d al-Din Muhammad was the first openly Shī‘ī member of the family. Shah Isma‘ili reportedly called on Ghiyath al-Din to undertake repairs to al-Tusi’s observatory at Maragha [q.v.] (see also below, subsection III. ii), and in 936/1529 Ta‘mînasp appointed him co-sadr with al-Hilli. Ghiyath al-Din’s challenge to al-Karaki coincided with, if it did not support, that of al-Hilli and certain tribal elements (see above). At his dismissal, Ghiyath al-Din returned to Shiraz’s Manṣūriyya school.

Members of Nasr and Corbin’s ‘‘Isfahan School of Philosophy’’—Shaykh Bahâ‘i, Mir Dâmdâr, Mullâ Sa‘dâr, Fâydl al-Kâshâni, Mir Findiriski (d. 1050/1640 [q.v. in Suppl.]) and ʿAbd al-Razzâk al-Lâhidji (d. 1072/1662 [q.v.])—the ‘‘high’’ philosophers of the second Safavid century, were similarly close associates of the court but with clear-cut allegiances to the basic tenets of Usuli Shi‘ism. Like Ghiyath al-Din, their fortunes varied with broader socio-religious and political trends. Like him also, they served the court also as scribes. However, spurred on by the interest of Nasr and Corbin, analysis has revealed they advanced important contributions to Islamic philosophy.

Nasr and Corbin distinguished Mir Dâmdâr—student of both Shaykh Bahâ‘i and the latter’s...
father—as the outstanding figure of Safawid-period philosophy. Subsequent Persian evaluations have only echoed this assessment, according him such titles as Sayyid al-bukamal ("Master of the wise men"), Sayyid al-jalâlisâ ("Master of the philosophers"), and mu'allim-i nûsâbû ("the third teacher"), after Aristotle and al-Fârâbî [q.v.].

Mir Dâmad's contribution to Usûlî doctrine and practice has been noted. His philosophical accomplishment was to build on the interpretations of Shârârî and Sayyid al-fâldsîfa ("Master of the philosophers") and the manuscripts of Mulla Dârâ and to revive Ibn Sinâ's metaphysics and transform it from a purely rational, abstract system of thought into a spiritual reality through the application of Ishrâkî principles within a Shi'î framework. His reconfiguration of issues of time and the relation between the eternal (kîdan) and the created (hududh) produced his most famous philosophical contribution, the concept of hududh-i dâhri ("origination, or creation, in perpetuity"). The latter distinguished three, separate and distinguishable levels of being and postulated a middle level (dâhri) between the immutatable world (sarmad) and the changing world (zamân), in which the two are related and through which the eternal, unchanging reality manifests itself in the world. Mir Dâmad's merging of Avicennan philosophy with Shârârî's illuminationism within a Shi'î framework informed the thought of later Safawid-period philosophers, including that of his students Mulla Sa'drâ, Mir Dâmad's son-in-law Sayyid Ahmad 'Alawi and Mullâ Shamsâ Gilânî (d. 1098/1686-7). The latter, especially, continued Mir Dâmad's efforts to harmonize aspects of the contributions of Ibn Sinâ and Shârârî.

Sa'drâ al-Dîn Muhammad Shîrâzî was born ca. 980/1571 to an aristocratic Shîrâzî family. In Isfahan he studied the Twelver Shi'î religious sciences with Shâhîk Bahâ'î and the rationalist, philosophical disciples with Mir Dâmad, spent more than a decade in Kahak near Kum, after which he was invited by 'Abbas II to return to Shîrâz to teach. He spent the last thirty years of his life teaching at the court of Khâân Khân. In 1025/1617-18, he was invited by the governor of Fars—during which time he completed many of his best-known works. Sa'drâ's thought built on that of Mir Dâmad in order to integrate Ibn Sinâ's thought with Ishrâkî interpretations through a Twelver Shi'î framework. Initially, Sa'drâ agreed with Mir Dâmad and Shârârî on the principality of essence, while existence was an unreal mental, phenomenal derivative. Eventually, however, as he made clear in his magnum opus al-Asfâr al-arba'â, when he was nearly sixty, he agreed with Ibn Sinâ's understanding of the principality of existence (îsâlat al-wududh) over essence, even as he accepted the notion that existence, while a single reality (thus following Dâvânî and Mir Dâmad), manifested itself luminously in different degrees and stages (Rahman, The philosophy, 1-3; Nasr, Three Muslim sages, 67).

Sa'drâ's debt to Shârârî was manifested itself in his adherence to the notion of "trans-substantial motion" (al-haraka al-djawhariyya). Ibn Sinâ had rejected this concept and denied the reality of "Platonic ideas". As Sa'drâ held that a single reality revealed itself in varying degrees and stages and upheld the notion of Platonic ideas of archetypes of things which became manifest in the world, al-âharaka al-djawhariyya became the means by which the substance of these changed and evolved to a stage where they achieved immutability. Likewise, man himself can achieve this state. Indeed, for Sa'drâ the goal of hikma is precisely the realisation of this status. Thus trans-substantial motion is Sa'drâ both a point of metaphysics and of natural philosophy.

Sa'drâ's doctrines also included many of the basic principles of gnosticism as formulated by Ibn al-Arâbî [q.v.], as Sa'drâ understood the necessity for a relationship between mystical experience and logical thinking.

In harmonising philosophy and gnostics, Mullâ Sa'drâ was building on the work of Islamic thinkers from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th century, including Kubb al-Dîn Shîrâzî, al-Djûrdjâni, Haydar Amûlî, Radjab Bursî, Ibn Turka Iṣfâhânî, Ibn Abl Dîmîurmûr Ahsâ'î [q.v. in Suppl.] and Mir Dâmad himself. However, unlike some of these earlier scholars, Sa'drâ grounded his reconciliation of these two traditions of inquiry firmly in the revelation of Twelver Shi'ism.

Note is the fact that Sa'drâ composed nearly all of his works in Arabic, reflecting the fact that his intended audience was based in the exceedingly tiny class of highly sophisticated, mainly religious thinkers of the time. In his own time, the influence of Sa'drâ's thought was quite limited, though links to Aḥbârî and Shaykhî thought have been suggested (Morris, The wisdom, 49). In the Kâṣîrî period, Sa'drâ's contributions were re-activated by Mullâ Hâdî Sabzawârî (d. 1295/1878 or 1298/1880-1 [q.v.]).

Sa'drâ's students included his son-in-law Fîyd al-Kâhânî and al-Lâhîdî, another son-in-law, who himself taught Muhammad b. Sa'îd Kummî, Kâdî Sa'îd Kummî (d. 1103/1691). In addition to being a judge, Kummî was also a physician and a gnostic, even as he, like the earlier generation of Iṣfâhân School members, worked solidly within the framework of Twelver Shi'ism. Indeed, as summarised by Corbin, at the hands of Mir Dâmad, Sa'drâ and Kâdî Sa'îd Kummî "the two principles of gnosis and hikma became the Shi'îte philosophy" (Creative imagination, 23).

It has been suggested that Mir Findirîski was also a student of Mullâ Sa'drâ. Mir Findirîski was a prominent figure both at court and among such of his contemporaries as Mir Dâmad and Shaykh Bahâ'î, involved himself in some Sûfî practices, lived a simple, ascetic lifestyle, travelled to India several times and was familiar with aspects of Hinduism as well as with such of the occult sciences as alchemy. If he studied with Sa'drâ, his own "high" gnostic interests manifested themselves in a closer affiliation with Ibn Sinâ and included a denial of Sa'drâ's notion of trans-substantial motion. Among his students were Mullâ Râfî'î Gilânî (d. 1082/1671-2), the Usûlî jurisprudent Muhammad Bâkîr Sabzawârî (see the preceding section), the jurisprudent and philosopher Aghâ Husayn Khân 'Aqînî (d. 1080/1670-90), and Radjab 'Ali Tabrizî (d. 1080/1670-70). The latter, also an opponent of trans-substantial motion, taught Kâdî Sa'îd Kummî.

The prolonged attack against the "high" scholasticism practised by these philosophers and like-minded religious scholars in the second Šafawî century is discussed in the preceding section.

III. Science and society in the Šafawî period

As the patrons and practitioners of "high" philoso-
The court and its associates were themselves directly affected by illness in this period. Isma'il died in 965/1557 from a fever which the great medical writer Baha'I, in his son's testament, said his father had a great fear of (tab-i muharrak), an event leading to a fina at court (Kumml, i, 588). He was cured, but died of another illness two years later; in that instance one attending physician was executed for his treasonously unsuccessful efforts (ibid., i, 600). Muhammad Kuhdabanda had an eye problem which Elgood put down to "corneal opacity"—this being acknowledged as a universal cure, but are perhaps better known for separate monographs on specific, practical medical issues, many of which were written for their royal patrons. Bahā' al-Dawla's magnus opus Khulsat al-ta'jīrāb was arranged like al-Rāzi's al-Ḥāwī. ʿImād-al-Dīn composed a general medical work in the style of the older books, but also an essay on the chinese root (ṭibb-i dīn)—this herb was reckoned for a universal cure, and which ʿImād tested cured internal addiction, baldness, rheumatism and haemorrhoids—and one on the bezozar stone. His essay on syphilis is said to have caused Ghīyāth al-Dīn Daḥtakī's fear of the illness (Elgood, 52-3, 24). In addition to his essay on alcohol, Hamawī also wrote an essay on the chinese root, tea and coffee for Abābū I on ophthalmology during the later's Tabriz campaign; in fact, probably owing to the circumstancies of its composition, it also covers wounds, ulcers and syphilis (Elgood, 69). Hākīm Muhāmmad's work on surgery was dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās, and included chapters on pre- and post-operative procedures. This work suggests that most surgery was for accidents and wounds; the few operations of choice included castration and circumcision. The author devoted some space to description of surgical instruments, and a section to anaesthetics (Elgood, s.v., and esp. 153-4). A large number of pharmacopoeias [see AKBĀBĀHĪN] were written in this period, including the Tābīb-i ḥelal of Muḥaffāz b. Muhāmmad al-Husaynī al-Shīrāzī (d. 974/1565), the basis for the French work of 1681, the Pharmacopoeia persica of Father Angelus (Elgood, 33-4).

Although belonging to the Galenic tradition, these writers were not themselves unobservant or uncritical.
Elgood, himself a practising physician, credited Baha al-Dawla with the first accounts of whooping cough decades before the European account (Elgood, 279-80, xiv). He also commended Bahâ's awareness of raised blood pressure during pregnancy (270-1). The surgeon al-Madžîli devotes a lengthy section of his book to the necessity of cleaning surgical knives between uses, perhaps, as Elgood suggested, having observed the problem of implanting diseased cells from one patient to another (160). Hakim Muhammad also noted the tendency for cancer of the breast to reappear elsewhere in the body after a mastectomy (ibid., 188, 231).

Indeed, women's illnesses and matters of pregnancy and fertility were frequently addressed in both medical textbooks and monographs. The latter included the essay of Murtaza Kull Khan b. Hasan Shamli—not a medical practitioner at all, but one-time governor of Kurn—dedicated to Shâh Sulaymân and titled Khiṣâ-yi Khânûn dar 'ilm-i tibb (“Women's rags on the science of medicine”), and that of Shâh Sulaymân's court physician, Mirâ'ât al-Qanâl (“Mirror of beauty”). Such writings, some of whom derived from earlier medical and religious texts, covered such matters as birth control and abortion, morning sickness, breast feeding and early childhood illnesses.

Given the occasional, spectacular lack of success of these court physicians with their most important patient/patron, and probably also due to the shâhs' tribal backgrounds, the court was also sympathetic to non-Galenic theories and practices.

Prophetic medicine was also a source of medical understanding. Among the Shî'as, in particular, there was a tradition of medicine based on the hadith of the Imâms and thus amenable to easy memorisation. As early as the 3rd/9th century collection Tibb al-a'tûma, this Shî'î medical tradition included elements of the Galenic tradition, but also cited the Imâms' advice on preventive medicine, abstention from certain foods, cupping and cauterisation, the use of particular blends of herbs and spices, and statements involving 'magic' and warnings about and prayers to counter the evil eye (Tibb al-a'tûma, Preface). In his anatomical treatise Ibn Ilyâs, although not a Shî'î, accorded equal weight to the prophetic and Galenic medical traditions. In the Safavid period, 'All Afdal Kâfî included citations from earlier prophetic traditions in his Karhâhid (Elgood, 36-8). Muhammad Bakir al-Madjîlî, author of the treatise of Ibn Ilyâs, declared his allegiance to the Imams' advice on medicine, including a Galenic-style discussion of human anatomy followed by chapters of medical statements credited to the Imâms drawn from such early sources as Tibb al-a'tûma. As al-Madjîlî's compilation was the product of the Uslûl court effort to promulgate its vision of orthodoxy throughout Safavid territory, however, the inclusion of a medical section also suggests an effort to challenge less orthodox—perhaps especially, for example, Sunnit—based, or radical Albâhârī—prophetic medical traditions.

Evidence of other sources of medical theories and customs of the semi-literate and especially the illiterate classes (the bulk of the population in Safavid Persia) can also be inferred. Pre-Safavid medical texts often included citations of Persian-language medical verses on a variety of subjects. The anatomical treatise of Ibn Ilyâs, Taqârî-yi Manşârî, cited verse 391 using the formal Arabic anatomical terminology similar to the medical verse of Ibn Sinâ, already available in Persian. In style, however, Ibn Ilyâs's citations resemble the little-known Persian verse of the 3rd/9th century Persian physician Hakim Maysarî (Dânîsh-nâmâ dar 'ilm-i pazâgî) the mid-19th century. The scanning and rhyming schemes of such verse facilitated its memorisation, and might have been especially useful for the semi-literate practitioners with whom the bulk of the population was most likely to come into contact.

Safavid-period medical writers continued this tradition. In the early 10th/16th century, Yusuf b. Muhammad of Harât composed several works of medical verse, including a versified discussion of illnesses which an individual far from any doctor might have to treat himself. 'All Afdal Kâfî, author of the phyarmacopoeia Karâhîdîn, quoted some medical verse (Elgood, 18, 113-15, 117). Ibn Ilyâs's anatomy, with its medical verse, was also much copied in this period.

Other traditions of medical explanation were also available. Celestial events, including the appearance of a fiery comet in 1027/1617-18, for example, were blamed for subsequent wars and uprisings in Europe and the Ottoman empire, widespread pestilence in Gîlân and Mâzandarân (predicted by astrologers after the comet's appearance), an earthquake in Kûrânshâh in 1028/1618-19, the death of many commoners and nobles, and, together with the terrible heat of Mazandarân, the illness of 'Abbas himself the next year (Munshi, ii, 1162-8, 1176). Shaykh Bahâ's death in 1030/1620-1 came after hearing a voice during prayers at the tomb of Bâbâ Rûkûn al-Dîn Isfahânî. After this incident he 'prepared himself for death' as he predicted, three months later he fell ill and died (Munshi, ii, 1189-90).

Aware of their own limitations and of the challenges of other traditions, the court-based medical practitioners did practice some medical pluralism. Bahâ al-Dawla prescribed certain incantations in the case of plague, and magic before surgery in the case of certain instances of the urethra being blocked (Elgood, 173-4, 179). Hakim Muhammad, although generally disavowing all sorts of magic, charms, and the evil eye, noted certain bone fractures required divine intervention (Elgood, xvi). The court's interest in astrology is also clear, as recounted above. Indeed, sometimes rulers consulted its practitioners about the suggestions of the Galenic practitioners (Minorsky, 57-8, 128).

The court was keenly aware of the importance of public welfare generally to the stability of the broader socio-political fabric. In response to the 910/1505 famine and the death of Bâbâ Rûkûn al-Dîn Isfahânî, Isfahân ordered the sale of grain, and eventually also the execution of the responsible official owing to his poor response to the crisis (Rumlu, 36). 'Abbas I, following an earthquake that struck Shîr-wân [q.v.] while he and his party were in the region, ordered court phlebotomists to bleed the injured after which, it was reported, they 'revived a little' (Munshi, i, 928-9).

The court also took practical measures to secure the flow and quality control of health services in particular. In the second Safavid century, 'physicians, including druggists and perfume-sellers (qâbârdîn)—probably including such individuals as the opium seller, the seller of henna, and the seller of musk and perfume, and perhaps the surgeon (gârâst), the stitcher (bakhva-dûz) (Keyvani, 263-4) and perhaps also the eye specialist (kawkâz) (Elgood, 56, 63)—comprised one of the thirty-three main guilds in Isfahân, each of which would have been headed by a bâgh (Keyvani, 49-50). Some of these professions apparently had well-defined ranks: the surgeon rank comprised the master surgeon (ustâd), the bone-setter (mudjâbîr), and the barber (sâlmâni) who, however, was considered of lower-status and did not have a shop in the bazaar.
The court's purpose in maintaining an administrative apparatus for the guilds was both to maintain quality control and to organise these crafts for its own use. The court met its needs from the ministerial apparatus for the guilds was both to jurisprudent Fayd al-Kashanl was among those who within the royal workshops for such groups as "drugists and perfumers" (Attdr-bdshi (chief pharmacist")—with the position of chief of the entire profession. He also designated a physician for any member of the court requesting one (dispensary), the latter

Such earlier medical writers as al-Djurdjrnl spoke called were drawn from the same small circle of orthodox" practices and individuals.

The Safawids were more interested in and exercised greater control over guilds than had Timurids (Keyvani, 63). Indeed, sometime in the 11th/17th century, the court established the post of Hakim-baği ("chief doctor"), combining the position of the şah's personal physician—in which he was assisted by the ʿAjār-baği ("chief pharmacist")—with the position of chief of the entire profession. He also designated a physician for any member of the court requesting one (Minorsky, 57, 128).

Such earlier medical writers as al-Djurdjrnl spoke with respect of the importance and role of midwives (Elgood, 205-7, 219-20, 227-8, 266-7, 281). Keyvani (177) noted the preponderance of Jews among Isfahan's midwives. He also cited the presence of Jewish druggists and observed that the Armenian barber could perform cupping as well as bleeding, and...
the latest European discoveries; the subsequent influence of these plates appears to have been negligible, however (Savage-Smith, Celestial mapping, 65-8). Shaykh Bahāʾī, again, dedicated a short essay on the astrolabe to a minister of ʿAbbās I (Winter, 592).

Divinatory methods considered less orthodox today also appear to have enjoyed official support. Djalal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Yazdī, author of the court chronicle Tarāḥ-i ʿAbbāsī and chief astronomer to ʿAbbās I, also composed an essay on ramī (geoman- cy) for Kāhn Ahmad al-Husaynī, ruler of Gilān.

Related to the work in the astronomical sciences was that done in ʿilm al-hisāb [q. v.] or mathematics. Not surprisingly, perhaps, such close associates of the court as Shaykh Bahāʾī were among those who composed essays in this field.

iii. Military technology

Patterns of developments in military technology are similarly explicable in relation to the larger Persian social formation and the Safavid politico-military achievement itself.

Firearms were available and used in Persia from the 9th/15th century and cannon were used by the Safavid armies in their sieges of Anatolian cities of the Ottoman empire. The Safavid interest in the new technology was spurred on by the Čaldārīn defeat in 920/1514. Šafawī dākhās received both firearms and cannon from the Tsars and requested both of these from Tuscany and the Pope. ʿAbbās I received ar- quebues from Russia, Venice and England, the latter after the East Indian Company established relations with the court (Matthee, Firearms). There are frequent references to musketeers (ṣafangīli) and artillery (tūfāngā) in the late Safawī administrative manual Tuḥfahāt al-mulūk, and one of the 33 main guards of Isfāhān (Ṣafavī guardsmen)3, comprising makers of bows and arrows as well as makers of rifle stocks, rifles and gunpowder (Keyvanī, 50).

Nevertheless, muskets and arquebues, cannon and siege artillery, never achieved widespread use in Safawī armies. The mounted warriors of these armies spurned use of the former, "clumsy, cumber- some, and quite ineffective", noisy form of weaponry, which was continued to be used by the Kīzīl-Baḥāī in Persia at this time (Matthee, The nature of the Kīzīl-Baḥāī forces, under-utilised these weapons, by contrast with such similar formations as the Ottoman Janissaries, and a similar Russian contingent, who were trained in and equipped with the latest technology (Matthee, op. cit.).

Especially in comparison with Persia's Ottoman and Mughal neighbours, the general lack of wheeled transport and the Persian physical environment—e.g. the lack of navigable waterways—hindered the wide-spread incorporation of heavy field and siege artillery, although it was clearly available. The mining of ingre- dients crucial for the production of cannon and gunpowder—sulphur, saltpetre, charcoal and such metals as iron, copper and tin—was extremely difficult in this period. Heavy artillery also was of little use to Persian military strategy, which was based on the ambush and a scorchcd earth policy and not on open confrontion with the enemy (ibid.).

Siege artillery was little used by the Safawī armies for a variety of reasons. In this period, rulers left many cities unvalled or did not maintain city walls, devoting attention instead to the citadels within the cities. The extension of Šafawī power kept Persia's cities safe from internal threats and protected the interior ones from external threats. Moreover, the con- tinued importance of the Šafawī Bābā Ābbās in Persia society ensured that non-urbanised regions, the stepspe in particular, were the subject of comparably greater at- tention.

Finally, the Šafawīs' main enemies on the north and east, particularly the Özbegs, Afghans and Balōţī, utilised firearms less than the Šafawīs themselves, providing little impetus for the Šafawīs to change their military tactics. Unwieldy artillery was of little use in battle involving mounted cavalry. The Balōţī and Afghan advance into Šafawī territory, culminating in the capture of Isfāhān in 1135/1722, was accomplished mainly without firearms. It was starvage which finally forced the city's surrender to the invaders, and not the few mounted guns which did appear there (Matthee, Firearms; and see further on the whole topic, Bākī, v. Šafawīs).

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V. Arts and architecture.

The period of more than two centuries (907-1145/1501-1732) from the advent of Shah Ismā`l I to the demise of the last Safavid rulers is marked by significant changes in Persian patronage, taste, and aesthetics and by the powerful role of political and religious ideology in shaping the arts. While royal patrons, like Tahmāsp I and Ẓābīs al-`Imām, who had long reigned in which to imprint their strong personal tastes on the arts, exerted great influence, there is abundant evidence documenting the increasing importance of sub-royal patronage and non-aristocratic patronage of the arts. As always, family ties were important in landing commissions and appointments at court, and in-termarriage among artists' families was extensive: the 10th/16th-century calligrapher Mubīb `Ali, for instance, was the son of the artist Muzaffar `Ali and the grand-nephew of Bihzād [q.v.]; and the cousin of the notable painter Mużaffar `Ali. Signed or reliably ascribed works of art and architecture became far more plentiful than in earlier times, as did overt displays of connoisseurship and proud references to impressive collections of precious books, not only illustrated manuscripts but also sumptuous albums (muraqqā). The awe and reverence that marked the later stages of the Il-Khanid and Tlmurid eras, and the visual arts that gives equal weight and propriety to painting and calligraphy: thus 'Ali b. Abī Tālib is credited with being the master of the two Islāms, the reed of the scribe and the brush of the painter, so that 'Ali, as the first Muslim painter, ranks in importance with the renowned Mānī, the legendary pre-Islamic Iranian painter. The centrality of 'Ali is likewise evident in the earliest buildings constructed under Safavid patronage and pervades the finest architectural inscriptions in Isfahān a century later: the state ideology that separated Shi`i Persia from rival Sunni regimes. The Safawid ideology that separated Shi`i Persia from rival Sunni regimes.

In addition to Shah Ismā`l's reign, Isfahān is little known: the two principal monuments are the 928-9/1521-2 Masjīd-i `Ali and the 918/1513 tomb of Hārūn-i Wilāyát, both in Isfahān's bazaar area and both reflecting in their names the strident adherence to `Ali characteristic of Ismā`l's reign. The tomb is justly celebrated for its portal, decorated in faience mosaic closer in style to the ornamentation of 9th/15th century Turcoman architec-ture of western Persia than to that of the
Timūrid east. Ismā'il’s exposure to Turcoman styles is also evident in a painting attributed to the painter Sultan Muhammad, *Stalking Buzdorm* defended from a lion by his horse *Rakhsh* (reproduced in S.C. Welch, *A King’s Book of Kings*, fig. 10), that most probably belonged to a *Shāh-nāma* begun and never completed for the first Safavid ruler. The heir apparent, Tāhmāsp Mirzá, appointed governor of Harāt in 922/1516, returned to Ṭabriz in 926/1516 at the age of nine, accompanied by the pre-eminent Timūrid painter, Bīhzād, who was particularly known for his royal *kiābān* (library and workshop). The convergence of the Turcoman and Timūrid artistic traditions during the first half of the 16th century is the essential element in the development of mature Safavid court styles in architecture and the arts.

**Tāhmāsp I.** Too young to rule effectively in 926/1516, the young shah turned his attention to the arts of the precious book and initiated the production of the greatest *Shāh-nāma* in Persian history. The *Shāh Tāhmāsbi Shāh-nāma* was a sumptuous creation, with 258 paintings, superb calligraphy and stunning illumination. The collaborative endeavour of dozens of different artists, it was successively under the direction of some Persia’s foremost talents, like Aḵā Mirak and Sultan Muhammad, and its paintings delineate the evolution of Safavid court style of Timurcoman and Timurid modes. Containing no colophon giving either the date of completion or the name of the scribe, the book occupied the talents of the royal atelier for some twenty years, and was complete when Dūst Muhammad wrote his *Account of past and present painters* in 953/1546. As one of the important contributors to the *Shāh-nāma*, this painter, calligrapher, and chronicler of the arts knew it well and specifically singled out for great praise the painting of *The Court of Gāmārda* by Sultan Muhammad (reproduced in Welch, *op. cit.*, 89). Other great projects of the shah’s patronage include the 946/1539-43 *Khamsa* of Nizāmī now in the British Library. In keeping with the Timūrid princely tradition, the shah’s brothers Bahram and Sām were also keenly interested in this most exclusive of court arts. The depiction of murals in illustrations of architectural interiors, as well as scenes involving examples in both landscape and street life, that wall paintings also an important activity for painters, and this tradition continued for the rest of the Safavid era. In 955/1548 the shah removed the seat of government from Ṭabriz to Kāzvin. He came increasingly to favour orthodoxy, and his passion for the arts of the secular book waned, though a 959/1552 *Kūrān*, almost certainly created for Tāhmāsp, indicates that calligraphers and illuminators of the highest ability were still employed in the royal *kiābān* (reproduced in T. Falk, *ed.*, Treasures of Islam, 100-1). Many of his artists left the court in search of other patronage: some went to work for princes in provincial posts, like the shah’s gifted nephew Ḩabīb (the patron of the great 963-72/1556-65 *Haft awrang* of Džamī now in the Freer Gallery), while others, like Mir Sayyid ʿAll, moved further east to Moghul India, where they were instrumental in shaping the style and taste of the Mughal court. See also Tāhmāsp I.

**ʿAbbās I.** Following a decade of instability after Tāhmāsp I’s death in 1576, ʿAbbās I brought great energy to his 42-year reign. Like his predecessors, he initiated a great *Shāh-nāma* project that re-established a large and productive royal atelier, and he took an active interest in the arts of the book. He particularly favoured the painters Šādžik Bek and Rīdā ʿAbbāsī [q.v.], supported the rival calligraphers ʿAlī Rīdā ʿAbbāzī and Mir Šīmām, and even mediated disputes within the royal *kiābān*. The dispersal of artistic talent during ʿAbbās’ reign and the broader diffusion of a wealth from ʿAbbās’s economic reforms increased the numbers of patrons from the lesser aristocracy, official and military classes, professionals, and merchants. Many of these new patrons appear to have bought, rather than commissioned, works of art, so that the production of less expensive single-page drawings and paintings flourished. Virtuoos demonstrations more than collaborative endeavours, and they took their subject matter from a variety of sources: images drawn from contemporary and mundane society that are often humorous or even sharply satirical (PL. XLV); elegant couriers, sometimes identified by name; virtuous lovers and Rīdā’s fashion-plate youths (PL. XLVI), often accompanied by mystical verses, who presumably correspond to the divine beloved. Safavid metalwork was also frequently adorned with mystical poetry that indicates how deeply and thoroughly Sufism suffused the culture (PL. XLVII).

But the shah also recognized the importance of the arts in promoting the economic well-being of Persia. Some carpet manufacturing under royal patronage was profitably directed at commissions from European nobility (PL. XVIII), and the role of textiles in commerce, always significant in Islam’s past, seems to have been especially enhanced. Safavid silk textiles demonstrated a dizzying variety of styles and they depended on a remarkable extent upon figural decoration; some royal painters worked as textile designers, and silk cloths were decorated with scenes of Safavid victories over invertebrate enemies like the Uzbeks, as well as with visiting Europeans, youthful lovers, and the beauties of gardens and nature (PL. XLIX). Likewise, he encouraged ceramic production, and in addition to more traditional lustre wares, Persian potters imitated Chinese blue-and-white ceramics for sale to European merchants in the China trade as well as to satisfy the substantial demand in Persia (PL. L). Persian manuscripts and single-page works of art were even bought by merchants for sale outside Persia.

Foreign contacts and international trade were vital elements in ʿAbbās’s policy, and the many new patrons from the European and Indian diplomats and merchants who came to Persia, there were European scholars, missionaries, and independent travellers whom the shah’s interests generally extended more broadly. They remained an important feature of Persian cultural and social life throughout the 17th/17th century, and their published reports not only stimulated cultural and social life throughout the 11th/17th century, and their published reports not only stimulated contemporary interest in Persia but also serve as major sources of information for modern scholarship. Their attention was particular drawn to the city of Ispahan [q.v.], which ʿAbbās chose as his centre of government in 1006/1598 and where he undertook one of the greatest building programs in Islamic history. Blessed with year-round water from the Zayandeh River, the city appeared to visitors like a green forest accentuated by brilliant tiled domes. To the south across the river the shah established the community of New Džulf (q.v. in Suppl.) for Christian Armenians who provided most of the multilingual merchants involved in Persia’s international commerce, and their richly decorated extant churches are a striking synthesis of 17th-century Persian and European art and architecture.

In order to promote safe commercial travel within Persia, ʿAbbās ordered the construction of dozens of *džâns* [q.v.] or caravanserais. Most of them also served as or were connected with bazaars, and they are
among the most impressive examples of Safavid ar-
chitecture. The Kaysariyya bazaar in Isfahan is the
best preserved and connected the city's old ġāmī with ʿAbbās's new city centre, a large rectangular
primary area. The Kaysariyya's entrance occupies the
north end of the new maydān; 300 m distant at the
end is the entrance to the Masdjid-i Imām, a
brilliant construction on the classic four-īwān plan
completed in 1637. Both buildings dominate their
respective sides and suggest the preoccupation with
large size, showy opulence, glistening surfaces, and
dramatic effects that are major components of the
Safavid aesthetic: the maydān itself was an open area
for military parades, commerce, music, acrobatics,
and other kinds of entertainment. Less dominant are
the adjoining buildings—the single-domed Shaykh
Luṭf Allah mosque on the east side and, opposite it
across the maydān, the ʿAlī Kāpū or High Gate
entrance to the şāh's gardens and Ǧīhil Sūṭūn
that extend to the west. While the Shaykh Luṭf Allah
mosque's dome is decorated in traditional faience
mosaic, the decorative programme of the Masdjid-i
Imām is laid out in large glazed tiles, a technique
demanding precise knowledge of the reaction of clays
and glazes to firing; especially those tiles were
curved to cover the surface of domes and minars.
Extensive use of this type of tile decoration must have re-
quired the employment of gifted potters and painters,
and may partly account for the apparent decline in the
 sophistication of more traditional ceramics in the
Safavid period. Both mosques were provided with
splendid inscriptions designed by ʿAlī Rīdā Tabrizī
that cite passages from both Kūrā and Ḥadīth and
mayddān, underscoring and supporting the Safawids' descent
from ʿAlī and their special role as protectors of Ṣ̣hī'ī
Islam in Persia. To the same end, ʿAbbās also made
lavish gifts of carpets and ceramics to the dynastic
shrine of Shaykh Saʿīd in Ardabil.
The second level of the ʿAlī Kāpū is dominated by
its projecting šāhār, a colonnaded verandah more
usually associated with far more private dwellings,
where it followed an inner court, enclosed by the arc-
cades on all four sides and subject to the patriarch's
focussed glance and discipline. The king could also
ritually present himself to those assembled in the
maydān below. It is an architectural simile for the in-
creased power of the central administration and of the
şāh as both autocrat and head of the Șafaʿiyya Stūfī
order. To the west, running roughly parallel to the
maydān, was the čāhār bāgh, an avenue and watercourse
lined by the mansions and gardens of the wealthy
and supplied by an elaborate hydraulic system with
water from the river. While this part of Isfahan
must have been a veritable garden city for the rich,
its natural imagery does not seem to have permeated
the imagery of painting, for the garden, which had served
as the setting for the many earlier illustrated scenes from Persian literature became a relatively
infrequent backdrop in paintings by Isfahan's artists.

Later Safavid art and architecture. In the century after
Ṣhāh ʿAbbās I, ceramics and sumptuous textiles con-
tinued to be important sources of revenue and were
admired items of luxury trade in Europe and India.
Traditional literary themes in the arts of the book
were in part supplanted by often incisive depictions of
actual, ordinary, and even outlandish individuals, of
exotic persons from other lands, of implicit and occa-
sionally fairly explicit eroticism, of carefully-observed
nature (Pl. LII), and of actual events and formal por-
traits. Although the European technology of printing
was ignored and traditional calligraphy continued to
flourish in the hands of masters like Muḥammad Riḍā
(Pl. LIII), the impact of European prints and the in-
fluence of European modes of representation increas-
ed, notably in the work of Muḥammad Zamān (Pl.
LIV), and traditional styles began to take on a more
international guise, while European travel accounts
accorded Isfahan a reputation rivalling that of Istan-
bul, Dhihīl, and Ǧagrā. Although there were no subse-
quent urban projects as grandiose as the maydān, ar-
chitecture and the arts evinced similar aesthetic and
cultural concerns. ʿAbbās II undertook major
building and restoration programs at the Shrine of the
Imām Riḍā in Mashḥad [q. v.], and during the reign
of Sultan Ḥusayn I an impressive madrasa and adjoin-
ing ġāmī were built on the čāhār bāgh in design and style
making obeisance to the Masdjid-i Imām.

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information about the works and careers of Safavid calli-
graphers. (A. Welch)

VI. Numismatics.
The Safawid coinage was introduced following the
victories of Ṣhāh Ismāʿīl I over the Ak Koyunlu
Turken in 907-8/1502, and continued without break
until the deposition of Shâh ʿAbbâs III by Nâdir Shâh in 1148/1736. All the rulers, except for the ephemeral Sultan Hanuza who administered the state in 994/1586, struck coinage in their own names, and one, even struck it in two, first in that of Šâfi II and then, after his re-enthronement, as Sulaymân. After Nâdir Shâh’s death in 1160/1747 coins were also occasional- ly issued in the names of Šafawid pretenders who claimed paternal, maternal or even entirely fictive royal descent until the death of the last claimant in 1200/1786. The examination of these coins, however, properly forms part of the later monetary history of Persia.

During the period of Šafawid rule, the Persian currency system was based on the tumân, a unit of account whose value was fixed at the currently-established weight of 10,000 silver dinârs. The weight of the tumân was customarily expressed as a fixed number of mithkâls or nukhuds of refined silver which could then be converted into coin with the value of 10,000 dinârs. One mîthkâl, weighing approximately 4.60 gr, was equal to 24 nukhuds which each weighed about 0.192 gr.

Table 1 shows the extent of the Šafawid silver coinage, giving the name of the ruler, the weight(s) of the tumân in nukhuds during his period of rule, and the names of the various silver coins, their individual values in dinars and their theoretical weight in grams. It should be noted that weight standards were not always uniform and that local variations existed, particularly in the Caspian region and the eastern provinces. The heaviest coin was usually the most popular and most commonly struck. Under Ismâ’il I the principal coin was the shâhi valued at 50 dinârs, 200 per tumân. Then under Tahmâsb I came the double shâhi, or 100 dinârs, 100 per tumân, which during the rule of Muhammad Khvâdâbânda was renamed the muhammadi. ʿAbbâs I introduced the four shâhîs, 200 dinârs, 50 per tumân, which he named the ṣabbâsî. The ṣabbâsî remained the normal Persian denomination for the remainder of the dynasty and for a time afterwards, except for a brief period between 1123 and 1129 under Shâh Sultan Husayn when it was supplanted by the oblong-shaped five shâhî (the ḥusaynî?). It should be noted that coins valued above five shâhîs were produced especially for the ruler to distribute during the Nawruz [q.v.] celebrations, and these usually quickly found their way to the jewellers for conversion into personal ornaments.

Table 2 summarises the Šafawid gold coinage. Gold played a much smaller rôle in the Persian currency system than did silver or copper. Indeed, in the century before the accession of Shâh Ismâ’il I the Timûrids had struck no gold at all in their Persian realms. The Ak Saynûnî, who succeeded the Timûrids in the west, introduced the striking of the gold agrafrî in Ṭabriz during the last quarter of the 9th/15th century as a trade coin. In its weight, ca. 3.45 gr, duly mellow fabric and epigraphy, it was copied so exactly on the Burjûs Mamlûk agrafrî popularised by al-Ashraf Barsbây that the name of the ruler in the legends often has to be read in order to distinguish one currency from another. The earliest gold coin of Ismâ’il I was a coinage of the Kûshûlatûn type. Mamlûk agrafrî in both weight and design, but it was not long before the Persian artistic tradition reasserted itself as evidence of Ismâ’il’s determination to stage a Persian religious and cultural revival. Quite excep- tionally in Islam, the Šafawids struck both their gold and silver coins from the same dies, and as none of them bore any mark of denomination it would have been easy for counterfeiters to gold-plate silver and pass it off on the unwary had gold been in regular circulation. Contemporary travellers to Persia recorded that local gold was very rarely seen and little used in commerce.

Although all the gold coins were popularly called agrafrî, there were actually several different varieties to which this name was given, which were distin- guished from one another by their weights rather than by their designs or legends. Ismâ’il used two standards for his gold coinage—one based on the weight of the traditional Islamic mîthkâl or coinage dinár of 24 nukhuds (approximately 4.60 gr), and the other, the true agrafrî, with its origin in the weight of the Venetian gold ducat, weighing 18 nukhuds (approximately 3.45 gr). The latter was theoretically exchangeable at par with European ducats, the Mamlûk agrafrî and the Ottoman sultanî. Halves and quarters were struck in both standards, and the latter became popular in eastern Persia where its use was linked to the quarter agrafrî issued by the Mughal rulers in the Badakh- shân region of Afghanistan.

Under the Šafawids all gold coins were treated as a commodity with no fixed price against the silver tumân. Their purchasing power fluctuated according to supply and demand, type of commodity, season of the year and the perceived reliability of the original iss- uing agent. Traders always preferred Venetian ducats, and generally held the Šafawid coinage in low esteem. In the 11th/17th century, local gold coinage virtually vanished from the Middle East and Persia. Because both regions preferred silver to gold, the price of silver was relatively higher throughout these areas than it was in Europe, where gold was favoured. This gave European traders a perfect opportunity to import inexpensive silver from the New World which they sold locally for gold at great profit to themselves. In time, so much gold was siphoned out of Persia that it was said that the only gold coins to be struck by Šâfi I, ʿAbbâs II and Sulaymân were those that the rulers presented to their courtiers at the Nawruz celebra- tions. Thus the custom arose of striking gold at the weight of the popular silver denominations, the ʿabbâsî, muhammadi and shâhi, and giving them a nominal value in dinârs ten times that of their silver originals. These large pieces, as well as the five dinârs, ten-mîthkâls and ten-agrafrîs modelled on the multiple ducats of Venice and the Holy Roman Em- pire, were pièces de plaisir, and were usually incor- porated into jewellery as a sign of royal favour.

Copper coinage played a central rôle in the local economy of Šafawid Persia. While gold and silver were struck under royal license, copper fulûs were issued by the provincial governors. To avoid infringing upon the royal prerogative, the coins they struck did not bear the governors’ names, but included easily-recognised figures of objects, often animals, birds or even humans on one face and the name of the mint and year of striking on the other. This made the fulûs easy to identify, which was important because it was the custom to recall the copper coinage not only annually but whenever the incumbent was replaced by a new appointee. The coinage was then recalled, restruck and resold at the people at a price which was said to yield a 50% profit on the value of the issue. To make this system feasible, only locally-struck copper coin was permitted to circulate, and only coins of the current governor and year were accepted at full value. Fulûs were occasionally given denominational names; for example yek or dî dinâr were valued at one or two dinârs, kaz or kaftâk at five dinârs and tanga at ten dinârs. Because the lifespan of copper was so short, very little care was taken in its manufacture, and
TABLE 1
SAFAWID SILVER COINAGE
Summary of weight standards and denominations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler and years</th>
<th>Nakkâds per tûman</th>
<th>kiri</th>
<th>pul</th>
<th>tath</th>
<th>mahmutd</th>
<th>Sabtâr</th>
<th>5 sabtâr</th>
<th>donative coins</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>9,600</td>
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<td>18.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>923-7</td>
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<td>2.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>928-30</td>
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<td>1.94</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>7.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tahmasb I 930-8</td>
<td>4,050</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>938-45</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>5.56</td>
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<tr>
<td>(936-42) 945-84</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>4.60</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isma'il II 984-5</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad Khudâbanda 985-95</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>4.60</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abbâs I 995-1003</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>9.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1003-37</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>7.68</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâfî I 1038-52</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>9.60</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abbâs II 1052-77</td>
<td>1,925</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>7.39</td>
<td>9.24</td>
<td>18.48</td>
<td>36.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâfî II Sulaymân 1077-1105</td>
<td>1,925</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>7.39</td>
<td>18.48</td>
<td>36.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husayn 1105-23</td>
<td>1,925</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>7.39</td>
<td>18.48</td>
<td>36.96</td>
<td>55.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1123-35</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td>26.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1129-35</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td>26.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1133-5)</td>
<td>1,200</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>9.20</td>
<td>18.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmasb III 1134-44</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>13.44</td>
<td>26.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abbâs III 1144-8</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>5.37</td>
<td>13.44</td>
<td>26.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relatively few pieces have survived to find a place in museum coin cabinets.

As on other Islamic coinages, the coin legends used by the Safawids fall into two main categories: the religious texts which are found on the obverse and the political on the reverse. The obverse for all rulers except Shah Isma'il II contains the Shi'i profession of faith, la illâ illâ Allâh, Muhammad rasûl (or nabi) Allâh,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler and years</th>
<th>Mithkāl or dinār (24 nukhūd)</th>
<th>Ashrafi or ducat (18 nukhūd)</th>
<th>2000 dinārs, gold ʿAbbāsī</th>
<th>1000 dinārs, gold Muḥammadī</th>
<th>500 dinārs, gold Shāhī</th>
<th>Uncertain value</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʾīl I 906-30</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td>29 nukhūd</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>gold plentiful, both standards in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmāsb I 930-84</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29 nukhūd</td>
<td>5.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʾīl II 984-95</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Khudābānda 1003-1105</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās I 995-1003</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>40 nukhūd 7.68 gr</td>
<td>20 nukhūd 3.84 gr</td>
<td>10 nukhūd 1.92 gr</td>
<td>14 nukhūd 2.68 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, mithkāl standard only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1003-37</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saff I 1038-52</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>17.30 1.15 0.86</td>
<td>20 nukhūd 3.84 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold rare; gold struck at weight of silver coinage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās II 1052-77</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>38 nukhūd 7.29 gr</td>
<td>9.5 nukhūd 1.82 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold rare; mixed standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saff II/ Sulaymān 1077-1105</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>38 nukhūd 7.29 gr</td>
<td>9.5 nukhūd 1.82 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold scarce; ducat standard revived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husayn 1105-35</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold scarce, ducat standard revived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1133-5</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td>7 nukhūd 1.24 gr</td>
<td>15 nukhūd 2.88 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td>emergency coinage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmāsb II 1135-44</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td>7 nukhūd 1.24 gr</td>
<td>15 nukhūd 2.88 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, ducat standard in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās III 1144-48</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, ducat standard in use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ʿAlli wali Allāh with or without the names of the Twelve Imāms: ʿAllī, Ḥasan, Husayn, ʿAllī, Muḥammad, Dīyaʾ, Mūsā, ʿAlī, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Muḥammad. The names of the Twelve Imāms were first employed by the Ilkhan ruler ʿOldjeytu between 709 and 716 on his two Shīʿī coin types, and they then reappeared 200 years later when Shāh Ismāʾīl made Twelver Shīʿism the state faith of Persia. During his brief reign, Shāh Ismāʾīl II used a poetic distich in place of the kalima in order to prevent the holy words from falling into the hands of unbelievers. The religious legends were usually inscribed in naskhī script. The reverse legends usually contain the name of the ruler, the mint names and the years of striking. The ruler’s name usually lacks his patronymic, the exceptions being Ismāʾīl II and Muḥammad Khudābānda, who give that of their father b. Tahmāsb. Their titles are of two kinds, those that define the ruler’s relationship to the people he ruled and those that define his relationship to the Shīʿī faith. The former are in Arabic, usually inscribed in naskhī script, and are more or less elaborate depending on the number of words which could be fitted on a die, e.g. al-Sultān al-ʿAdil, al-Kāmil, al-Ḥādi, al-Wāli, al-Qāzī al-Ṣahīḥ Allāh Abū ʾl-Muzaffar, Shāh... Bahādur Khān, al-Safawi al-Husaynī, khāliṣa Allāh taʿāla tukahā wa-sulānāhu. This form was used by Ismāʾīl I, Tahmāsb I, Ismāʾīl II, Muḥammad Khudābānda, ʿAbbās I and Husayn. Husayn also used al-Sultān b. al-Sultān al-Khākān b. al-Khākān, al-Safawi al-Husaynī refers to Shāykh Ṣafī al-

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**TABLE 2**

**SAFAWID GOLD COINAGE**

Summary of weight standards and denominations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler and years</th>
<th>Mithkāl or dinār (24 nukhūd)</th>
<th>Ashrafi or ducat (18 nukhūd)</th>
<th>2000 dinārs, gold ʿAbbāsī</th>
<th>1000 dinārs, gold Muḥammadī</th>
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<th>Uncertain value</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʾīl I 906-30</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td>29 nukhūd</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>gold plentiful, both standards in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmāsb I 930-84</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, both standards in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʾīl II 984-95</td>
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<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Khudābānda 1003-1105</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>3.45 1.73 0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās I 995-1003</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>40 nukhūd 7.68 gr</td>
<td>20 nukhūd 3.84 gr</td>
<td>10 nukhūd 1.92 gr</td>
<td>14 nukhūd 2.68 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, mithkāl standard only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1003-37</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saff I 1038-52</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>20 nukhūd 3.84 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold rare; gold struck at weight of silver coinage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās II 1052-77</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>1.73 1.73 1.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>gold rare, no fixed standard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saff II/ Sulaymān 1077-1105</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>38 nukhūd 7.29 gr</td>
<td>9.5 nukhūd 1.82 gr</td>
<td></td>
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<td>gold rare, mixed standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husayn 1105-35</td>
<td>4.60 2.30 1.15</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold scarce, ducat standard revived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1133-5</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td>7 nukhūd 1.24 gr</td>
<td>15 nukhūd 2.88 gr</td>
<td></td>
<td>emergency coinage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahmāsb II 1135-44</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, ducat standard in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbās III 1144-48</td>
<td>3.45 3.45 1.50</td>
<td>34.50 1.50 1.50</td>
<td>28 nukhūd 5.37 gr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gold plentiful, ducat standard in use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Din Ardabili [q.v.], the ancestor of the dynasty, who claimed descent from the third Imam Husayn b. 'Ali. This ancestral claim parallels that of the contemporary Hasani Sharifs of Morocco, who were using al-Hasani and al-Mawla in their own titles. Perhaps both dynasties emphasised their illustrious descent in order to embarrass the Ottomans, who had no claim to such prestigious ancestry.

The legends which proclaim the ruler's Shii allegiance are in Persian. The better known of these are Chulum-i Imam Muhdi 'alayhi al-salam and Chulum-i 'Ali b. Ali Taib 'alayhi al-salam used by Tahmâb I and Muhammad Khudâbânda; Band-e-yi Shah-i Wilidây used by 'Abbâs I, 'Abbâs II, Sa'di-11-Salâymân and Husayn, and Chulum-i Shah-i Din used by Tahmâb II. Poetical distichs in Persian incorporating the name of the ruler within their texts were employed by 'Abbâs I, Sa'di I, 'Abbâs II, Sa'di 11-Salâymân, Husayn, Tâhmeb II and 'Abbâs III. At the end of Safawid power, when Tâhmeb Kuli Khân, the later Nâdir Sha^h [q.v.], controlled Tâhmeb II and 'Abbâs III, anonymous distichs were also inscribed in the name of the eighth Imam, 'Ali b. Mûsâ al-Ri'da. Such distichs were also used by the Zands and early Kadjars, who avoided placing their own names on the coinage while a Safawid pretender still existed. These secular legends are usually inscribed in nasta'liq, the script in which poetry was usually written.

State control over the monetary system was exercised by the Mu'azzar-al-Mamâlik, the State Assayer, who reported directly to the ruler. Under him were the local chief assayers and dârâbî bâghi, masters of the mint, who were jointly responsible for ensuring that the gold and silver were of the right alloy and that the manufacture of the blank flans and their striking into coin proceeded according to the regulations in force. The management of the mint was farmed out to local concessionaires who were responsible for collecting and remitting the seignorage, wâdîqâbî, charged for refining metal, manufacturing gold and silver thread for weaving carpets and luxury cloth, and for striking coins. The raw metal was delivered to the mints in the form of bullion and foreign or obsolete coins. Seignorage varied widely from 2% to 20% of the metal value based on what local commercial and political circumstances could bear.

Under the Safawids, the main state mints were located in Isfahân and Tâbâriz, whenever the latter was not under Ottoman control. Other main urban centres that witnessed more or less continual minting activity were Hamadân, Kâshân, Kazvin, Shâriz and Yazd, as well as those in the main shrine towns of Ar-âbil and Mashhad. The ports of Rasht in the north and Huwâyzâ in the south were chiefly concerned with restriking foreign coin as it entered the Safawid dominions, while the almost continuous wars were financed by the Urdu (army) mint as well as those located in the north-western fortress towns of Eriwân, Gandja, Nahcbâwân, Shâmâshâ and Tîflis, whenever these were not held by the Ottomans. Besides these towns, both Ismâ'îl I and Tâhmeb I operated many local mints which varied greatly in their importance and in their production of coin. Initially they served to reinforce the ruler's authority throughout the country and to spread the observance of the Twelver Shi'i doctrines to areas where they may have been only lightly observed before the Safawid conquests. However, like the Ottomans, the Safawids found that a large number of small and remote mints gave only a marginal return to the state treasury and were often wide open to local manipulation and malpractice. Thus during the economic hardships and inflation of the 11th/17th century most of them were closed down unless a locally powerful governor could maintain their existence either as a matter of local prestige or to meet exceptional local needs.

Although Safawid coins have survived in large numbers, no systematic effort has been made to study them within their political and economic contexts. They are usually treated, quite correctly, as the first section of the modern coinage of the Shâhs of Persia. The standard works on the Safawid coinage need to be updated because of the many discoveries that have been made since they were published.


(R. Darley-Doran)

SAFDÂR DJANG, Mirzâ Muhammad Mu'âkim Safdâr Djang ('the Lion in War') (1708-54) the second Nawâwâr or ruler of the North Indian post-Mughal successor state of Awâdhd [q.v.] (Eng. Oudh) from 1739 until his death fifteen years later. Nephew, son-in-law, and successor to Sa'dad Khân Bûrân al-Mulk, and like him an immigrant to India from Nîshâpûr, he expanded his territory in the Gangetic valley while retaining as much influence as possible within the declining Mughal Empire. This was an era of political fragmentation, regional state formation, and massive cultural revival that together helped form modern South Asian identity, but the post-Mughal aristocracy still sought to restore the Empire, and Safdâr Djang was very prominent in the struggle.

The Nîzâm of Haydarâbâd, ruler of a larger successor state in the south, and Wâzir or deputy to the Mughal Emperor, wrote on his deathbed in 1748 to Safdâr Djang, 'You are now the most promising of our current youth. Take that office [Imperial Wâzir] upon yourself, and exert yourself in recovering the affairs of the Empire.' Safdâr Djang fought in a civil war in and around Dihîl in 1735 over the control of imperial offices, by then virtually powerless but inextricably invested with the necessary authority throughout India. This civil war marks the final breakaway of Awâdhd from the imperial system in India.

Although his reign marks the emergence of Awâdhd as an autonomous successor state in the mid-Gangetic plains, his tomb, a splendid example of late Mughal architecture, stands in what is now New Delhi.


SAFF (A.), pl. saff, literally "rank, row or line, company of men standing in a rank, row or line" (Lane, 1693 col. 3), a term with various usages.

1. In religious practice. Here, saff is used for the lines of worshippers assembled in the mosque or elsewhere for the prescribed worship; see on this, Salât.

2. In military organisation. In the traditional formation of armies on the march or on the battlefield (ta'biya), there was a classic five-fold division of a centre, its left and right wings, a vanguard and a
Nashmi the Archer, signed by Riḍā and dated 1031/1622. Harvard University Art Museums.
Young Man in a Blue Cloak, signed by Rida, late 16th century. Harvard Art Museums.
"Shāh ʿAbbās" or "Polonaise" carpet, silk enriched with silver and gilt thread. Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art
An Invocation for divine assistance and protection against evil. Calligraphy signed by Muḥammad Rīḍā, late 17th century. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Return from the flight into Egypt, 1100/1689, signed by Muḥammad Zamān and based on a print by Lucas Vosterman after Peter Paul Rubens. Harvard University Art Museums.
rearguard (whence the term šamāṣ for an army). In actual battle, such as the engagements of the Arabs with the imperial Sāsānid army in ʻIrāq in the 630s, the Arab armies line up in a jufāf or ranks. The Prophet is said to have straightened, with an arrow held in his hand, the jufāf of the Muslims before the battle of Badr [q. v.] in 2/624 ( Ibn ʻAlī, Sīra, 443-4, tr. Guillaume, 300; al-ʻTabarī, i, 1319, tr. M. V. McDonald and W. M. Watt, The History of al-ʻTabarī, VII. The foundations of the community, Albany 1987, 53-4), and the Kurānic verse LXI, 4, “God loves those who stand in ranks, as though they were a well-built, well-compounded town,” is quoted in support of the saff formation. Only in the later Umayyad period does the use come in of troops concentrated into small, compact blocks (kardūs, kurdūs, kardūs), but the saff formation continued after this as a standard deployment.


(C. E. Bosworth)

3. In North African social organisation. Here, saff denotes in certain parts of the Maghrib, chiefly Algeria, Southern Tunisia and Libya, a league, alliance, faction or party. In Morocco, the term left [q. v.] is used with the same meaning throughout. As such saff is vocalised with a damma instead of fatha (cf. Dozy, Suppl., i, 834). French spellings vary from sof to sof and saff (pl. isof).

The term refers to a major form of rural sedentary and transhumant Berber and nomadic Arab political organisation, viz. a diffuse system of two (or more) mutually opposing or rivalling leagues, often of uncertain origin, dividing villages or desert towns kṣār (sing. kṣār), clans and families, or comprising whole tribes. Parallels have been looked for in classical Greece (R. Montagne), archaic Rome (E. Masqueray), Albania and Corsica (J. Despois, L’Afrique du Nord, Paris 1949, 145) and in mediaeval Italy (e.g. Guelpes and Ghibelines). As a rule, neighbouring tribal units belonged to opposite alliances but a neighbour-but-one belonged to one’s own alliance. The obligation of mutual assistance between league members was strict and might include cash, provisions, arms, volunteer labour, fighting, shelter and providing for a family whose head was killed in feud or battle. The stronger the solidarity of a given league, the less would an opposing neighbour feel tempted to attack or trespass on his neighbour lest he activate the entire league. Causes of conflict were never lacking at every tribal level, the most common being land, water, trees, grazing, pastures, livestock, harvests, women, honour or a personal vendetta.

In Greater Kabylia, where this phenomenon was first observed by Europeans (Devaux, Hanoteau and Letourneux, Masqueray, see Bibl.), the basic political unit was the village. Divided into two moieties, its cohesion was due to its political organs: the village assembly (gāmāsa), its executive officer (amin) and the customary law (kānūn). Its complex saff-system, despite its dualistic and antagonistic character, managed, by some “strange and obscure process” (P. Bourdieu, Sociologie de l’Algérie rurale, 1970, 205), to maintain an overall equilibrium. Until the end of the 18th century, the whole of Greater Kabylia was divided in two great leagues named the “upper” and the “lower” leagues (saff ufele, saff bū ḍadda). These were territorial, not personal alliances, and their disposition on the ground resembled that of a chequerboard—a pattern already apparent in the saff map given by Devaux, 40, and later encountered in Morocco (Montagne 1930). By the end of the 19th century, this system was “overlaid” by four major alliances: Ait Iraïen (comprising 12 tribes), Zwān (10 tribes), Ait Illilen (6 tribes) and Ait Diennad (7 tribes).

Further south, the Berber-speaking Shāwīya of the Awarṣ massif [q. v.] who lived in villages and hamlets like the Kabyles but were more dispersed and largely semi-nomadic, also retained, though more sketchily, their political organisation and saff spirit; almost all groups rallied round the two great tribes, Awlād Dāwūd and Awlād Ayyāb (Suppl., i, 834). Of a more personal type were the saffs of several Arab “feudal” families in the Constantinois, such as the clans of Bū ʻUkkāz and Ben Gānā.

Still further south, in the Ibrādī confederation of the Mzāḇ [q. v.], despite the unity of its heterodox creed and religious leadership (ḥakat al-aẓẓāba), each of the seven walled settlements (kṣār) had its own secular assembly (gāmāṣat al-ʻawwām), often conflicting in interests and saffs both within the kṣār and between the kṣār. Here, too, causes for friction and conflict, sometimes sanguinary, were not lacking: first comes water shortage (after Ghardāya, the capital, had dammed off the wādī Mizāb for her own use), creating endless disputes with the towns Milka and al-ˁAfī. Ghardāya itself, in times of crisis, split in two hostile camps: Eastern (saff ḥarbi), led by Awlād b. Sulaymān and allied with the kṣār Bni Egen, and Western (saff gharbi), led by Awlād ʿAmān ʻĪsā and in league with Milka. Even its Jewish quarter (malldha [q. v.]) became infected by the saff spirit; in 1893 it split in two parties, Sullam and Balouka, when the later erected a separate synagogue. Other towns and oases in the High Plains and northern fringes of the Sahara so divided were Wargla (Warglān), where in addition to neighbourhood rivalries there was fierce enmity between it and nearby Ngusa since the end of the 14th century, when the latter concluded a defence pact with the nomadic Arab tribe of Saḥīf ʿUrba (Hilāl), posing as defenders of the Sunna against the largely Ibrādī Warglis (Lethielleux, Ouargla, Paris 1983, 173), and Laghouat (al-Aghwāt), where the two rivalling quarters—each with its own mosque and market—used to fight each other, but always outside the town, and on an appointed day. They, too, had their Arab nomad helpers, the Tarbaa (al-Arbaṭa) confederation.

As a case sui generis can be seen the important maraboutic tribe of Awlād Șīlī Shayḥ based on their zāwīya El Abiod, where Sharākā and Gharābā quarrelled over transfer of baraka and control of their alms, raiding in the process each other’s flocks and involving in their rivalry the Turkish and Moroccan authorities. In 1838, Si Hamza, leader of the Sharākā, rallied round the amīr ʻAbd al-Kādir [q. v.], but when their relations soured, Si Shayḥ, leader of the Gharābā, became ʻAbd al-Kādir’s staunchest supporter. With the latter’s defeat, Si Shayḥ was interned in Morocco, while Si Hamza rose from underdog to victor: he was appointed CLUDīf over the Sahara by the French. Even the oasis group of Tawāt [q. v.] (Touat) used to be divided into two opposing factions, the Yahlīn and Sufyān. These, too, they still celebrate annually their zāwīya separately. The same goes for their “capital”, the oasis of Tamenrit, divided in two opposing factions, the Mrabīṭ and Dāreb (K. Suter, Étude sur le Touat, in Rev. Geogr. alpine, 1952/7, 449-50).

Tunisia, too, had its share in saff formations. Traditionally, there existed two rivalling leagues in the south, with ramifications in the north, in Eastern
Algeria and Tripolitania, named Shaddād and Yūsuf. The suggestion that these names reflect the opposition between Berbers and Arabs has been refuted by A. Martel (see Bibli.). Possibly they go back to the rivalries between the Hilāl and Sulaymīn [q.v.], who invaded the Maghrib in the 11th century and occupied there two distinct domains: the former, that of the West or Black Tents, the latter, that of the East or White Tents, with the partition line running along the meridian of Tripoli. Yet in the 13th century, the latter were encouraged by the Hāfīids to expand into Tunisia and push out the Buʾayydrūn [q.v.] (Constan-tiopolis) and the Zāb, names given by the Ben Gāna. Tuggurt, Larbaʾa and Hanāṅa were zealously supported by the saff Yūsuf, while the Būʾ Ukkārī, Trūd, Ṣāḥānba, Tamāsīn and al-ʾWād (El Oued) were supported by the saff Shaddād. In the east, the same leagues divided politically a number of tribes in the Fazzān and Greater Syrte (Martel, Caunelle, see Bibli.). Major issues on which they adopted opposite stances were: the Ottoman conquest, rule of the pashas, the "national" beys, the revolt of All Pasha against his uncle Husayn, founder of the Husaynī dynasty, and the ensuing troubles (1729-56), which divided the tribes of the High and Low Steppes, as well as towns and villages in the coastal plain (Ṣāhīl), into two saffs, the "Husaynīyya" and Bāšīhiyya (Despois, see Bibli.). In the south, the former were supported by saff Yūsuf, the latter by Shaddād. Saffīfe dynamics, as illustrated above, form one possible perspective on the structure and functioning of tribal society in North Africa and one way of explaining, how order, stability and cohesion are maintained in a stateless society, where central authority is lacking or ineffective. Another perspective and explanation is provided by the so-called "nesting" theory, which uses the concept of "nesting" and "balanced opposition" of tribal segments at the same level of segmentation along the genealogical tree. This theory, to which the names of E. Durkheim, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, E. Gellner and D.M. Hart are chiefly attached, and which seems to dominate the field of social anthropology in North Africa today, falls outside the scope of this article.


AL-SAFFĀF [see Arab ‘L-ABBAS].

SAFFARIDS, a dynasty of mediaeval eastern Persia which ruled 247-393/861-1003 in the province of Šidjestān or Sīstān [q.v.], the region which now straddles the border between Iran and Afghanistan. The dynasty derived its name from the profession of coppersmith (saffār, ṭijjar) of Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth, founder of the dynasty. Sīstān, on the far eastern periphery of the caliphal lands, had begun to slip away from direct Abbāsid rule at the end of the 8th century, when Khurāsān and Sīstān were caught up in the great Khurāsānībebr.tuff, led by Hamza b. Adharak (d. 213/828 [q.v.]), which took advantage of such factors as resentment against caliphal tax actions. Thereafter, the khūba was maintained in the capital of Sīstān, Zarand or Zarang, for the ʿAbbāsids; the caliphal governors of Khurāsān in [q.v.]. In this period, charged with the task of re-establishing the position in Khurāsān after Hārūn’s death, but were really able to collect revenue outside Zarang itself, and the surrounding countryside of Sīstān remained dominated by the Khurāsānīs. In this period of waning caliphal power in Sīstān, the orthodox elements in the towns there and in the town of Bust [q.v.] to the west, which depended administratively on Sīstān, were thrown back on their own resources. Hence they organised their own local units from its anti-Kharīdīte ṣayra bands. Displaying immediately leadership qualities, he was soon able to set aside the ṣayrāy chiefs Sāhīb b. al-ʿNadr and Dirham b. Naṣr and assume power over Sīstān for himself (247/861). He then extended his authority eastwards into al-Rukhkhaṣ and Zamindāwar [q.v.] (in the east of modern Afghanistan), killing the local ruler there, the Zanbil, in 251/865, and then penetrating into Šabotulān [q.v.], the district around Ghazna and Gardiz [q.v.], and the Kābul-Bāmīyān region, where they ruled the Kābul-Šāhāns. He drew an extensive bounty and slaves from these areas, and probably in some part paved the way for the gradual Islamisation in the next century of these fringes of the Indian cultural and religious world. The Tāhirīd city of Harāt was attacked in 257/870-1, and Yaʿkūb’s operations in the Baḵtrī [q.v.] region also led to the submission of the Tāhirīd to the rule of the Khaftānīs, the leadership of whom entered the Saffārīd service and formed a special contingent within the army, the so-called Dāyī al-Šāhān. Yaʿkūb now turned his attention to the much richer and more attractive lands to the west of Sīstān, and this is the course meant more clashes with the representatives of caliphal power in such provinces as Khurāsān, Kirmān, Fārs and Khūzistān. Kirmān was invaded in the early 250/865, so that the caliph was compelled to acknowledge Yaʿkūb as governor there; and raids were made southwards into Mārkān, the southern part of what is now Balūcistān, and westwards from Kirmān into Fārs, an especially rich province the loss of whose revenues was a serious blow to the ʿAbbāsids. In 259/873 Yaʿkūb invaded Khurāsān, entered Nīshāpūr without striking a blow and ended the rule there of the Tāhirīd governors, afterwards pressing into the country from its anti-Kharīdīte position in the local Iranian princes there but without achieving any permanent successes there. The caliph could not ignore the overthrow of his Tāhirīd nominees, and al-Ḥuṣayn denounced publicly the unlawfulness of Yaʿkūb’s annexations. Yaʿkūb’s riposte was to march from Khūzistān into Irāq, but near Dayr al-ʿAḵūl [q.v.] on the Tigris, only 50 miles from Baghdad, he
Genealogical table of the Saffarids

(a) The Laythids or "first line"

al-Layth

1. Ya'kūb
2. 'Amr
3. Tahir
4. al-Layth
5. al-Muʿaddal
6. Muḥammad

(b) The Khalafids or "second line"

al-Layth

Khalaf

Muḥammad = Bānū b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr, see (a)

8. Abū Djaʿfar Ahmad
9. Khalaf

was defeated by caliphal forces (9 Radjab 262/8 April 876). Even so, he recovered Khūzistān and retained control of Fārs till his death three years later; Fārs remained thus, subtracted from 'Abbāsid control and under the rule of the Saffarids or of their commandery, until the time of the fifth Saffārid amīr, Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. al-Layth (298/910-11), when it was briefly recovered by the 'Abbāsids, only to pass irrevocably from their hands into those of the Būyids or Buwayhids [q.v.] a quarter of a century later; we possess today more coins minted by the early Saffarids in Fārs than from any other part of their empire. Yaʿkūb's brother 'Amr [q.v.] succeeded to the command of the army, after a short trial of strength with his other brother 'Ali, when the founder of Saffarid fortunes died at Djudjāshābūr in Shawwāl 265/June 879. Whilst tenaciously holding on to the Saffarid conquests in Fārs and Khūzistān, ʿAmr in general adopted a somewhat more conciliatory policy towards the caliphate, at various times seeking formal investiture with the governorships of his various provinces; one effect of this new attitude was that the Regent al-Muwaṣfāk [q.v.] was now better able to concentrate on the suppression of the Zandī [q.v.] rebellion in Lower 'Irāk and southern Khūzistān. Enjoying as he did—if only intermittently—some degree of caliphal approval, ʿAmr embarked on a protracted struggle to establish his authority in Khurāsān which, after Yaʿkūb's capture of Nīghāpūr, had reverted to being controlled by various adventurers, former commandery of the Tāhirids (some of whom claimed to be aiming at restoring the Tāhirids, but all were in the long run forwarding their own personal interests), such as Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see Khudjistan] and Rāfī [q.v.]; [hathama]. 'Amr also continued his brother's policy of raiding into eastern Afghanistān towards the Indian borders at some point before 283/896, when rich presents of idols captured by him reached the caliph in Baghdaḍ. Rāfī was not finally subdued until 283/896, when ʿAmr was able to send his head to al-Muʿtaḍid. His prestige was now at its apogee, and the caliph invested him with all his existing territories, including now Khurāsān and Rayy. But ʿAmr's overweening pride now led him to claim, since he was legitimate governor of Khurāsān, suzerainty also in Transoxania, over the local dynasty there of the Samanids [q.v.], a pretension to which al-Muʿtaḍid assented. ʿAmr marched into Tūkharistān to assert these rights, but was defeated by Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad (Rābīʿ I or II 287/March-May 900), who eventually sent him captive to Baghdaḍ, where he was killed just after al-Muʿtaḍid's own death in 289/902. With ʿAmr's capture, the vast military empire which the two brothers had built up began to shrink somewhat. Khurāsān passed to the Samanids, and became an integral part of their dominions for nearly a century. But ʿAmr's successors and their Turkish commander Sebūk-erī managed to hold on to Fārs and Kirmān, as well as the heartland of Sistān itself, for another decade or so; suzerainty was exercised over the local rulers in Makrān, the Maʿdānids [see Makran], and for a while, it seems, across the Gulf of Oman in ʿUmān. The Saffārid amirate was thus still far from negligible. ʿAmr was succeeded in Zarang by his grandson Tāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, who ruled in effect jointly with his brother Yaʿkūb, but there was a faction in Sistān which favoured the claims of the sons of ʿAli b. al-Layth, partly because ʿAli had been Yaʿkūb b. al-Layth's original choice as successor but had been elbowed aside by ʿAmr (see above). Al-Layth b. ʿAli prevailed militarily in 296/909, but had to face the continuing insubordination of Sebūk-erī, who controlled Fārs and who in 297/910 defeated and dispossessed from Sistān al-Layth. The latter's
brother Muhammad was hailed as amir in Zarang (298/910), but at this point the caliph al-Muqtadir invested the Samanid Ahmad b. Isma’il with the governorship of Sistan and instructed him to end the rule of the Saffarids for good. A Samanid invasion followed, with Zarang captured in Radjab 298/March 911, and Muhammad and his brother al-Mu’addal, who had also briefly held power in Zarang, were both captured and deported to Baghdad.

This marks the end of the first line of the Saffarids, what might be termed the Laythids, sc. descendants of al-Layth, father of the four brothers. Ya’kub and Qays had both been supported by a professional army of the type increasingly the norm in the central and eastern Islamic lands at this time. There was a nucleus of slave ghulams [q. v.], comprising essentially Turks from the Central Asian steppes and Indians, plus troops of many other nations attracted by the prospects of plunder under the capable leadership of the two Saffarid brothers. As a result of their conquests, the brothers amassed a full treasury, from which tribute was sent only intermittently, in the intervals of calm relations, to Baghdad. In fact, Ya’kub especially was contemptuous of the ʿAbbāsids and of the aristocratic Arab political and social tradition which they and their governors like the Tāhirids represented and which had hitherto prevailed in the caliphal lands. As a self-made man of unpretentious background, he was concerned above all to promote his own family’s interests and to cut loose his native province Sistan from financial and other dependence on the ʿAbbāsids and their rapacious governors. Ya’kub and ʿAmr therefore represent a new trend in the history of the Islamic lands at this time: a conscious repudiation of the “caliphal fiction” whereby all provincial rulers theoretically derived their authority from an act of delegation by the head of Sunni Islam, and in this wise the constituting of their military empire marks a definite step in the decline of direct caliphal political authority and the corresponding rise of autonomous and later de facto independent provincial dynasties. It might also be noted that there formed round them, in later decades, a popular tradition in Sistan which regarded them as upholders of the province’s interests against predatory outsiders, a feeling that was to be a distinct factor in the failure of the Samanids permanently to establish the authority of a single Sistan and the return of a parallel branch of the family to power (see below).

The twelve or thirteen years 298-311/911-23 form an interim during which the Samanids led two expeditions into Sistan and during which what might be described as patriotic, perhaps even proto-nationalistic, reactions against them by the people of Sistan took place. In the course of rebellion against the Samanids, a child great-grandson of ʿAmr b. al-Layth, Abū Hāšām ʿAmr, was briefly raised to the throne (299-300/912-13) as a figure-head, but real power rested in the hands of several local commanders, such as Muhammad b. Hurmuz, called Mawla Ṣanḍali, Kaḏir b. Ahmad and Ahmad b. Kudam. Disturbed conditions in Sistan also allowed the local ṣayyids to play a significant role during these years, and it was these ṣayyids of Zarang who in 311/922-3 brought to power Abū Djafar Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khalaf, whose grandfather al-Layth (not identical with the al-Layth who was father of Ya’kub and ʿAmr) had been a distant kinsman and associate of the two original Saffārīd brothers and whose father’s wife had been a grand-daughter of ʿAmr’s. Abū Djafar thus inaugurates the second and last line of the Saffārīds, which may conveniently be styled the Khalafs, and he ruled for some 40 years (311-52/923-63). Abū Djafar soon extended Saﬀārīd authority to Bust and into al-Rukhkhadj, and made Sistan once more a force in the politics of the eastern Islamic world, with its amir enjoying the prestige of an equal with that of the Samanids and without, it appears (e.g. on the evidence of coins) any sign of subordination to Bukhara.

There seems to have been a growth of factionalism and internal opposition during the later part of Abū Djafar’s reign, leading to his murder by one of his Turkish ghulams in Rakh’ā 352/March 963. He was succeeded by his son Abū Ahmad Khalaf (352-963), last and most famous of the amirs of this second line. Khalaf at first ruled in close partnership with a commander of Sistan, Abū ʿI-Husayn Tāhir b. Muhammad, who had Saffārīd blood in his veins on his mother’s side, making Tāhir his regent when he departed for the pilgrimage. The not unpredictable result of this arrangement was that, when Khalaf returned to Sistan in 358/960, Tāhir was unwilling to send any military help from the Samanids to assert his claims, when Tāhir conveniently died in 359/970 and Khalaf could re-enter Zarang as amir. The struggle was nevertheless carried on by Tāhir’s son Husayn, who, in turn secured Samanid aid, this time against Khalaf. A period of civil warfare followed, with Husayn generally supported by the Samanids and with Khalaf, so the sources imply, consequently refusing to send any tribute to Bukhara. Only after 373/983, when Husayn had been defeated and then died, was Khalaf’s power firmly established, so that he was able to send expeditions into Kirmān to collect taxation there.

Meanwhile, a new power had arisen in eastern Afghanistan, that of Sebūkṭīgīn [q. v.] in Ghazna, the founder of Ghaznavid [q. v.] power there, who had in 367/977-8 occupied Bust and who in the 990s was asserting his power in Khorāsān also against the decaying Samanid authority. Khalaf tried to incite the Karakhanids of Transoxania [see Ilek Kahun] against Sebūkṭīgīn and his son Mahmūd, but once Mahmūd was firmly on the throne in Ghazna (388/998), unrest and revolt within Sistan allowed the Ghaznavid amir to intervene there, and Khalaf was finally deposed in 393/1003, dying in captivity at Gardiz a few years later.

With Khalaf the Saffārīd line ended. Later in the 5th/11th century, a new line of local rulers emerges in Sistan, under Sādjūd suzerainty, but these maliks of Nimruz, as they are often termed in the sources, had no demonstrable connection with the Saffārīds; for these maliks, see Sistan.

Although the careers of Ya’kub and ʿAmr were filled with furious military activity, allowing little time for the arts of peace, the succeeding Khalafs had a distinctly significant part in the culture of their time. In fact, Ya’kub, as a supremely successful commander, had already had his own circle of court panegyrists, one of whom, the secretary Muhammad b. Wasi [q. v.], has a significance in the renaissance of New Persian literature by his having composed verses for the amir in the only language he could understand, sc. Persian, rather than in the incomprehensible Arabic. Abū Djafar Ahmad assembled around himself a scintillating array of scholars who enjoyed his patronage, including the philosopher and logician Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad (d. ca. 375/985 [see Abū Sulaymān al-Maḍiri], and he was the maṇḍah of the Sāmānī poet Rūdākī [q. v.]. Khalaf’s court in Zarang was visited by writers like Bādir b. Al-Zamān al-
Hamadhanī; and the amir secured lasting fame for himself by commissioning a 100-volume Kūrān commentary, a summation of all previous knowledge on the Holy Book, the manuscript of which, however, did not survive the Mongol devastations of the cities of Khurāsān and their libraries.

Bibliography: I. Sources. These include Ya‘kūbī, Ta’rīkh; Tabārī; Mas‘ūdī, Nāṣīrī; Ubītī, Gardīzī; Dājjūdī; Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn Khallīkān (biography of Ya‘kūbī and ‘Amr, ed. ‘Abbās, vi, 402-32 no. 828, tr. de Slane, iv, 301-35); ‘Awfī, Dājjum al-‘Arqam, but where the anonymous local history, the Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān, ed. M. Bahār, Tehran 1314/1935, Eng. tr. M. Gold, Rome 1976, Russian tr. L. P. Smirnova, Moscow 1971. 2. Studies. Th. Nöldeke, Yakūbī the Coppersmith and his dynasty, in Sketches from eastern history, London and Edinburgh 1892, 176-206; W. Barthold, Zur Geschichte der Saffariden, in Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet, Giessen 1906, 1, 171-91; idem, Turkestan, 215-26; R. Vasmer, Über die Münzen der Saffārīden und ihrer Gegen in Fars und Khurasan, in NZ, N.S. lxiii (1930), 131-62; J. Walker, The coinage of the second Safaddid dynasty in Sistan, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 72, New York 1936; Spuler, Iran, 69-81; C.E. Bosworth, Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffarids (30-250/651-804), Rome 1960, idem, in Camb. his. orient. iv, 1963; S.M. Stern, ‘Yakūbi the Copper- smith and Persian national sentiment, in Bosworth (ed.), Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky, Edinburgh 1970, 535-55; Bosworth, The history of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Malikis of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa and New York 1994 (fully detailed history). (C. E. Bosworth) 3. AL-SAFFAT (a.), the title of sūra XXXVII of the Kūrān, and a word used three times in the text including as XXXVII, 1, where it is generally understood by the early tafsīr authorities to mean "(angels) standing in ranks" (and translated as "Celles qui sont en rangs" [R. Blachère], "Those who range themselves in ranks" [A. Yusuf Ali], and "Die in Reihe und Glied stehen" [R. Pare]), the meaning is derived from the verb सफत (saffat) referring to camels or military units lined up in a row (for sacrifice, as in Kūrān, XXXVII, 36) or in battle. The speaking of the same verse of the sajdah -yāsaffat- as well as XXXVII, 1, has been clarified through association with other Kūrānic passages. The masculine plural form of the same word, al-saffūn, is used in XXXVII, 165, to denote beings who "declare the glory of God", that is understood to be the function of angels as in II, 286. 4. AL-SAFFR (a.), a word used in XXXVII, 165, to denote colours in XXXVII, 36. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 5. AL-SAFFAT (a.), the title of sūra XXXVII of the Kūrān, and a word used three times in the text including as XXXVII, 1, where it is generally understood by the early tafsīr authorities to mean "(angels) standing in ranks" (and translated as "Celles qui sont en rangs" [R. Blachère], "Those who range themselves in ranks" [A. Yusuf Ali], and "Die in Reihe und Glied stehen" [R. Pare]). The meaning is derived from the verb सफत (saffat) referring to camels or military units lined up in a row (for sacrifice, as in Kūrān, XXXVII, 36) or in battle. The speaking of the same verse of the sajdah -yāsaffat- as well as XXXVII, 1, has been clarified through association with other Kūrānic passages. The masculine plural form of the same word, al-saffūn, is used in XXXVII, 165, to denote beings who "declare the glory of God", that is understood to be the function of angels as in II, 286. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 6. AL-SAFFR (a.), a word used in XXXVII, 165, to denote colours in XXXVII, 36. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 7. AL-SAFFR (a.), the title of sūra XXXVII of the Kūrān, and a word used three times in the text including as XXXVII, 1, where it is generally understood by the early tafsīr authorities to mean "(angels) standing in ranks" (and translated as "Celles qui sont en rangs" [R. Blachère], "Those who range themselves in ranks" [A. Yusuf Ali], and "Die in Reihe und Glied stehen" [R. Pare]). The meaning is derived from the verb सफत (saffat) referring to camels or military units lined up in a row (for sacrifice, as in Kūrān, XXXVII, 36) or in battle. The speaking of the same verse of the sajdah -yāsaffat- as well as XXXVII, 1, has been clarified through association with other Kūrānic passages. The masculine plural form of the same word, al-saffūn, is used in XXXVII, 165, to denote beings who "declare the glory of God", that is understood to be the function of angels as in II, 286. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 8. AL-SAFFR (a.), a word used in XXXVII, 165, to denote colours in XXXVII, 36. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 9. AL-SAFFR (a.), the title of sūra XXXVII of the Kūrān, and a word used three times in the text including as XXXVII, 1, where it is generally understood by the early tafsīr authorities to mean "(angels) standing in ranks" (and translated as "Celles qui sont en rangs" [R. Blachère], "Those who range themselves in ranks" [A. Yusuf Ali], and "Die in Reihe und Glied stehen" [R. Pare]). The meaning is derived from the verb सफत (saffat) referring to camels or military units lined up in a row (for sacrifice, as in Kūrān, XXXVII, 36) or in battle. The speaking of the same verse of the sajdah -yāsaffat- as well as XXXVII, 1, has been clarified through association with other Kūrānic passages. The masculine plural form of the same word, al-saffūn, is used in XXXVII, 165, to denote beings who "declare the glory of God", that is understood to be the function of angels as in II, 286. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form. 10. AL-SAFFR (a.), a word used in XXXVII, 165, to denote colours in XXXVII, 36. In the Kūrān, the yellow saffrōn is used as a metaphor for the World to Come, where the souls of the faithful are expected to appear in a new form.
during the second civil war (Morony, 161). The measures adopted to deal with the administrative and other problems which arose were often of an ad hoc nature. It is generally accepted that 'Umar I, after the defeat of the Sasanids at the battle of Djalula (16/637), confiscated all lands belonging to the Persian royal house, property belonging to fire-temples, post-houses, and mills, drained marshes and swamps in Mesopotamia, exempted them from the jayy and declared them to be sawadfi al-ustun and, according to tradition, ordered four-fifths to be allotted to the army one-fifth to be reserved for the caliph for the community (ibid., 155).

Al-Baladhuri states that 'Umar established the peasants (ahl al-sawadfi) in their lands, levied jizya on their heads and task on their lands (Futūh, 273; Morony, 159). This presumably refers to the practice in the Sawād generally, including those districts made into sawadfi. According to Kudāma’s account, the task was levied in the sawadfi al-ustun at the rate of half the crop. It is not clear from Kudāma’s account whether the Sawād, including the sawadfi, was originally assessed by measurement (misaha) or by mukāsama [q.v.], that is, by a proportion of the crop. In some districts by misaha and in others by mukāsama. He states that 'Umar sent 'Umar b. Hunayf to measure the Sawād (after the conquest) and that he imposed 10 dirhams per djarib on vines and trees, 5 dirhams on date palms, 6 dirhams on green sugar cane, 4 dirhams on wheat, and 2 dirhams on barley (or according to other traditions he assessed them at a higher rate). He then measured the cultivated land and all land to which water could be brought, so that it could be cultivated, and imposed on all this by way of tax one kafīz (of its produce) and one dirham. This was changed later by the Ḫalif, taking into account the quantity of the crops and the expenses incurred in the transport of the grain and fruits to the market (Taxatio in Islam, ii, Qudama b. Ja'far’s Kitab al-Khardj, part seven, tr. with introd. and notes by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1965, 39, Arabic text, 121; Abū Yusuf, Le livre de l’impôt foncier, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 58 ff.). It seems probable that some at least of the land to which Kudāma refers, in particular that “to which water could be brought so that it could be cultivated”, was or became sawadfi.

The revenue (kharadja) from the territory of the Sawād which was made into sawadfi by 'Umar is variously recorded. According to a tradition quoted by Yahyā b. Adam, it was 7,000,000 dirhams (Taxatio in Islam, i, Yahya ben Adam’s Kitab al-kharadja, ed. and tr. with introd. and notes by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1967, 53). Abū Yusuf quotes the same tradition; he also records that some of the elders of al-Madīna states that 'Umar made khatra grants from this land (Fagnan, 87, Taxatio in Islam, iii, Abū Yusuf’s Kitab al-kharadja, tr. with introd. by A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden 1969, 75). Kudāma similarly gives the figure of 7,000,000 dirhams (Taxatio in Islam, ii, 35-6). Abū Yusuf also quotes another tradition which gives the revenue of the sawadfi al-ustun as 4,000,000 dirhams (text, 86, tr., 75). Al-Māwardi, on the other hand, states that the revenue derived from one-third of the dirhams that were assessed was to be expended on the general interests of the Muslims. Contrary to the tradition quoted by Abū Yusuf, he asserts that no khatra grants were made on it (al-Ahkām al-sulfāniyya, Cairo 1966, 192-3).

Under 'Uthmān changes began to occur in the theory of sawadfi. Gradually the concept emerged that property held by the Commander of the Faithful for the Islamic community was at his disposal, and the distinction between jayy land and sawadfi became blurr...
Wasit was founded and more land was reclaimed from the swamps of Lower Iraq and turned into plantations, mines and lands of former kings (katāʾ). Anfāl lands belonged to the imām, who could alienate them as he saw fit (Hossein Modarresi Tabataba’i, Ḥarār in Islamic law, London 1983, 8 ff. See also A.K.S. Lambert, State and government in medieval Islam, Oxford 1981, 247, and Ḫalīṣa, at IV, 974).


(Ann K. S. Lambert)

**Ṣafī**

The by-name of Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Allī b. Husayn Wāʾiz Ḳāṣẓūrī (b. 21 Ḍumādār I 897/11 February 1493-4, d. 539/1533), author, preacher and prominent Naḵšbandī Sūfī, and son of the famous Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn Wāʾiz (see Ṭabīṣūrī).

Born in Sabzawār, he was brought up and educated in Harāt. His mother was the sister of Dīzmī (q. v.). Among his early teachers were Dīzmī and Rādiyy al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥafīr Lārī. He was early attracted by Naḵšbandī ideas, and travelled to Samarkand in 899/1494 and again in 939/1533-4 to study with Khādīja Ḥabīb Allāh Abrār (q. v. in Suppl., chief of the Naḵšbandī order). In 904/1498-9 he married the daughter of Khādīja Muhammad Akbar b. Saʿd al-Dīn Ḳhashghārī. After the death of his father in 910/1504-5, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Allī succeeded him as leading preacher in Harāt. In 938-9/1531-2 he was confined for a year in Harāt when the city was besieged by the Ozbeks. When the siege was broken by the forces of Shāh Tāḥmāsp in 939/1532-3, he took refuge with Sayf al-Mulk Shāh Naḵšband Ṣūfī, the lord of Ghārdjistān (q. v.), but in the same year that area was attacked and he returned to Harāt, where he soon died and was buried in the city. Some have suggested that he became a Shi’a later in life, but nothing definite in this regard can be stated. His works are: (1) Ṣaqḥāḥ-ī ʿṣayn al-ḥayāt, completed in 909/1503-4 (ed. A. A. Muʿfīnīyān, 2 vols., Tehran 2536/1977-8); (2)
ŠAFI — SAFI AL-DIN AL-HILLI

Latd^if al-tawd^if (ed. A. Gulcln Macam, Tehran 1367/1988-9); (3) Hirz al-amdm min fitan al-zamdn (Lucknow 1290/1873); (4) K£afi al-asr^r, also called Tuhfa-yi khdm (Bodleian cat. 2749; Ivanow, cat. ASB [Shaykh Gholam Jafar]); (5) a maghrabiyya entitled Mahadmd wa Ayd^ (Hd£^d Khtifa, iv, iv, iv, iv, iv, 445); (6) Anis al-šir£fn (Isma'il Pasha Baghdadi, Hidhdvat al-šir£fn, ed. Bige and Inal, Istanbul 1951-5, i, col. 743).

Bibliography: See that for K£AFIH.

(W.L. HANAWAY)

SAFI AL-DIN ARDABI£, Shaykh Abu '1-Fath Isik, son of Amin al-Din Dlsam, born at Ardabil, became 650/1252-3, died 12 Muharram 735/12 September 1334 at Ardabil [q.e.], eponymous founder of the Safawid Order of Šafis and hence of the Safawid dynasty, rulers of Persia 907-1148/1501-1736 [see ŠAFAWIDS].

Traditional hagiographical accounts describe Šafi al-Din as being destined for future greatness from infancy. As a boy, he spent his time in religious exercises, experienced visions involving angelic beings, and was visited by the ābdîll and awati (q.v. sv.). When he grew up, he could find no mursîhd (spiritual director) at Ardabil capable of satisfying his religious needs. When he was twenty years old (670/1271-2), he travelled to Shirâz to meet Shaykh Nâjidî al-Dîn Bughâshî, who had been recommended to him as a mursîhd. On his journey south, he continued to seek a spiritual director in the various towns through which he passed, but still without success, and, on his arrival at Shirâz, he learned that Shaykh Nâjidî al-Dîn had just died. He was then advised that the only person capable of analysing his mystical state (bîl wa ahwâ£), his visions (wâkî;â£), and his spiritual stations (makâmât) was a certain Shaykh Žâhid Gîlâni. Šafi al-Dîn eventually found Shaykh Žâhid at the village of Hîlya Kîrân on the Caspian in 675/1276-7, and at once realized that the Shaykh, then sixty years of age, was the mursîhd he had been seeking.

Shaykh Žâhid treated Šafi al-Dîn with extraordinary favour. He gave his daughter Bîbî Fatîma in marriage to Šafi al-Dîn, and his son Hâddî Shams al-Dîn Muhammad married Šafi al-Dîn's daughter. Šafi al-Dîn had three sons by Bîbî Fatîma: Muhîy al-Dîn (died 724/1223-4); Šadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dîn, who succeeded him as head of the Safawid order; and Abî Sa'id. Before his death in Radjab 730/March 1301, Shaykh Žâhid designated Šafi al-Dîn to succeed him as head of the Šâhidîyya order. This caused great resentment among some of Shaykh Žâhid's followers, and especially on the part of his elder son, Šâmal al-Dîn 'Ali, and his family. Shaykh Žâhid's younger son, Hâddî Shams al-Dîn Muhammad, who was in any case Šafi al-Dîn's son-in-law, was placated by grants of land and other property. There is evidence that Šafi al-Dîn connived at the expropriation by his son-in-law of certain wâkfs controlled by Šâmal-Dîn's son, Badr al-Dîn Djamâlân; the Mongol Il-Khan Abû Sa'id [q.e.], the Mongol Il-Khan Abû Sa'id [q.e.] intervened in 720/1320 to restore the rights of Badr al-Dîn (V. Minorsky, A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Žâhid, in ROAS, xvi/3 [1954], 519-20). On the other hand, Shaykh Žâhid's descendants were not immune from the usurpations of Mongol amirs.

Under, Šafi al-Dîn's leadership, the Šâhidîyya order, under its new name Šafawiyya, was transformed from a Šûfi order of purely local significance into a religious movement, based on Ardabil, whose religious propaganda (da'a'wa) was disseminated throughout Persia, Syria and Asia Minor, and even as far away as Ceylon (H.R. Roemer, The Safawid period, in Camb. Hist. Iran, vi, 192). Even during his lifetime, Šafi al-Dîn wielded considerable political influence, and his designation of his son Šadr al-Dîn Mûsâ to succeed him makes it clear that he was determined to keep this political power within the Safawid family. After his death, his mausoleum at Ardabil became an important place of pilgrimage (for an inventory of the contents of the shrine compiled in 1172/1758-9 by its mutawalli Sayyid Muhammad Kâsim Beg Safawi, see Ganjyina-yi Shaykh Šafi, Tabriz 1318 Sh./1939). See M.E. Weaver, The conservation of the shrine of šaykh Šafi at Ardabil, in Eran: A preliminary study, July-August 1971 (UNESCO, Paris 1971). Though no Šafis are recorded as the founder of the Safawid dynasty, which promulgated Šâhari Shî'ism as the official religion of the state, Šafi al-Dîn himself was nominally a Šunnî of the Šâhidî madhdhûb. However, given the syncretist religious climate of the period of Mongol rule in Persia, too much emphasis should not be placed on this.

Bibliography (in addition to sources referred to in the text): Darwîsh Tawakkûlî b. Ismâîl Bazzâ, Safawat al-sa'âfa, written about 759/1357-8, some twenty-four years after the death of Šafi al-Dîn. It is a mainly hagiographical work. Because the whole question of Safawid genealogy is extremely complex, and because later copies of the Safawat al-sa'âfa were tampered with during the reigns of Shâh Ismâîl I and Shâh Tahmâsp [q.e.] to produce an "official version" of the origin of the Safawids, the two copies of this ms. which anedate the establishment of the Safawid state in 907/1501 are of particular importance: ms. Leiden 2639 (dated 890/1485), and Aysosofy 3099, dated 896/1491 (lith. text ed. Ahmad al-Tibrîzî, Bombay 1329/1911). Study of these earlier mss. has led scholars to challenge the claim of the Safawid family to šâydat and to descent from the Seventh Šâhari Imâm, Mûsâ al-Kâzîm [q.e.]; see Sayyid Ahmad Tâbrîzî (Kâsrawî) [q.e.], Nâzîyâ wa ta'âbî-i Şafawiyya, in Ayanda, ii (1927-8), 357-65; Şafawitîyya sayyid nûsia and, in ibid., 489-97; and Bâz hâm Şafawiyya, in ibid., 801-12 (a later publication, Shaykh Šafi wa tabârah, 1.Tehran 1323 Sh./1944, 2.Tehran 1342 Sh./1963, is a rewritten and expanded version of these articles); Zekî Verîdi Togan, Sur l'origine des Safawides, in Mâlûs Louis Masson, Domaschîsche Studien [ed. M. Pahlavi, Bâz bâz; see Sa'fâ von Ardabil, diss. Göttingen 1969; Erika Glassen, Die frühen Safawiden nach Qâhid Ahmad Qâmit, Freiburg im Breisgau 1970; M. Mazzaoui, The origins of the Safawids, Freiburger Islamstudien, Band III, Wiesbaden 1972, 47 ff.; B. Nikitine, Essai d'analyse du Safawat al-Safa, in JA (1957), 385-394. On the history of Shaykh Šafi al-Dîn's time, see Shaykh Hûsân b. Abdîl Žâhidî, Sâlitat al-na'âbî-i Meshedîîa, Iraneschâr Publications no. 6, Berlin 1343/1924-5; Brown, LHP, iv, 3-44; W. Hinz, Iran Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin and Leipzig 1936, 12-14; R.M. Savory, Iran under the Safawids, Cambridge 1980, 5-9. On connections between the Safawiyia and Anatolian dervish orders, see F. Babinger, Schîch-Beirat al-Dîn, Leipzig and Berlin 1921, 78 ff.; F. Babinger, „Der Mahdi“ von Shâh 'Abd al-Qâdir, in Geschichte der Safawiden, in A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, 28-50; H.J. Kissling, Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bajrcimije, in Südost-Forschungen, Band XV, München 1956, 237-68.

(F. Babinger-[R.M. Savory])

ŠAFI AL-DIN ʿAbd al-Lâzîz b. Šârâvâ al-Hillî al-Taţî al-Sinbîsi, Abu 'l-Mahâsin (b. 5 Rabi'I II 677/26 August 1278 [according to al-Šâfâdi, Wâfir,}
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Tāngiz, who was hunting in the area, to apprehend a thief who had stolen from him in Mārdīn. On that occasion al-Šafādi received a comprehensive iqāṣa from Sāfī al-Dīn for all his past and future work and all the esoteric knowledge that he was permitted to transmit. In 747/1346-7 al-Furūzābādī (d. 817/1415 [q. v.]), then still a young man of seventy, met Sāfī al-Dīn in Baghdād, when the latter was about seventy years old; he says that it was hard to believe that this man had composed the poetry he was known for (quoted by al-Šalāḥtāri, Majālis al-mušāa, Tehran 1299/1881-2, 471).

As a man of seventeen, he had composed anything but Shi‘ī and al-Šafādi says so explicitly, adding that being a Shi‘ī was nothing “heretical” (bi‘dāt) in al-Hilla (Afsūn, ii, 87, ll. 10-11). Ibn Ḥadjar felt that some of his poetry smelled of rafī (Durūn, ii, 369, penult.), in the sense of an outright rejection and vituperation of the first caliphs, although al-Ḥillī himself—and Ibn Ḥadjar is aware of that—had expressed his esteem for the first caliphs, and the Companions in general, in his poetry (see e.g. Durūn, 59, two poems). He could hardly have done otherwise in the strongly Sunni world in which he moved.

Sāfī al-Dīn’s literary output includes the following works that are extant:

1. The Durūn. Collected at the suggestion of al-Naṣīr b. Kalāwūn, probably in 732/1332 (see above), and arranged according to genres, this Durūn is expressly called a selection. Moreover, poetry composed after completion of the Diwān would not be included; however, the Durūn does contain a few poems referring to later events (see Allūḥ, 113-14, and Salīm, 38-9). Whether these were inserted by the poet himself or by later copyists is unclear. This means that a fair part of Sāfī al-Dīn’s total poetic production is not included in the Durūn; the selections offered by al-Šafādi, both in the Afsūn and the Wūfī, contain indeed a substantial number of items not to be found in the Durūn. The same is true, though to a lesser extent, for the selections made by al-Kutubī. Brockelmann (II, 160, S II, 199-200) lists a number of poems that have been transmitted outside the Durūn; no indication is given whether or not they are contained in the existing text.

The arrangement of the Durūn is as follows (note that the chapter headings are composed in saṣṣa which was the most common heraldic symbol among Sufis):

ch. 1: self-glorification, heroic songs, and incitation to assume leadership (fi ‘l-faṣḥ wa ‘l-hamāsī wa-‘l-takhrīr al-

ch. 2: encomium, praise, gratitude, and congratulation (fi ‘l-madh wa-‘l-hanā ‘u-‘l-shukr wa-‘l-hanā‘).

ch. 3: hunting poems and various descriptions (fi ‘l-
tardīyūt wa-‘l-usānd ‘u-‘l-ifṣā‘).

ch. 4: friendship poems and introductory poems in correspondences (fi ‘l-ikhwānīyāt wa-‘l-sūrūd al-

ch. 5: elegies for the great and condolences for friends (fi-marājī ‘l-a‘ydn wa-ta‘āzī ‘l-takhīd).

ch. 6: flirtatious and elegiac love poetry and elegant amorous verse (fi ‘l-hāzal wa-‘l-nastīb wa-

ch. 7: wedding, and select flower poems (fi ‘l-khamrīyāt wa-‘l-nubad al-sarhaṣṣīyāt).

ch. 8: complaint, reproof, calling in a promise and the answer (fi ‘l-šaḥwū ‘u-‘l-dabb wa-ta‘āzī wa-

ch. 9: poems announcing presents, apologies, entreaties, and poems asking for forgiveness (fi-

ch. 10: tours-de-force, riddles, and mnemonic verse
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ch. 11: jocular verse, satirical poems, and obscene poems (fi ‘l-mu‘adda wa ‘l-ta‘abba‘ wa ‘l-thumā‘a fi ‘l-ta‘adda‘);

c. 12: wise sayings, poems of renunciation, and remarkable odds and ends (fi ‘l-‘adā‘a wa ‘l-zā‘īdhiyya wa ‘l-na‘awād ‘i‘l-mu‘akkhās); the

Al-Hilli clearly runs the whole gamut of existing genres and, in so doing, revives certain genres that had not been cultivated much for some time, such as the khanariyya [q. v.] and the jārdhiyya [q. v.]. Other works, such as the badi‘iyā (cf. also his knowledge of the Persian musical terms leyd, mukhmas, in-cluding mukhammas, in particular mukhammas, in-cluding takhmīsūr of existing poems), and dā‘abu (see RUBA’).

Some conspicuous poems deserve special mention:

(a) al-Kāfya al-badi‘iyā fi ‘l-mudadd‘a al-nabawiyya, a poem in praise of the Prophet modeled on the Burda [q. v.] of Abu-Būṣi [q. v. in Suppl.], thus a minhā‘ya in the metre bā‘〈, 145 lines long, each line containing one, in some cases two or three, figures of speech, 151 altogether (Diwān, 496-511). The figures are explicitly given between the lines. The story of the poem’s genesis is mentioned in a short prose introduction: how the poet intended to write a book on rhetorical figures, but was prevented from doing so by falling gravely ill; how in a dream he received a message from the Prophet enjoining him to praise the latter and promising speedy recovery; and how he combined his original intention with his new task by composing the bā‘dī‘iyā. It proved to be the starting-point of a new genre of poetry. For al-Hilli’s own commentary see below no. 2.—(b) al-Ka‘ida al-sā‘ā‘iyya, a poem of 75 lines in the tawil metre, written in the argot of the tramps, who called themselves the Banū Sā‘ān [q. v.] (Diwān, 444-8). The poem was ghost-written for a friend who for some unspecified reason wanted to be accepted in the circles of the goodftūya. It proved to be the starting-point of a new genre of poetry termed rauda ‘garden’ (see Allūh, 121-2, for a list of later specimens).

(b) The Candle Cycle, a series of seven poems of varying length, five in kāmil, one in sā‘t, welcoming and describing the candles, when they were brought in and lit in the evening maglī‘i at the court of al-Malik al-Sā‘līh (Diwān, 121-4). The first is said to have been improvised, with a promise to continue in the same way during the following nights.—(c) The Bacchic Cycle, a series of seven khanariyyas addressed to al-Malik al-Sā‘līh, one for each day of the week, each seven lines long and rhyming with the name of the day, in various metres (Diwān, 363-6).

For metrical peculiarities, one should mention a poem in a “long metre” (ta‘aw fu‘ūl) which, in the introduction, is said to have been used, if incorrectly, by earlier poets. It is in a metre termed gharīb (Diwān, 147). It seems to be a mashru‘ with a long syllable added at the beginning and end of each hemistich. Two further poems are characterised as being in Persian metres (al-awā‘il al-‘a‘dī‘iyāyya); one is in the standard form of the kāfī‘ī musaadās makhbūn mahkūfī (Diwān, 293), the other in one of the most common Persian metres, the muddā‘ī mu‘ammān akhbar makhfrī mahkūfī (Diwān, 307-9). A knowledge of Persian is not attested for al-Hilli, but it is not unlikely (cf. also his knowledge of the Persian musical terms tarā‘ma, na‘īza, na‘āzgūz, and sarband, in ‘Āṣif, 26, ll. 8-9).

2. al-Natā‘īd al-ta‘līkīyya fi ‘l-‘adā‘u al-Kāfya al-badi‘iyā, al-Hilli’s own commentary on his bā‘dī‘iyā. In the introduction he gives a short overview of the history of “the science of badī‘” and, in an appendix at the end he lists the seventy bā‘dī works that he read and used for his poem and commentary, adding that he owned copies of most of them. The figures are explicitly given between the lines. The story of the poem’s genesis is mentioned in a short prose introduction: how the poet intended to write a book on rhetorical figures, but was prevented from doing so by falling gravely ill; how in a dream he received a message from the Prophet enjoining him to praise the latter and promising speedy recovery; and how he combined his original intention with his new task by composing the bā‘dī‘iyā. It proved to be the starting-point of a new genre of poetry. For al-Hilli’s own commentary see below no. 2.—(b) al-Ka‘ida al-sā‘ā‘iyya, a poem of 75 lines in the tawil metre, written in the argot of the tramps, who called themselves the Banū Sā‘ān [q. v.] (Diwān, 444-8). The poem was ghost-written for a friend who for some unspecified reason wanted to be accepted in the circles of the goodftūya. It proved to be the starting-point of a new genre of poetry termed rauda ‘garden’ (see Allūh, 121-2, for a list of later specimens).

4. al-Kisā‘ al-ta‘lī al-hall wa ‘l-murarshdā‘as al-gāli, the first poetics of Arabic dialect poetry. It deals with the
four genres of zadjal [q.v.], mau'dliyd [q.v.], kdn wa-kan [q.v.], and kun'd [q.v.]. The work is not only as a—normative—description of the generic, prosodic, and linguistic properties and of the various types of popular poetry, but also as an anthology that has preserved much that would otherwise be lost. Ritter and Hoenerbach have exploited it for the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the work of the zadjal poets Ibn Kuzmān (d. 555/1160 [q.v.]) and Mudgādalīs (d. after 577/1181-2) (see Bibli.). In addition, Šafi al-Dīn also includes a goodly amount of his own production. He explicitly says that in his Diwān he collected only his own production and other verses by his contemporaries. He explicitly says that in his Diwān he collected only his own production and other verses by his contemporaries.

In a way, then, the Diwān is an extension of his Risālah, an antibarbarus, preserved in ms. Escorial 123 (63 folios, see Huwwar, 64).

There are five Risālah printed in the Diwān: (a) Risālah al-Dīr fī mudhawwarā fār (Diwān, 484-91). This is a matāma-like story which, in an amusing style, addresses a complaint to al-Malik al-Sāliḥ. The narrator is al-Hillī’s house in Mardin which describes to its neighbour, the citadel of the Artukid sultan, how the mice in the house complain to each other about the hard times on which the owner of the house has fallen, due to a large overdue loan given by him to a high governmental official.—(b) al-Risālah al-muhmāla (Diwān, 511-13). Addressed to al-Nāṣir b. Kāfūwān in 723/1323, it contains a complaint against the vizier Karīm al-Dīn [see Ibn al-Sādīd, Kārīm al-Dīn]. As indicated by the title, the risālah is entirely composed of words with undotted letters.—(c) al-Risālah al-taw‘umiyah (Diwān, 513-15). Written in 700/1300-1 in Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Mansūr about a poem by al-Harīrī [q.v.] which displayed a technique that al-Hillī then imitates throughout the risālah, to wit: the text consists entirely of pairs of words that are identical in their rām but differ slightly in their pronunciation. The members of the madjīl opined that none of their contemporaries would be able to imitate al-Harīrī’s tour-de-force. Saṭī al-Dīn took up this challenge and produced a selection of fragments of two or three lines from the madjīl, presented in a treatise on prosody, but adds to it, see Muhammad Kūrd al-Maṣāḥf al-Maṭḥūt, 46 msūdith (43 folios, see Huwwar, 73).—(d) Halī al-mansūm (Diwān, 515-17). This is actually a report about a literary challenge, in which the author is asked to form a risālah out of all the letters, without addition or repetition, of the first seven lines of the Ma‘ālikāt of Imrā’ al-Kāys and then to reassemble them in a poem in the same metre and rhyme. Which, of course he does.—(e) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Kāhir, lord of Arzan [Erzurum], to al-Malik al-Sāliḥ, lord of Mardin, on the occasion of the death of the latter’s brother al-Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn (Diwān, 517-18).—A fair number of rasā‘il must have been lost, as witnessed by the collection of short poems in the Diwān that are said to have served as proems (ṣuddūr) to the author’s epistles (see above).

As a poet, al-Hillī has enjoyed a rather uneven reputation. For his contemporaries he was “the poet of our time” (ghā‘iru ‘ar‘inā ‘ala ‘l-ilāl, al-Ṣafādī, Wafi, xviii, 482, l. 1) and for some even unrivalled among all poets, ancient and modern (lam yanzim-i ‘l-shi‘ra ah‘abna mithlhu lā fī ‘l-mustākhkhirina mu‘ala‘, Sams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Latif [d. 731/1330], ms. preserved in Paris, 1553, was read before the court. The date given seems to suggest that his stay in Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).—a) An answer to this challenge is sent by al-Malik al-Afdal, lord of Mardin, to al-Malik al-Salih, lord of Mardin, it grew out of a discussion in the madjīl of al-Malik al-Afdal of Damascus, 1463 (diwān, 515-17).
The characteristic language (even in his youth, Safi al-Din went to Baghdad. Well-educated in Arabic language, literature, history and penmanship, he aims at an accessible, easily comprehensible poetic vocabulary." (W.P. Heinrichs)

Bibliography: Works. (1) Dīwān, Damascus 1297/1879-1300/1883 (editio princeps, used here for quotation, containing also the chapter on obscure poetry, suppressed in the two Beirut editions); the later editions Beirut 1893, al-Nadājī 1959, and Beirut 1961 are at the second Beirut edition with numerous omissions. All are uncritical and rather faulty. The claim on the title page of the al-Nadājī edition that it is based on several ms. is untrue. A critical edition, including the poems preserved outside the Dīwān, has been prepared by Muslim Ibrāhīm Huwwār (not seen; published?), see Huwwār, 5-7; monographs: Dīwān, Damascus and Beirut 1410/1990.—C.E. Bosworth, The Medieval Islamic underworld, 2 vols., Leiden 1761, i, 132-49; ii, 291-345, Arabic pagination 43-84; M. Hartmann, Das Arabische Strophengedicht. 1. Das Muwāshah, Weimar 1939, 79-80; R. Ritter and W. Hoenerbach, Neue Materialien zum Zācāl. I. Ibn Qumān [s]. II. Mudgālīs, in: Oriens, iii (1950), 266-315, v (1952), 269-301 (mostly based on materials found in al-Æţīl); W. Hoenerbach, intro. to Æţīl. (W.P. Heinrichs)

The sources are silent about the ethnic origin of his family. He may have been of Persian descent (Kuβ al-Dīn Shīrāzī [q.v.]). He has a Mu‘tāb-Êl ‘Irān. In his youth, Safi al-Dīn went to Baghdad. Well-educated in Arabic language, literature, history and penmanship, he named a place for himself as an excellent calligrapher. After the fall of the caliphate, he joined the library built by the caliph Musta’sīm. Both Yākūt al-Mustas’īmī [q.v.] and Shams al-Dīn Ahmad al-Suhrawardī (d. 741/1340) figure among his disciples in the art of calligraphy. After the fall of the caliphate, the governor of ‘Irāk, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Atā-Malik Dūwaynī [q.v.], and his brother, the sāhib-i dīwān Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Dūwaynī [q.v.], placed him in charge of the Dīwān (Dīwān al-Êtalak) of Baghdad. The honorific titles of al-Êtalak al-kabīr, al-Êtalak al-fātīḥ, and al-Alamān, given to him in 675/1277 by the renowned litterateur and philologist Ibn al-Su‘aykāl (d. 701/1302), indicate his high literary and social status. He had also studied Shī‘ī law and comparative law (khilāf al-fikhr) at the Muslimān-riyya madrasa (opened 651/1254). This qualified him to assume a post in al-Mustas’mī’s juridical administration and, after 656/1258, to head the supervision of the foundations (mukārarnat al-Mustas’mī) (opened 653/1257), when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī [q.v.] took over.

Only in the later days of al-Mustas’mī’s reign did al-Urmawi become known as a musician and excellent lute player and accepted as a member of the private circle of boon companions, thanks to one of his music students, the caliph’s favoured songstress Luḥāz. His additional salary of 5,000 dinārs (60,000 dirhams at arabischen Verskunst, Bonn 1883, 405-8 (tawriya) of a Hamdas poetry by Kaṭari b. al-Fudjārī [cf. Dīwān, 15-16], with German tr.); O. Rescher, Beiträge zur Arabischen Poesie (Ubersetzungen, Kritiken, Interviews), vi/1: Qasīdān fi Safi eddīn al-Hilli, Ibn al-Wardi, El-Bustī, al-Êṭā’ī und Frazadag, Stuttgart 1954-5, 1-49.—Studies. For an overview of critical writings in Arabic, see Huwwār, 5-7; monographs: Dīwān al-Dīn al-Tūsī, Baghdad 1379/1959; Muhammad Rizk Salīm, Safi al-Dīn al-Hilli, Cairo 1960; Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, Safi al-Dīn al-Hilli, Beirut 1971; Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Huwwār, Safi al-Dīn al-Hilli, Hayyūt wa-Êtalak al-Êtalak, Damascus and Beirut 1410/1990.—E. Bosworth, The Medieval Islamic underworld, 2 vols., Leiden 1976, i, 132-49; ii, 291-345, Arabic pagination 43-84; M. Hartmann, Das Arabische Strophengedicht. 1. Das Muwāshah, Weimar 1939, 79-80; R. Ritter and W. Hoenerbach, Neue Materialien zum Zācāl. I. Ibn Qumān [s]. II. Mudgālīs, in: Oriens, iii (1950), 266-315, v (1952), 269-301 (mostly based on materials found in al-Æţīl); W. Hoenerbach, intro. to Æţīl. (W.P. Heinrichs)
that time) from this activity allowed him to lead a luxurious life. It also helped him to survive the fall of Baghdad, namely, by generously accommodating one of Hulagu's officers who, in return, introduced him to the new ruler. Hulagu was impressed by his art and erudition, and doubled his income, if we can rely on the autobiographical data given by al-Urmawi to the historian Lizz al-Din al-Irbili (d. 726/1326) when they met at Tabriz in 689/1290. His musical career, however, seems to have been supported mainly by the Djuywan family, especially by Shams al-Din Munzawi, who paid him a sum of 300 dinars on his death in 685/1286. After the demise of his patrons, he fell into oblivion and poverty. Placed under arrest on account of a debt of 300 dinars, he died in the Shafi'i Madrasat al-`ijal in Baghdad. Two of his sons became secretaries in the capital. One was called Kamal al-Din Ahmad; the other, Lizz al-Din `Ali, died in 671/1272 and was buried in the ribat of Ibn al-Sukran (d. 671/1272), near Baghdad (see Ibn al-Fuwatil, Madq al-adab, sub letters `yan and kaf). Another son, Djialal al-Din Muhammad, was a man of letters and in 676/1299 attended Ibn al-Saykal's interpretation of his al-Makamaat al-Zaynija in the Mustansiriyya (see G. `Awwadi and H. `A. Mahfu`z, in Madq. Kil`i. Adab, Baghd`, iv [1963], 261).

As a composer, al-Urmawi cultivated the vocal forms of sawt, kawl and nauha. That the sawt was, in his days, a song of only a "few parts" (ka`lih al-adabi'ah), is confirmed by Mubarakshah in his commentary on al-Urmawi's Kitab al-Adwar. This is confirmed by two examples of sawt compositions that al-Urmawi has recorded in musical notation at the end of the K. al-Adwar, using letters for the pitch and numbers for the length of the notes. Kawl songs were more sophisticated compositions, as shown by a piece by al-Urmawi set down in a score by Kutb al-Din ShlrazI at the end of the music chapter of his Durrat al-ta`dil. A kawl could also be one of the three (or four) parts of the vocal "suite" (nauha [q.v.]), a musical genre favoured in al-Urmawi's time. Safi al-Din is reported to have composed no less than 130 pieces in the sawt form. Most of them were still known to the noted musician Kutayla (fl. 730/1330) who performed them at the courts of Mardin and Cairo. Al-Urmawi's students included the secretaries in the court of his patron, Ahmad b. lsra`il al-Hakim (d. 667/1269), near Baghdad (see Ibn al-Fuwatil, Madq al-adab, sub letters `yan and kaf), and definition of the scales constituting the system of the twelve modes (see O. Wright, below), precise depictions of contemporary musical metres, and the use of letters and numbers for the notation of melodies. All this occurs in the K. al-Adwar for the first time, making it a historical source of greatest value. By its conciseness it became the most popular and influential book on music for centuries. No other Arabic (Persian or Turkish) music treatise was so often copied, commented upon and translated into Oriental (and Western) languages. The K. al-Adwar was conceived as a compendium (mu`khasar) of the standard musical knowledge. However, owing both to its apparent uniqueness and to the fact that not a single authority or written source is quoted, the book was regarded as an original work with innovative contributions of its author, especially with regard to the division of the octave.

Considering the youth of the author and the purely descriptive style of the book, which does not reveal any personal contribution, the original part of Safi al-Din cannot be ascertained and may have been less than assumed. An analysis of the extant manuscripts, many of them transmitted anonymously, and of the differing redactions of the text, might help to clarify this question. The K. al-Adwar was translated several times into Persian. In addition to some anonymous translations, one was made in 746/1345 by `Imad al-Din Yabaya b. Ahmad Kaghani for the ruler Abu `Isa Sham`an (see Munzawi, no. 40736). An enlarged version of the text was translated in 1296/1879 by Mirza Muhammad Isma'il b. Muhammad Dja`far Isfahani, and dedicated to Mirza Akh Khan Nuri, the padi-i `asam of Nasir al-Din Shih (printed, see below, cf. Munzawi, no. 40737). A Turkish translation, the only one not written in Arabic, was made by Shihab al-Din Shih of Shkirkullah (9th/15th cent.), and incorporated, as chapters 1-15, into his compilation called Risala min `samal al-adwar (see Ra`uf Yekt, in MTM, ii/i [1331/1913], 137; M. Bardakgi, in Tarih ve toplum, xi [1990], 350-4). Several commentaries were composed during the 8th/14th century and at the beginning of the 9th/15th. The first of them, Khwastat al-adwar fi mu`rifat al-adwar, was written in Persian on behalf of Sultan Uways [q.v.] by Shihab al-Din `Abb al-Din al-`Sayravi (Munzawi, no. 40754). A most important Arabic commentary was composed in 777/1375 by a certain Mubarakshah and dedicated to Shih Shugja` (French tr., see below; H.G. Farmer's identification of the author with `Ali b. Muhammad al-Djurjani is not convincing). A Persian commentary was written in 798/1396 by Lutf al-Din Muhammad b. Mahmud Safarwalla on behalf of a certain Amir Zada Sayar (see Munzawi, nos. 40793-94). Another Persian commentary was written by `Abb al-Kadir b. Ghaybi Maragh, supplemented by a lengthy khaituma, called Zawad id al-fauad (printed, see below). A passage from the K. al-Adwar was translated into French by B. Pétis de la Croix (d. 1713) on the request of Joseph Sauveur (d. 1716) who gave a first account of al-Urmawi's division of the octave (Systeme général des intervalles de sons, in Mémoires de l'Acad. Royale [Paris
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1701], 328-30). A more complete French translation, based on the anonymous ms. Paris B. N. ar. 2865, was made by A.-F. Herbin (d. 1806) on behalf of G.-A. Villoteau. He printed part of it in his De l'art musical en Egypte (in Description de l'Egypte, État moderne, xiv, Paris 1826, 47-110). The interpretations of both Villoteau and Fétis (Histoire générale de la musique, ii, Paris 1869, esp. 55), who erroneously detected one-third-tones in the scales described by al-Urmawi, were inferior to that of Sauveur, and even more so to the correct description already given by J.-B. De La Bédoyère (Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, i, Paris 1780, 163-6). The French division of the octave was much appreciated by European scholars from the late 19th century onwards.

Safi al-Din's second book, al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya, was written around 665/1267. It is dedicated to his great predecessor al-Farabi, although being the more extensive work, was, on the whole, less popular than the K. al-Adawār. In Kutb al-Adawār's Durrat al-tādż, and in the works of 'Abd al-Kādir Mārāghi, however, it was extensively used (partly criticised by Shīrāzī, but defended by Mārāghi). The latter even refers to the Durrat al-tādż as a commentary on the Sharafiyya (see Mākāsid al-adhān, Tehran 1344/1957, 58).

The supposed title Fī 'ulūm al-'arād wa la-kawdī wa l-badiʿ in ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Clark 21/1 (fols. 1-71, copied 1758/1557, see Cat., ii, 201-4, no. 247) is not the title of another book written by al-Urmawi (Brockelmann, S I, no. 3, follows Farmer), but the subtitle of the Miṣrīr al-maṣāfī Fī 'ulūm al-ghārīb by the philologist ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿIbrāhīm al-Zandjānī (Brockelmann, S I, 498, no. IV).

**Bibliography** (in addition to the sources quoted above):


(Ε. Neubauer)

SAFID KUH (p.), in Fāṭḥi Spīn Qāhār ("The White Mountain"), the name of a mountain range falling mainly in eastern Afghanistan. According to Bābur, it derives its name from its perpetual covering of snow; from its northern slopes, nine rivers run down to the Kābul River (Bāhūr-nāma, tr. Beveridge, 209, cf. Appx. E, pp. xvii-xix).

The Safīd Kūh, with its outliers, runs from a point to the east of Gāznā [q. v.] in a northeasterly and then easterly direction almost to Aitock [see aṭāk on the Indus (approx. between longs. 68° 40' E. and 72° E.), in general separating the Kābul and Lōgar River valleys on its north and west from the Kābul and Helmand valley and the Aīrīfī area of Tirāh on its south. Its highest peak is Sīkārām (4,761 m/15,620 ft.). The Khyber Pass [see khybar] lies at its northeasterm tip, and on its northern and eastern spurS are the passes between Kābul and Djalalābād which the British forces involved in Afghanistan during 1841-2 had to negotiate. The middle part of the range forms the present political boundary between the Nangarhar [q. v.] province of Afghanistan and the Khūram [q. v.] Tribal Area of Pakistan.

Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer on India 2, 28-9; J. Humplum et aI., La géographie d'Afghanistan: étude d'un pays aride, Copenhagen 1959, 28, 106.

(Ε. Neubauer)

SAFID RUD (p.) "White River", a river system of northwestern Persia draining the southeastern part of Afghanistan. It was, in mediaeval Islamic times, the region of Dāyām [q. v.] and one of the sources of the 4th/10th century already called it the Sabīd/Sapīdād Rūd, and Hamd Allāh Mustawīf (8th/14th century) clearly applies it to the whole system.

In more recent times, however, the name tends to be restricted to that part of the system after it has been formed from the confluence at Marjīl of its two great
affluents, the Kīzīl Üzen [q.v.] coming in from the left and the Şah Rūd from the right. This stretch forces its way through a gap between the Alburz Mts. in the east and the Tälik Mts. to the north-west, and runs down to the Caspian Sea. Thus although its affluents are quite lengthy, the Şafīd Rūd itself runs now for only some 110 km/60 miles. When it reaches the coastal plain of Gīlān [q.v.], the river divides into numerous channels, whose courses are continuously shifting, and flows out through the delta which the river’s alluvia have pushed out into the Caspian. Parts of this delta region are thickly wooded; and a hundred years ago, the coast was unhealthy; here also, rice is cultivated. The gap between the mountains through which the Şafīd Rūd flows provides a means of communication from Gīlān to the plateau of the Persian interior, and at the present time carries the Rasht-Kazvīn-Tehran road.


ŞAFİNA (a. pls. sufûn, şafînûn, şafîn), a word used in Arabic from pre-Islamic times onwards for ship. Seamanship and navigation are in general dealt with in MILÂFA, and the present article, after dealing with the question of knowledge of the sea and ships in Antiquity, in the time of the birth of Islam, not covered in MILÂFA, will be confined to a consideration of sea and river craft. 1. In the pre-modern period. (a) Pre-Islamic and early Islamic aspects. The most general word for “ship” in early Arabic usage was markâb “conveyance”, used, however, in the first place for travel by land, with such specific meanings as “riding-beast”; “conveyance drawn by animals”. Şafîna “ship” occurs only sparingly in the Kur‘ān (three times, in connection with the boat used by Moses and al-Khîdr and with Noah’s Ark), and was early noted, e.g. by Guidi and Fraenkel, as a probable loan word from Syriac (with Hebrew and Akkadian forms), ultimately from the common Semitic root s-p-n “to cover”, cf. Akk. sapmatu, “to cover in”, cf. Akkad. pmah, “to cover”, Arabic sapâma, “to cover behind”, and Hebrew sapâma, “to cover”. The Periplus of Aximinus (Baroda 1938, 171-2); much more frequent in the Kur‘ān is the word markah “ship”, as in Jonah, i, 5; it probably entered Arabic via Syriac at an early date, since it occurs in pre-Islamic poetry (see S. Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, 216-17; A. Jeffery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur‘ān, Baroda 1938, 171-2). Much more frequent in the Kur‘ān is full, used inter alia of Noah’s Ark and the ship from which Jonah was thrown, again clearly a loan word, but of less certain origin than şafîna. Völlers suggested one from Greek ephihoton “a dinghy towed after a boat”, but also found in The Plutus of the Erythraean Sea to denote a larger vessel used in Red Sea waters (see Jeffery, op. cit., 229-30).

The absence of a genuine Arabic word for “ship” is not surprising, given the Arabian peninsula’s total lack of navigable rivers or lakes; the region thus contrasts sharply with the Nile valley of Egypt and with Mesopotamia, where traffic on its rivers early gave rise to a highly-developed vocabulary in Akkadian relating to ships and navigation (see A. Salonen, Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen ..., Studia orientalia, Societas orientalia fennica, viii/4, Helsinki 1939), with a linguistic legacy which was handed down to Islamic times (see below). The Arabian peninsula is, on the other hand, surrounded by seas on three sides, hence some of its inhabitants at least must have had some acquaintance with the sea and ships, even if the Arabs of the Hijāz and Najd preferred travel by land, so that the original direction of Arab-Islamic expansion was northwards to Palestine, Syria and Irāq rather than e.g. across the Bāb al-Mandab towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. This reason of use of ships was certainly familiar to the populations of the southern shores of the Persian Gulf, but the sailors involved were probably from the mixed Persian-Arab element of these coastlands; see further on this, G.F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times, Princeton 1951, ch. i, and MILÂFA.

A consideration of the sea in the Kur‘ān and of Muhammad’s possible knowledge of it was undertaken by W. Barthold in a brief but suggestive article, Der Koran und das Meer, in ZDMG, lix, 1929, 37-43. He asked, with justice, how the Holy Book could contain such vivid pictures of the sea and its storms. “This question”, he says, “is of particular interest, because descriptions of the sea are in general foreign to Arab poetry, particularly pre-Islamic. Muhammad’s biography does not credit him with any sea voyages, not even with a journey along the coast”. Nor does it make him visit any of the seaports of the time like Djudda [q.v.], Shu‘ayba or Ghaza [q.v.]. Nödeke went so far as to assume (Hl., v 1914, 163, n. 3), where he was dealing with the trade of the Kuraysh with Abyssinia, that Muhammad “may possibly himself have been there on one occasion, as suras X, XXIX, 65, XXIV, 40, stand as if he had personally experienced the coast trading of the Sa‘idan”. Fraenkel (op. cit., 211) deduced from the Kur‘ān, “that the early Arabs well appreciated that their land was washed by the sea on three sides. Seafaring was of great importance, at least among the commercial circles to which Muhammad belonged”, otherwise, he thought, Muhammad would not have spoken in no less than 40 passages of the grace of God, who puts the sea at the service of mankind. Fraenkel in this characteristic “regular traffic” with Abyssinia, which is indicated among other things (e.g. Abyssinian slave-girls in Arabia at this time) by two traditions, according to one of which the wood of a ship stranded at Shu‘ayba was used for building the Ka‘ba (al-Tabarî, i, 1135), and, according to the other, the first muhādîrân sailed on two merchant ships which were going to Abyssinia (al-Tabarî, i, 1134). In the second passage there is nothing to indicate that the ships were Arab (Lammens, La Mecque à la veille de l’Hégire, Beirut 1924, 380, thought that they were foreign). Everything indicates that it is much more probable that this connection between Arabia and the opposite coast was maintained by the Abyssinians, a suggestion made also by Barthold, op. cit., 43, for quite different reasons. Lammens (La Meque, 305) even spoke—not, however, without encountering contradiction—of an Abyssinian dominion of the seas and found in the Meccan chronicles no mention of an Arab ship trading with the kingdom of Aksaum (idem, Le berceau de l’islam, i, Rome 1914, 15). On the other hand, he had to acknowledge that the many references in the Kur‘ān and Sirâ to navigation suggest an intimate acquaintance with the sea. But no companion of Muhammad of the Tihama is ever mentioned as a sailor; this is left to the foreigners on the Red Sea coast (idem, La Meque, 379).

Among the references to sailing in the early poetry, that in l. 102 of ‘Amr b. Kulâmî’s Mu‘allaqâ is specially remarkable. He boasts of his Taghibis that they cover the surface of the sea with their ships. While Goldziher (Das Schiff der Wüste, in ZDMG, xliv [1890], 165-7), who held Fraenkel’s point of view, said that this line is undoubtedly of great importance, Nöldeke, Einleitung zu Mu‘allaqa, i, 49, was inclined to the
view that "the Taghlib used sometimes to sail the Euphrates in boats" and that "there can be no question of seafaring in the proper sense". He takes bahir here to mean the broad waters of the Euphrates. The whole context shows that we have here to deal simply with a poet's boasting (cf. also G. Jacob, Altarabische Bedueneleben, 149), which would have all the more effect as this kind of activity on water was quite unknown to other tribes and, indeed, they had a certain fear of it (see below). Apart from this isolated line, Goldzither, op. cit., pointed out that, in the old poetry, the sea and various elements in navigation are frequently used in similes; the caravan on the march, for example, is frequently compared with ships sailing on the sea. These images, which are usually quite colourless, may, however, have originated on the coast and have wandered inland as clichés, without it being necessary to assume that the poet using them was personally acquainted with the sea. One recalls the stereotyped nature of the sahab [q.v.].

Now, as the occasional references to navigation must have some basis in fact, and on the other hand, we know nothing of any enterprises by sea on any large scale, it is natural to assume that "the Arabs before Muhammad never got beyond coastal traffic along the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf", as Wüstenfeld supposed in NGW Gött. (1880), 134. Lammens, La Meccque, 381, thought that there can only have been fishing on a very small scale not far from the shore and the occasional plundering of stranded ships (see above). With regard to the "foreign imports", which were already found at this date in Arabia, Jacob thought, op. cit., 149, that "in any case foreign ships (especially Ethiopian and Indian) came to Arab ports more often than vice-versa". Imports are indicated by numerous foreign wares, while, as G.W. Freytag, Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Sprache, Bonn 1861, 276 ff., emphasised Arabia had few products likely to be exported by ship to foreign lands.

These remarks, however, hold primarily for the Hijjaz and adjoining lands and cannot be applied without question to the whole of Arabia. For this region, in particular, there were certain factors unfavourable for the development of shipping. The story of the stranded ship (see above) clearly shows the lack of shelter and the occasional plundering of stranded ships. There are no good or large harbours on the coast; certain old anchorages like Leukokeime, al-Djär [q.v.] and Shu'aibya later became quite deserted [see hijjaz]. The Red Sea itself was dreaded on account of its storms and reefs, particularly in the north (see bahir al-kulzum, and A. Mez, Die Renaissance des Islams, Heidelberg 1922, 476, Eng. tr. 509). Arabia had, moreover, no navigable rivers which might have formed a training-ground for seafaring.

It is no wonder, then, that the true Badawi had a natural horror of the sea which for long prevented him from entrusting himself to the water. This attitude must have hampered the beginnings of Islamic seafaring, and can still be traced even to-day (see L. Brunot, La mer dans les traditions ... à Rabat et Salé, Paris 1920, 1, 3; W.G. Palgrave, Narrative of a year's journey ..., London 1865, i, 430, quotes "the most un-English words of the Hejazee camel-driver": "He who twice embarks on sea is a very infidel")). This dread finds expression in the Kur'ān, where we have references to "waves mountains high", "darkness on the wide sea", "clouds of darkness piled upon one another", etc. (sías X, 44, XXIV, 40, also X, 23, XI, 45, XXXI, 31; cf. also the humorous poem in Nölecke, Delectus, 62). Perhaps it is for this reason that the Meccans left navigation to foreigners (see above); in addition, there was the contempt felt for certain trades (see Goldzither, in Globus, i, 1894, 203-5). As the Azdis in "Umnān were sailors and fishermen, they were scourged by the Tamīn as "sailors" (see Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, vi, 25). We have also references to Nabatean and occasionally also to Jewish sailors (see Lyall, The Doiways of 'Abīd b. al-Ābras ..., Leiden-London 1913, pp. viii, 5, 6).

It is therefore not surprising that in later times, when the trade in slaves in the desert and in war was finally recognised, sayings were put into the mouth of the Prophet definitely permitting trade by sea and praising the merits of the martyr of the sea (see Wensinck, Handbok, s. v. Barter and Martyr(s); also Lammens, Le berceau de l'Islam, 15-16). But it was a long time before this view prevailed. Even at the time when Muhammad was cutting the Kuraysh off from their markets in the north, they preferred a great detour through the desert to taking the sea route (Lammens, La Meccque, 381). The first caliphs were still against any enterprise at sea. 'Umar was greatly impressed by a series of misfortunes in the Mediterranean and Red Sea (al-Ṭabarî, i, 2595, 2820; he is said to have forbidden sailing [or only for worldly purposes?], see Goldzither, Das Schicksal der Wüste, loc. cit.). He even went so far as to punish the chief of the Badjila tribe 'Arfaqā b. Harmīsh b. al-Brākī, whom he had ordered to invade 'Umnān, because he had done it by sea, even although he had been successful ( Ibn Khaldûn, Tac. ii, 211). Yet within five years of Muhammad's death (15/637) an Arab fleet from 'Umnān reached Tānāh near Bombay and another expedition went to the Gulf of Daybul (al-Balāghûr, Futūḥ, 431-2). But it was Mu'aūwiya who was the founder of the Arab navy. The creation of a fleet became more and more urgent during his wars against the Byzantines, in which the harbours of the Levant coasts and Egypt were often threatened. On this question, he had during his governorship to meet the resistance of the caliphs, but 'Uṯmān finally consented. Alexandria, in particular, provided ships and sailors. It was not till a later date that Mu'aūwiya said to have established naval bases on the Palestine coast also (al-Balāghûr, 117). In spite of their dread of the sea, "the Arabs made the change from the desert and the sea to the ship with astonishing rapidity" (so Wellhausen, in NGW Gött. [1901], 418). Bold and daring admirals soon arose among them, notably Busr b. Abī Arjāt and Abu 'l-Awar al-Sulâmī [q.v.].

We possess only very eixiguous information on the actual vessels used in early times round the coasts of Arabia. These were probably simple craft, made of planks bound together with cords of palm fibre (such seems the most probably meaning of dhāt alwdh wa-ḍawṣur in Kur'ān, LIV, 13, a description of Noah's Ark): one of the awlāḏ [q.v.] which the udābah enumerated was that the Umayyad governor al-Hadhdhdhā b. Yūsuf [q.v.] was the first to have had constructed ships of timber with the planks nailed and caulked (al-Dāhî, Hayawān, ed. A.S. Härin, Cairo n.d., i, 82-9). The so-called "sewn [with cord of fibre]" ships used by the Umayyads, up to the 9th/15th century, as a feature of Indian Ocean sea building; a travellers' tale doubtless invented to explain the prevalence of this construction practice posited the existence of magnetic mountains or islands in the Red Sea or in Indian waters which drew the nails out of ships and caused them to sink (see maqānīṭis, 1, at vol. V, 1168a).

(H. Kindermann-[C.E. Bosworth])
In Mediterranean waters, the Arab ships used against the Byzantines were crewed by the Greco-Semitic population of the Levantine and Egyptian coasts and carried a fighting force, initially of the Arab mukāṭila and then, at a later period, of professional soldiers, whose task was to hurl projectiles at the enemy, engage in hand-to-hand fighting when required and to disembark for land operations. Amongst various types of ship mentioned is the ṣawaf-al-kaṭin ṣuḥūr al-khulī, pl. ṣawā′dūn, a vessel of the galley type, i.e. with a crew of oarsmen, whose use is mentioned in the Arabic chronicles up to Mamluk times. Ibn Hawkal and al-Mukaddasi (4th/10th century) apply it to the corresponding Byzantine vessels, of the dromon or war galleym type (see H. Kindermann, "Schiff" im Arabischen. Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini, Zwickau i. Sa. 1934, 53-4; Darwish al-Nuhayli, al-Suťan al-islāmīyya ṣalā ḥarīf al-muqādim, Cairo 1974, 83-5; Milan, 1. 1, at vol. VII, 44b). Another term, khālī/khāliyya, pl. khālīyya, is defined as a large ship: an attempt to see in this word the origin of Old Span. galea/galera, i.e. galleys, was rightly dismissed by Kindermann, op. cit., 25, as implausible. Frequently mentioned in accounts of the naval warfare between the Muslims and the Franks during Crusading and Mamluk times is the large galleym called ǧarbah; thus the expedition launched from Būlāk by the Mamluks sailed up the Euphrates and the Tigris against the Byzantines (see H. Kindermann, dromon in the constituting and deployment of Muslim navies of the 9th/15th century, a new phase of ship construction in the Levant. Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin, although probably adopted from the Mamluks, were retained and later, the English and Dutch. In the Mediterranean, see BAHRIYYA. 1. The navy of the Mamluks. (c) The Mesopotamian-Khūzistān river systems.

Here, nautical traditions went back to ancient times (see Salonen, op. cit.). Some terminology from the Sumerian and Akkadian languages was carried over into the Arabic vocabulary of sea and river navigation and of irrigation constructions and practices of Umayyads and Abbasids (see Kahane and Tietze, 523-6, no. 202), and probably also with the terminology of irrigation practices and hydraulic constructions in the Eastern Arab and Iranian worlds in the third-fifth centuries A.H., in Jnl. of Islamic Studies, ii (1991), 78-85). Likewise, there must have been some continuity in the design and building of boats suitable for use on the Euphrates, Tigris, Karun and their tributaries; and the Christians had to operate in the comparatively storm-free spring and summer months, especially as such ships, with their cannon as well as their oarsmen and fighting troops, carried large crews in relationship to their size, hence could not operate for too long away from base.

The Venetians made an innovation in naval technology with the use of the galleass in their fleet at Lepanto (see AYNABAKHT!) in 1571; this ship tried to combine the advantages of the galleon, with the ability to fire cannon broadsides, and of the galleym, with its hull and rigging. The Ottomans started building them (Tksh. maʻassen) in the next year, but it was not until the later 11th/17th century that the Ottomans began to employ galleons on a large scale. See in general, H. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devletinin merkezi ve bahrîye teyârîsî, Ankara 1948; G. H. Imber, The navy of Suleymân the Magnificent, in Archivium Ottomanicum, vi (1980), 211-82, with a useful glossary of naval and administrative terms at 277-82; and bahrîyya. 3. The Ottoman navy.

The historical and adab sources of the 'Abbāsids period are replete with references to the various types of craft which were conveyed both passengers and freight on these rivers, which were exceptionally favourable for navigation, especially as the slightly higher level of the Euphrates, compared with the Tigris, meant that the transverse canals from the former to the latter could be used for speedy transport. The Euphrates was navigable up to Samosata [see SUMAYSAT], hence could be used for goods traffic be-
victorious Tigris and the Djazira and northern Syria, whilst down the Tigris to Baghdad came goods ... in Twelver Shi'ite texts was to act as senior agents (wakils) of the twelfth imam and to oversee the affairs of the con-

Heidelberg 1902, Abulkdsim, ein bagddder Sittenbild, Armenia and Kurdistan. Amongst the large ships mardkib known to the pre-Islamic poets who frequented

kurkur, used especially for freight are mentioned the

lrak and the Djazira and northern Syria, in order to prevent the Car-

Har-

rdka "fire ship" presumably denoted in origin a war-

Nabat on the Euphrates (Fraenkel, 1919, 121-43. See for Mesopotamian

The types of craft for both passengers and goods were very numerous. The Baghhdad parade of the early 5th/11th century, Abu '1-Kasim [q.o.], recites in his Hikaya a list of nineteen of these, including the kahr, zabab, sumayri, harraka, jayyara and marakib 'ammaliyya ('ammalda) "freight craft" (ed. A. Mez, Abukakhzai, ein baghdader Sittenbild, Heidelberg 1902, 107). As in the last example, some names are clearly descriptive, e.g. jayyara "flyer", a kind of skiff. Harr-
raka "fire ship" presumably denoted in war-

plays of Abu Djafar al-TusT (d. 460/1067). These

sajirs or 360/971), though neither their names nor their
depuities is first attested in the

K. Babawayh's (408-9); and the most

Akhbdr al-wukalo? al-arba^a

The four are listed in Ibn

Bn TaghrTbirdi, cited in Bosworth, (Eo.)

(455, Eng. tr. 485 ff.

The Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean shores.

The characteristic features of the mediaeval Arabic

Ocean-going ships have been given by Hourani as, first, the sewing-together of the planks rather than nailing (see above) and, second, the fore-and-aft set of the sails. Ibn Djabrory observed large barques or

djalibot) called a galiibah [q.o.] on the Red Sea coast which were stitched together with ice, i.e. coconut palm fibres (kinbar) (Rihla, ed. Wright and de Goeje, 70). Only from the 9th/15th century did nailed construction begin to be used on the Malabar coast of South India, possibly in imitation of the Portuguese warships (Hourani, Arab safarving in the Indian Ocean, 87 ff.).

A list of Arabic terms for ships used round the South Arabian coasts from later mediaeval times has been given by R. B. Serjeant in his The Portuguese of the South Arabian coast. Hodemi chronicles, Oxford 1963, repr. Beirut 1974, 132-7. Appx. II Arabic terms for ship-

ing. Here are to be found terms used elsewhere in the Islamic world, such as ghurab or grab; the gali(abaha, pl. galiab; and the barsha, according to Kindermann, 4-5, a long, covered boat, but also applied to large wars-

ships, as with the Ottoman baris (< Ital. bariga, bar-

za, see Kahane and Vitez, 98-9, n. 80) (cf. Imber, The navy of Siyyum, the Magnificent, 212-13). Con-

ected by observers of the early modern period with the Gulf of Oman and Indian waters was the baghla, lit. "mule", a large sailing ship (< Span.-Port. bael, bael, etc., yielding Anglo-Indian "buggalow" and possibly "budgeter", see Hobson-Jobson, 120, 123.

Most characteristic, of course, of these waters, for western observers, was the dhow, which Kindermann, 26-7, noted under daw or dawa, suggesting a Persian or ultimately Indian etymology; see for the
dhow, below, section 2. In modern times.

Bibliography: Given in the article. The works of Kindermann and al-Nukhayli list the types of ship alphabetically. See also Su'aTl Mdhir, al-Bahriyya fi Mi?r al-isla?m?ya wa-ahtharuhi al-b?kay, Cairo n.d. [1967], 147-238. (C. E. Bosworth)

2. In modern times.

See for this, MILAHA. 4. In modern times, to the

Bibi. of which should be added H. Ritter, Mesopotamische Studien. 1. Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris, in Isl., ix (1919), 121-43. (Ed.)

Finally, it should be noted that in astronomy, Safina represents Argus, one of the eastern constella-
tions made up of 45 stars, the brightest of which is Sahayl or Canopus. On the other hand, Safinat Nuh denotes the Great Bear.

In this title posthumously in order to establish that the of-
fice of safar had come into being immediately follow-
ing the ocultation of the imam (Y. Khlajii, Dikr al-
safar, 140-1). The term safar as referring to these deputies is first attested in the K. al-Chayba of Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Nu'mani (d. ca. 345/956 or 360/971), though neither their names nor their number is given. The four are listed in Ibn Bawawiy's [q.o.] Ikmal al-din (408-9); and the most detailed accounts of their activities are found in the K. al-Chayba of Ibn Djabr al-Tusi (d. 460/1067). These accounts are largely dependent on two works now lost, the Aẖbār Abi 'Amir wa Abi Djabar al-Åmraysiyy of Abu Nasr Hibat Allāh b. Ahmad b. Muhammad, known as Ibn Barniyya al-Kātib (fl. second half of 4th/10th century), and the Aẖbār al-uwkatil al-arba'â of Ahmad b. 'Ali b. al-Abbas b. Nuh al-Sifālī (d. ca. 413/1022).

The function of the safars as described in Twelver Shī'ī texts was to act as senior agents (waqīlas) of the twelfth imam and to oversee the affairs of the com-
community by coordinating the work of all other wa'iks in the 'Abbāsīd empire, collecting the dues owed the imām and his family and transmitting his orders and responses. According to Ibn Bābaywah and al-'Tūsī (who are followed by later authors), the four saffīs were:

a. Abū ʿAmr ʿUṯmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿAmrī of the Banū Asad (d. before 267/880). When he was only eleven years old he already served the tenth imām ʿAlī al-Hāḍī (d. 254/868) [see al-ʿAskarī]; later he became a confidant of his son al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī [q.v.]. Abū ʿAmr was a master of secret transportation and to transport it secretly to the imām. Before al-ʿAskarī died he appointed Abū ʿAmr as saffīr, an appointment subsequently confirmed by the twelfth imām from his place of hiding.


c. Abu ʿL-Kāsim al-Husayn b. Rawḥ al-Nawbakhtī (d. 18 Shaban 329/941), a master of secret transportation and to transport the money collected from the Shīfs and to transport it secretly to the imām. During this period referred to as the period of Sītāt or the Grief of the Twelfth Imam, ed. Fādil Allāh al-Zandjānī, Tabriz 1371, 41).

In addition to the genuine saffīs, Shīfe authors mention various pretenders who claimed the title for themselves. Among them are Abūd b. Ḥālid al-Karǧī, Muhammad b. Muṣayyir (the eponymous founder of the Nūṣayrīyya) and al-Shālmaghānī (E. Kohlberg, Belief and law in Imāmī Shīʿism, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot 1991, index, s.v.; H. Modarresi, Crisis and consolidation in the formative period of Shīfe Islam, Princeton 1993, part i, passim. (E. Kohlberg))

2. In diplomacy.

Here, saffī, pl. sufūrān, initially meaning envoy as well as mediator and conciliator, becomes ambassador or diplomatic agent (Turkish sefir, but elī [q.v.] is more commonly used; Persian safīr).

(a) In the central and eastern Arab lands. Diplomacy by means of emissaries existed from the early days of Islam. The Prophet employed envoys in dealing with the towns of Hijāz and Najd, dispatched messengers to Byzantium, Persia, Egypt and Ethiopia to invite them to join Islam, and received missions sent to him. Such diplomatic intercourse for military, political and religious purposes under the Rashīdūn caliphs and the Umayyads, most prominently in negotiating war and truce with the Byzantines. Diplomacy became more organised with the stabilisation of the Islamic empire under the ʿAbbāsīs, who exchanged envoys with heads of other states near and far, in order to discuss issues of war, peace and international alliances, to deliver good-will messages and, invariably, to spy. A famous instance
of these contacts (whose authenticity, however, is in some doubt) was the exchange of embassies between Charlemagne and Hārūn al-Rašīd, in which the former reportedly sought a coalition with the latter against Byzantium [see IFRANDJ]. Another line of dialogue developed through envoys between the caliph in Baghdad and provincial governors who had become autonomous, such as the Ayyūbids, and between the caliph and Islamic states not under his sovereignty, such as the Fatimids and Umayyads of Spain. With practice came the criteria for choosing state emissaries (prudence, courage, charm and, of course, dependability were prerequisite), patterns for conducting missions and modes of entertaining foreign envoys, as well as an elaborate diplomatic vocabulary. Al-Kalkashandi’s [q.v.] 9th/16th-century multi-volume manual for scribes in the Mamluk chancery, the Subh al-a‘lāgh, is an impressive mirror of these sophisticated diplomatic standards.

The spread of European commerce brought European consuls to the Levant and North Africa from the 7th/13th century [see consul], men who discharged a variety of diplomatic functions. In the 10th/16th century, as the Arab lands came under Ottoman rule, the region’s locus of international diplomacy shifted to Istanbul [see E.OT]. Only Morocco, remaining an independent sultanate, continued to conduct international relations independently through correspondence and the occasional dispatch of emissaries. Until the late 18th century (when the Ottomans began setting up resident embassies abroad), official contacts with non-Muslim states took place mostly in the region itself, through foreign consuls and messengers. Muslim envoys were sent out quite infrequently, and then only on brief missions, often with limited objectives.

The establishment of new Arab states following the First World War marked a new stage in the region’s diplomatic history. During the interwar period, relations between these states gradually assumed a formal nature, an emphatic sign—one among many—of their new status. This was so especially in the 1930s, with the attainment of greater or full independence from foreign control; the April 1936 Saudi-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and its Saudi-Egyptian counterpart in March 1937, both establishing diplomatic relations between the parties, are typical instances of this trend. Simultaneously, with the gradual departure of European powers from the region, their domination gave way to mutual diplomatic representation—as specified e.g. by the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty and the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty, both providing for a replacement of British High Commissioners by an exchange of ambassadors. Modern diplomatic protocol, terminology, and ranks, having been adopted by the Ottomans during the 19th century, were now readily applied.

Safīr became the technical equivalent of ambassador (fem. safīra, ambassadress or an ambassador’s wife), and came to be used for other functions in construct titles such as safīr muṣawwad (ambassador plenipotentiary), safīr faṣaṣa l-‘lada (ambassador extraordinary), etc. More ranks and functions were formed by additional terms: muṣād (or mandāb), for envoy or minister; muthāfi for counsellor, sikratīr for secretary, muḥak for attaché, and kātm bi-‘manāl for chargé d’affaires.


(b) In Muslim Spain. In the Arabic sources of al-Andalus, we also find some words derived from the root s-f-r, meaning “to travel on mission on behalf of…” (stem I) [as in al-Makkarī, i, 645-6]: “to make somebody travel”, “to send somebody as an ambassador” (stem II); “to be sent on mission/embassy” (stem V); safīr (pl. sufera) “ambassador” (as in Ibn Kuzmān, 38/4; Vocabulista: “mediator”, “nunciator”); sifār (pl. -āt) “the charge of mediator”, “embassy”, “post or functions of ambassadors”. The usage of the words derived from the root s-f-r alternates—in a proportion and distribution not yet elucidated—with the words derived from the roots r-f-l (“to send a messenger”, etc.) and w-f-d (“to go somewhere on behalf of somebody”, etc.).

These words, and their contexts, throughout the history of al-Andalus, exhibit the fact that connections between individuals and groups were established by a ‘messenger’, and that relations were engaged and accepted by all the Andalusi states; that means that more or less intensive and institutionalised diplomatic activities were established by an “ambassador” with the charge, the post, or rather the functions of representing the interests of a power, sporadic or continually, circumstantial or more specifically.

Although precise analysis on this aspect has not yet been done, we cannot deduce from the sources that the sifār was an institutionalised charge, like a wilāya or khutta, but most probably was an “activity”, in the sense that a person was safīr only while carrying out his mission. There is no indication in the sources on al-Andalus of the existence of permanent embassies.

Embassies were frequently assigned to those who knew another language in addition to Arabic, such as the dhimmīyyūn: the nasārā (Christians of al-Andalus) and the Jews. Amongst the nasārā were the Andalusian bishop sent by the caliph of Cordova ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir to Ramiro I of Leon (Ibn Hayyān, Muktabāt, v, 350), and the bishop Recemundo, known as Rabī’ b. Zayd [q. v.], sent by al-Nāṣir to Germany in 955-6. The missions of some Andalusi ambassadors also were sent by the Christian kings of the North to the Islamic territories and, on some occasion, were alternate ambassadors, such as the kānim Sisna Davidiz, who was initially the messenger of al-Mu’taṣid of Seville to the court of Leon and then became the ambassador of the Christian kings to the mamlūk al-sawāfi, for example to the amīr ‘Abd Allāh (The Tibyān, 226, n. 241).

Amongst the Jews were Ibn Shālīb al-Yahūdī, ambassador of Alphonso VI of Castile to al-Mu’tamid of Seville [q. v.], who killed al-Yahūdī (it was a permanent risk for ambassadors); Ibrāhīm b. al-Fakhhkār al-Yahūdī, well-known poet in the Arabic language, was the ambassador of Castile to the Almohad court. Other Jews were also sent by the Andalusian kings, such as the powerful Cordovan Jew Hasdāy b. Shaprūt, who was the outstanding vizier of the caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, and was entrusted with missions to Barcelona (940), Leon (in 941 and 955) and Navarre. He was also assigned the task of receiving the Byzantine Constantine VIII’s ambassadors in Cordova (944) and the Saxon emperor Otto I’s ambassadors (956).

Some outstanding Muslim personalities in al-Andalus, renowned for their culture and eloquence, were also designated as ambassadors, such as the Cor-
dovan poet al-Ghazal, sent by the amir Abd al-Rahman II to the Vikings (madjus), and to Constantinople; and the Granada vizier and polygraph Ibn al-Khatib [q. v.], who went there to negotiate diplomatic missions to the Mamluks [q. v.] of Fâs. Other person¬
nalities renowned for their religious prestige were also sent on missions. For example, the two Ibn al-Arabis were entrusted with obtaining the recognition of the Almoravid amir Yusuf b. Tashhuf by the Abassid court. Merchants sometimes played the role of ambas¬
dassadors, such as the Granadan al-Bunyûlî, charged by the Nasrid sultan to get help from the Mamlûk sultan al-Zahir, in 843/1441.

It is useful to classify the Andalusian embassies ac¬
cording to their destination, whether within Al¬
Andalus or outside it. The destinations of the external embassies are to be classified as either to Dâr al-Islâm (the other Muslim territories) or to Dâr al-harb (non-Muslim territories). The internal embassies were exchanged either amongst the different administrations or between the administration and the subject vice versa. Those sent by the Almohad court in Marrâkush to every part of its empire. The external embassies, well-known but not yet analysed, excepting those of the Umayyad period (Levi-Provençal; El-Hajji), show that permanent relations between Al¬
Andalus and the rest of the Muslim world existed as, for example, with the Abbâsiâs, Egypt and finally with the Turks, but especially with the Maghrib. There are many references to missions which were sent from al-Andalus to the Christian north of the Iberian Peninsula, to the Ifnandia and other European parts, and especially to Byzantium.

Andalusian sources point out the luxury and ostenta¬
tion of the receptions given by some Andalusian sovereigns for foreign ambassadors, with the purpose of political propaganda (Granja, Embajadas).


3. In Muslim India.

Elaborate rules were laid down in mediaeval India regarding the qualifications and protocol duties of am¬
bassadors. Fâkhr-i Mudabbir quotes the following hadîth of the Prophet as the guiding principle: "When you send an ambassador to me, he should be of good reputation, handsome and of good voice." (Abd al-harb wa l-'majhâd, ed. A.S. Khânânsî, Tehran 1936/1967, 142). The Dîhil Sultans received envoys in such awful atmosphere of dignity and grandeur that, according to Dûzâdzîânî, many of them fainted in the darbâr (Tabakdt-i Ndsin, Castella 1864, 316-19; Barani, Târîh-i Firuz-Shâhî, Castella 1862, 30-3). Envoys were sent for different purposes—diplomatic, religious, economic, cultural etc.—and Abu l-Fâdil refers to the spiritual and temporal objectives of ambas¬
datorial functions (Akbar-nâmâ, tr. Beveridge, ii, 262).

Envoys to and from the caliph. Envoys were sent to secure letters of investiture (manșâh) from the Abbâsîd caliphs. Iltimûsh, sent Khîyîyar al-Mulk Rashâd al-Dînil Abû Bakr Habash to Baghdâd, and twice Khâdiîyî al-Dînil Ǧasan al-Šâghânî [q. v.] came to Iltimûsh as envoy of the caliphs. When the caliph granted investiture to Iltimûsh, legalising the status of the Dîhil Sultanate, he celebrated the occasion with great éclat. On another occasion, the caliph sent an envoy, Kâdi Djâlâl Urûs, with a copy of the Safnât al-khulafa', allegedly containing an autographic inscrip¬
tion of the caliph al-Ma'mûn. With the fall of Baghdâd, contact with caliphal authority there came to an end, but after many enquiries, Muhâmmad b. Tughûk established contact with the fârînânt Abbâsîs in Egypt. In 744/1343 he sent Hâdîddî Râdjâb Bûrkûtî to the caliph requesting a manşâh. When Hâdîddi Saîdî Saîrsaîî, Sayyid Ziyâd, Muhâmmad b. Khâlwârî and Muhâmmad Sîfî brought the inves¬
titure, the sultan went out barefoot to receive them. The caliph later sent Shaykh al-Shoyûxîh Rûkân al-Dînil and Maâbudân-zâda Chîyîlî al-Dînil Muhâmmad as his envoy to the sultan. At the Maâbudân-zâda was the grandson of the caliph Mustânsir bîllâh, he was lodged at the palace of âlî al-Dînil Khatîbî and 400,000 dinars were sent for washing his head (Ibn Bâttûtâ, iii, 261-2, tr. Gibb, iii, 680-1). In 754/1353 Shaykh Shîhâb al-Dînil Ahmad Sâmit brought an inves¬
titure patent for Firûz Shâh Tughûk, and a new one arrived in 766/1364. The sultan sent to the caliph details of his benefactions, religious, endowment, public works through Mahmûd Shams Kur'd Kâdi Namîd al-Dînil Kuraşhî and Khâ'îda Kâfor Khâlwârî, and Maâbudî then brought back mandates from the caliph (Strats-î Firuz-Shâhî, ms. Bankipur). At a later date, the Mughâlds did not recognise the Ottomans as caliphs, but in 1785 Tîpî Sûltân [q. v.] sent his envoys to Istanbul to obtain an investiture from the Sultan-
caliph.

The Mongol period. Both Cinçiz Kânî and his rival the Khârazm-Shâh sent their envoys to Iltimûsh seeking his support. In 1246 when a Mongol commander attacked India, Shaykh Bahâ' al-Dînil Zakariyyâî of Multan, was sent to negotiate peace. Two years after the fall of Baghdâd, in 658/1260, emissaries from the Mongols visited India and were accorded a royal reception by sultan Nâsir al-Dînil Maâbudî (Tabakdt-i Ndsin, 317-18). Envoys to and from the Khâlnân. Argûn, Ghâzân and Muhammad Oldjeytî Khudâbânda sent their envoys to the Dîhil court, and the great vizier Râqîd al-Dînil Fadl Allâh [q. v.] came as an envoy to 'Alî al-Dînil Khâldîjî (Nîzami, Rashdî al-Dînil Fatî al-Dînil and India, in Proceedings of the Colloquium on Rashdî-at-Dînil Fadl Allâh, Tehran 1971, 36-53). Rashîd al-Dînil came again as an envoy to the court of Mubârâk Khâldîjî (A'nî-î Akbarî, ed. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khân,
ii, 200), and Muhammad b. Tughluq sent and received envoys from Sultan Abd Sa'id.

Envoys to and from neighbouring countries. According to Barani, ambassadors from distant lands came to the court of Balkhan. During the time of Muhammad b. Tughluq envoys came from 'Irak, Syria, China and Ḫwealthaz, and the Chinese ambassador, Tursi, came with a large retinue; in return, Muhammad b. Tughluq sent the Amir Khawd Harawi as his envoy to China.

Envoys to the Ottomans. Muhammad Shah Bahmanī III of the Deccan (867-97/1463-82) was the first Indian ruler to exchange envoys with the Ottomans, and Mehemmed II Fāṭīḥ sent Mawlānā Al-din-oghlu Mehmed Celebi as his envoy. According to Baranī, ambassadors from distant lands came with a large retinue; in return, Mehemmed II Fatih sent Mawlana Afzal Allah Khan Uzbek as his envoy to the Shāh. The Ottomans were, however, unable to reach there. Nevertheless, Turkish records say that Sidi ‘Allī Rā’is, the Ottoman admiral, carried a letter from Hûmâyûn to Sûleymân the Magnificent in which Hûmâyûn addressed the Sultan as “the Khalīfa of the highest qualities.” The Ottomans used the terms Hind elcis or elçiye-i Hind to denote Mughal ambassadors, but no details are available in the Indian chronicles about these Mughal envoys. The envoys of the Ottoman governor of Yemen were, however, treated with scant respect by Akbar (N.R. Faruqui, Mughal-Ottoman relations, Delhi 1989, 20 ff.).

Envoys to and from the Uzbeks. Akbar was afraid of Uzbek power and treated them with suspicion. However, in 979/1571 ‘Abd Allah Khân Uzbek, ruler of Transoxiana, sent an embassy to Akbar.

Envoys to and from Timūrid and Safawī Persia. The sultans of Golkonda, Bidjapur and Ahmadnagar sent ambassadors to the court of Shāh Tahmâsp I, whilst in 847/1443 Shāh Rukh’s ambassador ‘Abd al-Razzāk had been received by the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar, King Devendra.

Hûmâyûn, who was beholden to the Safawīs for help, developed contact with them, and during the time of Akbar, the ambassador came and went to Persia. In 1004/1598 the Emperor sent Mirza Diya’ al-Din-Kâsî and Abu Nâṣr Kâfî to Shâh ‘Abbâs, and according to Iskandar Beg Munghi, they were received with honour (tr. R.M. Savory, History of Shâh Abbas the Great, Boulder, Col. 1978, ii, 705-6). Abu’l-Fâḍî’s account of the reception of these envoys issold and pedantic (Akbar-nâma, tr. iii, 1112).

Several envoys were sent by Shâh ‘Abbâs to Djahângîr. In 1020/1611 Yâdgâr ‘Ali Tâlîgh came to mourn Akbar’s death and to congratulate Djahângîr on his accession. When Yâdgâr ‘Ali returned to Persia, Djahângîr’s envoy Khân ‘Alam accompanied him. In 1024/1615 a second Persian embassy headed by Mustâfâ Beg came to Djahângîr’s court with huge presents, including European hounds which Djahângîr had asked for. In the following year Muhammad Rûdî Beg came to Djahângîr to obtain monetary aid against Ottoman Turkey and to bring about an amicable settlement between Djahângîr and the Shâh’s states of the Deccan. For envoys to and from Shâh Djahângîr, see Saksena, History of Shahjahan, Allahabad 1973, 210-32.

Queen Elizabeth’s envoy to Akbar. Elizabeth of England sent an envoy to Akbar in 1583 with a letter which was “the earliest communication between the government of India and England” (V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, Oxford 1919, 229).

Akbar’s envoys to Europe. Akbar desired to send envoys to Philip II of Spain recommending universal peace and harmony; a diplomatic mission, consisting of Sayyid Muzaffar, ‘Abd Allâh Khân and Father Monserrate was dispatched to Lisbon, but was unable to reach there.

Jesuit missions at Akbar’s court. Akbar’s interest in religious debates led to the arrival of several Jesuit Missions at Akbar’s court in 1580 and after, and in return, Akbar sent ‘Abd Allah Khán as his envoy to Portuguese Goa (see E. Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, London 1932).

British envoys at Djahângîr’s court. Djahângîr welcomed William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, but refused to conclude a commercial treaty with England. Hawkins was, however, persuaded to remain at the court as the resident ambassador.

Envoys of the Deccan states and provincial Indian states. Three types of envoys have been identified in regard to the Deccan of the 10th/16th century: (a) ad hoc envoys, called rasîl, who were sent to offer congratulations or condolences; (b) the hadjîb-i mukim, literally, attaché; originally assigned to the army of friendly powers; and (c) waqitis or permanent ambassadors accredited to certain foreign powers (H.K. Sherwani, History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, Delhi 1974, 218-19). Provincial kingdoms like Djawnpur, Bengal, Mâlwâ and Gudja rât sent envoys within India with the object of winning support in their conflicts with the adjoining states, but it is only regarding the Deccan that one finds contact with outside powers. In Gudja rât, the ambassadors were mainly concerned with the activities of the Portu-

tuguese.

Envoys to the West during the 18th and 19th centuries: Tipû Sûlûn of Mysore sent his envoys to France and Turkey; Louis XVI received his envoy with honour, but refused to enter into any alliance against the British. One of the last Mughal Emperors, Akbar Shâh II, sent Radjâ Râm Mohan Roy to London in 1827 to plead his case for an increase in his pîshkâsh or pension.


SAFITHA, a place in western Syria, situated in the Djabal region. This last becomes lower as it falls southwards, with a large gap commanded to the north by Safîtha and Hîn al-Akrâd [q.v.] and to the south by ‘Akkâr and ‘Irâk [q.v.]. The mountains of the ʿAlawîs fall southwards into the Safîtha depression. Safîtha was the ʿArqamat or of Byzantine authors, Castrum Album or Chastel Blanc of the
Latin ones, and is the main place in the district, with its fortress called in Arabic texts Burdj Safitha; this last lies to the east of the present village and dominates the fort of the Djabal Baharî, by means of which Himis [q.v.] is connected with Tarabulus al-Sham. From Antiquity, the castle of Safitha commanded the route connecting Hamâ [q.v.] and Tarûtus on the coast, i.e. the passage from central Syria to the Mediterranean. Situated on a basalt peak at an altitude of over 400 m/1,312 feet, it protected the lands to the north in mediaeval times from the Nizârî Ismâ‘îlîs. The region around Safitha was a fertile one, with olives grown there from classical times, and with vines, figs and white mulberry trees for silk worms grown there in mediaeval times.

The fortress of the mediaeval Christian town of Safitha was a strong rectangular donjon with rounded angles, originally protected by double defensive walls. The The Templars' aim was to control the gap between Hims and Tarabulus in the hinterland of the Knights Hospitallers' territory. The plan of the castle resembled that of Markab [q.v.] in being elliptical, originally with a double wall, but later with a single wall with rectangular salients, as at Tarûtus and Athlîth [q.v.], and with a moat 15 m/49 feet deep and 13 m/42 feet wide. The stones were dovetailed together and linked by iron crampons sealed with lead. Some modifications to it were made by Louis IX (St. Louis) when he claimed himself as the chef-lieu, for skiing in winter and with an open-air bathing pool.

Of later history, it is recorded that in 1270/1854, a petty chieftain, Isma‘îl Bey, seized Safitha and proclaimed himself muqarr [q.v.] or governor acting as an "Old Man of the Mountain", which provoked a revolt of the Muslims of the region; four years later, he was murdered by a relative. After this, Safitha was integrated into the Ottoman empire.

The present-day village is situated on the site of the mediaeval fortress. In the early 19th century, the kada' of Safitha was one of the constituents, with al-Markab, Tell Kalkh, 'Umruniya and Tarûtus, of the sancak of that name. In 1916 it had 2,500 inhabitants, including 1,500 Nusayrîs [see NUSAYRIYYA] and 850 Syrian Orthodox. In 1920 the administrative district of Safitha comprised 202 villages, with 41,500 people, including 20,000 Nusayrîs, 10,000 Muslims, 6,500 Greek Orthodox, 4,500 Maronites, 300 Greek Catholics and 200 Protestants. In this same year the kada' of Safitha, with the town as its chef-lieu, was detached from the sancak of Tarabulus al-Sham, and then made part of the State of the 'Alawîs established in 1922 as part of the federation of Syria. In 1945 the kada' became part of the muhâjaza of the 'Alawîs. After 1954, the local population, essentially peasant cultivators, supported the Parti Populaire Syrien. Local activities include carpet weaving and the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. The village now surrounds the castle and its dominating donjon, and its houses are essentially built from stones taken from the castle's enceinte. The church of St. Michael in the donjon is still used by the Greek Orthodox members of the population. In the 1960s Safitha became a tourist centre, for skiing in winter and with an open-air bathing pool.


3. Studies. E.G. Rey, Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie ..., Paris 1871,
SAFIYYA — SAFIYYE WALIDE SULTAN

Saitha — Safiyye Walide Sultan 817

SAFIYYA, b. HUYYAY B. AKHTAB, Muham- mad's eleventh wife, was born in Medina and belonged to the Jewish tribe of the Banu '1-Nadir [see al-Nadir]; her mother Barra bt. Samaw'al, the sister of Rifa'a b. Samaw'al, was of the Banū Kurayza [q.v.]. Her father and her uncle Abu Yāsir were among the Prophet's most bitter enemies. When their tribe was expelled from Medina in 4 A.H., Huyayy b. Akhtab was one of those who settled in Khaybar [q.v.], together with Kināna b. al-Rabi', to whom Safiyya was assigned, or actually given, to Diyyah b. Khuhfa al-Kalbi, but when Muhammad saw her he was struck by her beauty, and threw his mantle over her as a sign that he had chosen her for himself. He redeemed her from Diyyah against seven head of cattle, and gave her the option of embracing Islam. Her husband was condemned to a cruel death by Muhammad for having refused to give up the treasure of the Banu '1-Nadīr. The nuptials were celebrated with haste and with a modest wedding feast, either in Khaybar itself or on the way back to Medina. Safiyya's dowry [see mahār] consisted of her emancipation. Her position as a wife, which was questioned, was established by the veil of hidāba [q.v.] being imposed on her and her receiving a portion of the Banu '1-Nadīr's bounty.

In Medina, Safiyya received a cold welcome; ʿAṭila [q.v.] and Muhammad's other wives showed their jealousy with slights upon her Jewish origin. She gave the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima [q.v.] gold from her earnings, which may indicate that the two were allies in the politics of Muhammad's harem. Doubts about Safiyya's commitment to Islam and the suspicion that she would avenge her slain kin are recurring themes in the numerous biographies of her composed through the centuries. In these stories, the Prophet (or ʿUmar) admonishes the doubters and re-affirms the quality of her Islam, despite her being a Jewish convert. During Muhammad's last illness, Safiyya expressed her devotion to him, and was criticised by the other wives.

Safiyya's marriage to the Prophet was predicted in a dream while she was still married to Khunān, and her husband beat her for desiring another man. The miracle and her suffering for Islam and the Prophet, as well as her reputation for crying won her a place in Šūfi works. She appears in all the major books of ʿadīth and indices of transmitters, although she related relatively few traditions compared to ʿAṭila and Umm Salama [q.v.]. A number of events in her life serve as legal and customary precedents.

In 35/656, Safiyya sided with ʿUthmān [q.v.]; while she was besieged in his house she made an unsuccessful attempt to reach him, and she used to bring him food and water by means of a plank placed between her dwelling and his. When ʿAṭila asked her to be present at Uthmān's last interview with ʿAlī, Ṭalha and al-Zubayr, which took place in her house, Safiyya went, and tried to defend the unfortunate caliph. She died on 20/70 in 87, during Muhammad's caliphate, leaving a fortune of 100,000 dirhams in land and goods, one-third of which she bequeathed to her sister's son, who still followed the Jewish faith. Her dwelling in Medina was bought by Muṣfīrwa for 180,000 dirhams.


(V. VACCA-[RUTH RODED])

SAFIYYE WALIDE SULTAN (Cecilia Baffo), Ottoman queen mother, born in Venice in 1550, died in 1605/605.
The daughter of the Italian Baffo, governor of Corfu, when she was fourteen years old, while travelling between Venice and Corfu on the Adriatic Sea, she was captured by Ottoman pirates. On account of her beauty, she was taken to the palace of prince Murâd, grandson of Süleyman and governor of the sanjak of Manisa. In the Manisa palace, she became a Muslim, learned Turkish and was trained in palace manners. In 972/1565, she was presented to Murâd. She gave birth in 973/1566 to prince Mehemmed, who became the first great grandchild of Süleyman and was named by him, “striking hands together”. The parallel root word is found in sura VIII, 35, with a comparable meaning. Evidently, striking the hands together can only be used as an expression of acceptance once an offer is made to most schools, excluding the Shafi’is, who require immediate acceptance, have made a provision that the two parties can cancel the contract providing they are still physically at the place where the deal was negotiated (dā’ār al-magālis); but once the contract is sealed, the deal is final. It is imperative to add that the expression of will, under these conditions, can be in any form, whether by striking the hands together or verbal affirmation, providing it conveys the clear intention.


SAFVAN B. SAFVAN AL-ANŞARî, Arab poet of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.H. known for his ideological poetry in support of the Mu‘tazila [q.v.]. Al-Dżâhîz [q.v.] is the only source for the few bits of information on his life and the sparse samples from his poetry that we have. The biographical snippets show him in Multan at the court of the governor of Sind, Dâwid b. Yazid al-Muhallabi, who held this office from 184/800-205/820 [see MUHALLABIS, toward the end]. In all of them he is al-Dżâhîz’s authority on elephants, quoting poetry by the elephant expert Hârûn b. Mûsâ al-Azdî mauâtâhah; describing what kind of ruses this man used in fighting against war elephants; and indicating how the Indians trained these animals (Hâpanan, vî, 76 [read, with Pellat, zewedar for râda‘], 77-114-15). As for Safvan’s poetry the surviving pieces show strong support for Wâsiî b. ʻAtâ‘, founder of the Mu‘tazila (d. 131/748-9 [q.v.]), and other leaders of the movement and equally strong animosity against the poet Bashhâr b. Burd (d. 167 or 168/784-5 [q.v.]), after the latter had broken away from Wâsiî’s circle. Since some of the lines in praise of Wâsiî seem to speak of a contemporary, Safvân must have been of a ripe old age, when he joined the Multan governor, unless, of course, one assumes two different Safvans. However, in addition to his name, his apparent interest in natural history, which comes through in both the early poetry and the later reports, would be an argument for the identity of the two personages.

His most famous poem is the glorification of earth, a counter-poem against Bashhâr’s apotheosis of fire, which also includes a pro-Mu‘tazili faqr and a hidjâ against Bashhâr and his sect, the somewhat shadowy extremist Kâmilîyya Şî‘a (Bayânî, i, 27-30; 33 lines, ta‘wil, rhyme -Cdi). Shortened versions of this poem, clearly quoted from al-Dżâhîz, appear also in al-Baghdâdî (d. 429/1037 [q.v.], al-Farh ba‘n al-firâk, 39-42, in the section on the Kâmilîyya (20 lines), and in Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Ali b. Yusuf al-Ḥakîm (8th/14th century), al-Dâwâ‘ al-mu‘tahabâbika, 25-27, where it is quoted for the enumeration of minerals and ores it contains (13 lines). Of similar content is a shorter poem (Bayânî, i, 32, 9 lines, ta‘wil, rhyme -Cdû). The earth-fire controversy has been seen as an early Mu‘tazili-Şî‘i polemics (Nyberg in EP, s.v. AL-MA‘TAZILÎ) as well as a Šu‘ûbi attack by Bashhâr, defending the Zoroastrian holiness of fire, with a counter-attack upholding the claims of the earth. The context(s) of these polemics became meaningful in the 2nd century is none too clear. Another poem defending Wâsiî against Bashhâr’s hidjâ* also mentions the missionaries that Wâsiî sent out (Bayânî, i, 25-6; 22 lines, ta‘wil, rhyme -3ri); this was interpreted by Nyberg, loc. cit., as indicating the existence of a pro-Abbasid network of propagandists, but was probably not more than a religious undertaking [see AL-MA‘TAZILÎ, here vii, 783b-784a, and van Ess, ii, 386-7].

The remaining fragments are: two lines on the
SAFWAN AL-ANSARI — SAFWAN B. AL-MU'ATTAL

SAFWAN, an Andalusian poet, was born in Murcia when the town was ruled by Ibn Mardamsh (d. 567/1172), but the major part of his life witnessed Almohad times (see the studies of Kasim, Abu Ridjal b. Ghalbun, Abu Abd Allah b. '1-Kasim b. Idris, as well as the material collected in Ibn Durayd, ed. Harun, 310; Ishtiktak, d. 634/1236). He studied with his father Abd al-Kadir Mahdad, who taught him Tawil (rhyme -Cdi). Ibn al-Abbar, ii, 117, no. 198; Makkan, ii, 10-4, no. 3; Ibn Sa'd, al-Mugribi fi hilal 'l-Mugrib, ed. S. Dayf, Cairo 1953-5, ii, 260-1, no. 533; Ibn al-Zubayr, Sita al-Sila, ed. A. Härün and S. A'rab, Rabat 1993, no. 120 (the source is Ibn Furqan's Dhayl). Ibn Sa'd, Ruya al-mubarrizin; Ibn Al-Abd al-Malik al-Marrakhi, al-Dhayl wa 'l-Ahdhdt wa 'l-Dhayl; Ibn al-Khatib, al-Zubayr, xvi, 321-4; Ibn al-Khatib, al-Dhayl wa 'l-Ahdhdt wa 'l-Dhayl); Ibn al-Mukhtadab min al-Adham, ed. M.A. 'Inan, Cairo 1973-7, iii, 349-59, Ibn Shakir al-Kutubi, Fa'at al-wujayf, ed. 'Abbas, ii, 117, no. 198; Makkarri, Na'f al-tib, ed. S. Dayf, Cairo 1953-5, iii, 527 (no. 6769); Ibn Ibrahim al-Bahr, Rabat 1974-83, vii, 361-72, no. 1046; Makhluf, Shusharat al-nar, Cairo 1950-2, i, 161, no. 496; Pons Boigues, Ensayo bio-bibliográfico, 256, no. 210; Brockelmann, P., 322, S. I, 482; R. Kahlbä, Mu'jam al-ma'allifin, Damascus 1957-61, v, 19-20; A. González Palmera, Historia de la literatura arábiga española, Barcelona 1928, 191; M. Gaspar Remiro, Historia de Murcia musulmana, Saragossa 1905, 259; P. Guichard, Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquete (XIe-XIIIe siècles), Damascus 1990-1, esp. i, 127-32.

SAFWAN B. AL-MU'ATTAL (the father of the t is confirmed in Ibn Durayd, Iğilık, ed. Härün, 310; occasionally wrongly al-Mu'attal) was a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. His year of birth does not seem to be confirmed, and he is mentioned as having died a martyr's death during the Arab's conquest of Armaiyin in 17/638 (cf. Tabari, i, 2506) or 19/640 (cf. Ibn Hadjar, Iṣba'a, iii, 441). Other reports have it that he met his death at a much later date in the year 59/679 (cf. Khalila, TaRiyik, ed. A.D. al-Umari, 226-7) or

date-palm (Hayawdn, vii, 78; mutakārīb, rhyme -21u); one line characterising Wasil basit, i, 22; basit, rhyme -aksi; one line in praise of Wasil's zuhd (Baydn, rhyme -aki); one line in commemoration of al-Husayn b. Hashim in a dream interceding on Safwan's behalf, and from then onwards Safwan was never to have again financial problems. Safwan corresponded with the poet Muhammad b. Idris b. Mardj al-Kuhl (d. 634/1236) (Na'f al-tib, v, 57-9). The most noted of Safwan's pupils was Abu 'l-Rabi' b. Sālim al-Kalāfi. Safwan died young, aged 38, and his father recited the funeral prayer over him.


(S.A.R. FIERRO)
He is noted only for his poetic version of the animal fable collection, originally translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Mukaffa', Kaila wa-Dimna [q.v.]. This version he called Durat al-Iskam fi amthd al-Hunud wa-'Ijikam, and he completed it on 20 Dhumad 640/15 November 1242 (according to the Vienna ms.) or possibly some 25 years later (according to the other extant ms. of Munich); see Brockelman, S, 1, 234-5.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)


He was born in Lahore on 10 Safar 577/25 June 1181 according to the most generally accepted report. He commenced his studies in Ghazna, first under his father who was a mutakallim, then under a number of scholars, most notable of whom was Niẓām al-Dīn al-Maṣḥūf (q.v.) [211]. In further pursuit of knowledge, he travelled between the years 605/1209 and 615/1220—9 to Mecca, Medina, Aden and Makdiṣū. The notice by his contemporary, Yākūt [q.v.] (Udāba, iii, 211-12), which ends in the year 613/1216-17, clearly shows that Saghani had by that early time acquired enough fame and respect to warrant his inclusion in a biographical dictionary. In Safar 578/1181 he came to Baghdad for the first time (see his own Ṣūraj, under the root š-r), in the editor's introd., and two years later was sent to India by the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.], where he stayed for several years. He came back to Baghdad in 624/1226-7, only to be sent, in the same year, once more to India, this time by al-Mustanṣir [q.v.]. Impoverished there, he managed to get back to Aden in 630/1232-3 and then to Baghdad in 637/1239-40. In his later days he taught at the Marzubāniyya ribāḥ, but resigned his post in 640/1242-3 when he came to learn that the shaykh of this ribāḥ had to be a Ṣāḥib'ī (Ibn al-Fuwāṭ, al-Nawārid al-dāmar, Baghdad 1351/1932-3, 263); hence al-Musta'sīm entrusted him with the Hanafi madrasa, Tutushiyya, under the root q.v., and it is in this period that he wrote his Masār al-anūr wa-al-Ubāb. His death is most widely reported to have been on 19 Sha'bān 650/25 October 1252.

Al-Saghani's literary contribution was predominantly in the field of lexicography. By his time, it was deemed no longer possible for a lexicographer to investigate usage among the desert Arabs, due to the so-called loss of the earlier "purity" in their language. Al-Saghani, however, seems to have made up for this major handicap by concentrating on the shortcomings and errors of his predecessors in riwāya, taḥṣif, attribution of poetry, etc. Aided by his vast knowledge (cf. his list of sources in al-Ubāb, i, 7-9), he produced three of his major works that can be seen in the light of the above. These are: (1) al-Takmīla wa l-♯ayy al-♯ila (ed. A.A.A. al-Tahwīlī et alii, 6 vols., Cairo 1970-9), a supplement to al-Djawhari's al-Šībāh, which comprises linguistic usages overlooked by al-Djawhari and excessive corrections of his errors; (2) Maqṣūm al-bahrayn (Brockelman, S, i, 614, 1978), vii, 219), which incorporates al-Šībāh, al-Takmīla, and al-Saghani's own Ṣūraj [q.v.], in which he amended still further errors of al-Djawhari, and (3) al-Ubāb al-ṣākhīr wa l-lubāb al-fākhrī (ed. Y.M. Ḥasan, i, Baghdād 1978, and ed. M.H. Al Yāsīn, Baghdād 1397/1978 ff.) in which he only got as far as b-k-m before he died. This book, according to al-Suyūfī (Baghya, Cairo 1964, i, 519) is the greatest linguistic treatise after the era of al-Djawhari, along with Ibn
Sida’s al-Muhkam. It is indeed in this work that al-Saghani’s mastery of the sources and his vast ricâyda are most clearly manifested, and in his introduction (pp. 12-19) he lists but a few of the more glaring errors of al-Azhari in his book (over 1,000 in all), al-Djawhari in his al-Síhâh (over 2,000), and Ibn Fâris in his al-Mudnâjil (over 500), and ridicules Ibn al-Sikkit’s Isâh al-manâtik as needing an isâh of its own, and Ibn ʿAbâd’s al-Muḥšî as having comprised (ḥâdâ) error and ṭarîf.

Another obvious linguistic interest of al-Saghani is demonstrated by his work on patterns, as in his K. ʿirrâfâ (ed. A. Khan, Islamabad 1977), K. al-İftâfl (ed. A. Khan, Islamabad 1977), and Nasîk al-sâdîyân fîmâ ḍâ'a ʿala wazn faʾlān (Brockelmann, S I, 615).

Similarly, demonstrated by his work on patterns, as in his K. al-İftâfl (ed. A. Khan, Islamabad 1977), and Nasîk al-sâdîyân fîmâ ḍâ'a ʿala wazn faʾlān (Brockelmann, S I, 615). The published titles show that al-Saghani, despite a certain pattern which any general lexicon would have, but listed alphabetically under their roots.


To a lesser extent, al-Saghani contributed to the realm of ṭâbîhât, and his main work here is Mughârî al-nawâr al-nabâwîyya ʿala šahîh al-ṭâabîr al-muṣâlâfawiyâ (printed several times in Leipzig, Istanbul, and Beirut). The importance of this treatise, which integrates the two and other (sometimes contradictory) concepts of childhood influenced the everyday life of children in Muslim societies.

While in its mother’s womb, the child is called ḍânîn (foetus). The general term for “child” is wâlîd, and other terms have special shades of meaning, e.g. nadjîl (“progeny”) and farât “a child who dies before reaching the age of majority.” Lane): (“a young woman, girl, or female child”, Lane): (“at his birth the child is designated ʿâlîd, and other terms designate in addition a specific period within childhood. Among these are sabîyâ (“a youth, boy, or male child... or one that has not yet been weaned... so called from the time of his birth”), sabîyâ (“a young woman, girl, or female child”, Lane): (“a child until he discriminates... after which he is called sabîyâ...” or “a child from the time of his birth... until he attains to puberty...”), Lane): (“at his birth the child is designated sabîyâ, afterwards he is called tifî although I do not know how long...”, Lane): (“... a child...”, Lane): (“a youth or young man... or one from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed šabnh, meaning young manhood...”), Lane): (“a youth or young man... or one from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed šabnh, meaning young manhood...”), Lane): (“a youth or young man... or one from the time of his birth until he attains to the period termed šabnh, meaning young manhood...”), Lane): (“...”

Terms for either a limited period within childhood or a specific phenomenon connected with a child’s physical or mental development are sadîq (“an epithet applied to a child... in the stage extending to his completion of seven days... because his temple...”).
becomes firm... only to this period", Lane); radi** ("a child while it is a suckling", Lane); the verb ... hand, contraception existed and was lawful in mediaeval Muslim societies for economic reasons, for the benefit of the child while it is a suckling", Lane); the verb... said of a child: 'he walked a little, at his first beginning to walk' ", Ibn Sldah, 32); fatim ("a child who has become strong... and has served... or one who has nearly attained the age of puberty."); Lane); mutaraW (also: mutaraN (Ibn Sldah, 34) ... " a boy... almost or quite past the age of ten years, or active"); Lane); mustabhik ... (Ibn Sldah, 33); "... a boy... or became inflated or swollen", Lane; Ibn Sldah, 33); mustakrish (istakrasha also: radhaka, arhaka: ..."he [a kid and a boy] became large in his stomach or became hard in his palate... and began to eat"); ghabwah ("the child that passed the stage of weaning becomes ghabwah", Ibn Sldah, 33); faki ("he [a boy] became active, and grew..."); Lane); haaww ("a boy who has become strong... and has served... or one who has nearly attained the age of puberty."); Lane); alDjazzar al-Kayrawani ... "the child who has reached the age of reason", Ibn Sldah, 35). 7.4 points to those terms which signify the main stages of childhood and arranges them according to the course of the child's development: "a child when born is called radi and if, then fatim, then dariya, then dafr, then yafi, then ghabdah, then mustabhik and then kawab" (see also Ibn Kayyim al-Djawiyya, 183). The terms used in the Kur'an to designate infants, children and young people are if, sabiy, waalid and ghabdah, mentioned above, as well as fasid (female children), banin (male children), ghabriyya (offspring) and yatil (a fatherless child) (O'Shaughnessy, 33-43).

Subdivisions of childhood.

Medical-hygienic writings contain detailed descriptions of the physical and mental characteristics of the various stages in childhood and relevant treatment instructions. Thus Ibn al-Djazzar al-Kayrawani (d. 395/1004), following Hippocrates, divides childhood into four periods: 1. infancy proper from birth to dentition (sinn al-wulad); 2. second infancy from dentition to the age of seven (sinn al-ibyan); 3. childhood from the age of seven to fourteen (sinn ibn insa); 4. the age of transition from childhood to puberty starting at the age of fourteen (Siyasat al-ibyan, 86-7). Another division is offered by Arib b. Sa'd al-Kurtubi [q. v.]: 1. from birth to forty days—a period characterised by drastic changes; 2. from forty days to the appearance of molar teeth, at seven months, a stage characterised, inter alia, by the beginning of the development of the senses as well as the imagination and mental qualifications; 3. from dentition to the growth of the child's hair (the exact age is not mentioned), a stage characterised by further mental development as well as by weaning and the beginning of talking and walking, increase in the child's energy, and excellent memory (57-60, and also al-Baladi, 75).

Instructions for physical treatment as well as moral education of children on a more popular level, directed at parents and nurses, are based on the same concept of childhood as a unique period in human life with its own gradual development process (Ibn Kayyim al-Djawiyya, 137-44, and 183, where the author lists twelve terms which signify various periods in the child's life from birth to maturity).

In the context of children's mental development the appearance, at about the age of seven, of tamiz, the faculty of "discernment", which enables the child to grasp abstract ideas and thus to distinguish between good and evil, is regarded by doctors and educators as a most important stage. Its obvious manifestation being a sense of shame, discernment rounds off the development of the senses, ushers in the "stage of intellectual grasp" and presages the perfection of mental and moral qualities in adolescence. (See e.g. al-Ghazali, Ihya', iii, 22, 72; Motakki, Das Kind, 41-21). 3.) For the mental developments in the earliest period of a child's life, significant are the first smile, at the age of forty days, revealing the onset of the infant's self-awareness and mental development, and the first occurrence of dreams at the age of two months (Ibn Kayyim al-Djawiyya, 176). In socio-religious terms, important stages are: one week after birth, when the 'udika [q. v.] and amira ceremonies (see below) take place; six years, when the child is introduced to knowledge (al-Ghazali, Ihya', ii, 92; Motakki, Das Kind, 41-21).

Certain branches of the Islamic religious literature frequently raise issues of child-rearing in the context of marital matters (see e.g. Ibn Bâbawîy, iii, 274-4, 304-19; Ibn Kudâma, ix, 299-313). In Muslim societies the principal purpose of marriage was, and still is (see Ammar, 93), the bearing and rearing of children, its fulfillment an obligatory religious mission: to please God by contributing to the continued existence of the human race, using the means that God created for this goal, and to please the Prophet Muhammad by enlarging the community of the faithful. In addition to the personal advantages children bring: "... the blessing of the righteous child's invocation after his father's death" and "... the intercession through the death of the young child should he precede his (father's) death" (al-Ghazali, Ihya', ii, 67-70; Farah, 53-4). Each child, particularly a good one (al-walid al-sâlih), is therefore regarded as one of God's blessings. On the other hand, contraception existed and was lawful in mediaeval Muslim societies for economic reasons, for the benefit of the
woman and for the welfare of the existing children (Musallam, ch. 1).

Mediaeval Islamic sources abound in accounts of love and tenderness towards parents and children including close physical contacts. The Prophet Muhammad is often shown as one who knew how to treat children properly. For instance, once he hastened to wash the dirty face of a child and kiss him instead of A'ishah, who was unable to bring herself to do so, while on another occasion he remained prostrated in prayer longer than necessary so as not to disturb his grandson Husayn who was riding on his back (al-Ghazâli, Ihya', ii, 275-9). According to one of the most revealing traditions in this regard, a caring father who in the middle of the night gets up to warm his children with his own clothes is more virtuous than a fighter in a holy war (ibid., ii, 41). No wonder, then, that Salâh al-Dîn al-Ayyûbi [q.v.], the epitome of diqâd, is also depicted as a loving father to his seventeen children (Ibn Shaddâd, Fr ritât Salâh al-Dîn, n.p. n.d., 52, 59).

Children, especially when grown-up, are portrayed as arousing expectations in their parents, making them proud and others envious. They are expected to be energetic, brave and intelligent (al-Kaysi, fol. 171b). However, besides this type of parent-child relationships other, sometimes contradictory, types have always existed. On the whole, expressions of parental care for and love of their offspring refer to male children, with explicit observations reflecting discrimination against, even hatred of, females (see below). But even males were sometimes regarded as little other than property and a source of labour. Thus, while several Kur'ânic texts stress the level of parents for their children (e.g. XXVI, 17; XVII, 24; XXVIII, 9; XXXI, 33) the Kur'ân also depicts children (harûn, aishân) and possessions (mal or amsal) as a temptation to disbelievers and believers alike (e.g. VIII, 28; LXIV, 15; LVII, 20; LXIII, 9, 49; O'Shaughnessy, 38-9, 42). Side-by-side with the notion of the child's purity and innocence (for a comparison between children and saints, see al-Ghazâli, Nasihat al-mulûk, Cairo 1317, 134) there existed an image of the child as an ignorant creature, full of desires and with a weak and vulnerable spirit. This image, and the concept behind it, that childhood is no more than a "passage" leading to the "parlour" of adulthood, justified extensive, sometimes excessive, use, by parents and teachers, of corporal punishment in order to correct undesirable traits (although reservations and proposals for alternatives to physical punishment are also found in Muslim educational thought) (Gâlîdî, Children of Islam, 61-6). Children also suffered from adult violence (verbal or physical) motivated by other than educational principles. On the other hand, child abandonment and infanticide, phenomena not known in mediaeval Muslim societies in spite of the unequivocal religious rejection (Kur'ân LXXXI, 8; VI, 137, 140, 151; XVII, 31; LX, 12; XVI, 57-9) were not necessarily motivated always by feelings of hatred or contempt but may have served as a means of (post partum) birth control, particularly in times of want and economic duress (Gâlîdî, ibid., 78-9, 101-15). Even in Islamic consolation treaties for bereaved parents (see below), one finds contradictory motivations: love and tenderness towards infants and children and strong emotional ties which made their death very difficult for parents to accept; on the one hand, and steadfastness in the face of children's death, even the readiness of parents to sacrifice their offspring for the sake of God, on the other (see Gâlîdî, "The child was small", 367-86).

It has been suggested that in the traditional patrilineal Arabic-Islamic family the child "is a mature adult, capable at most of childishness. His value lies in what he will be, not in what he is" and that "childhood is de-realised to such an extent that is deliberately ignored by the fathers who willingly hand over to the mothers responsibility for their sons for a large part of their childhood" (Boudhîba, Sexuality, 219). The special emotional relationships between mothers (and particularly male) children and their long-term influence on the child (Boudhîba, The child and the mother, 128, 132-5) can be explained against this background. Anthropological research among contemporary Muslim societies gives an even stronger impression than do historical sources of the complexity of parent-child relationships. Thus the centrality of children for their parents, adult awareness of the great responsibility involved in raising and educating children, the attention for children's needs, on the one hand, and limited and not very effective interactions between adults and children and a strong feeling that children are a heavy burden, on the other, together with differences in attitudes towards males and females, are some seemingly inconsistent and contradictory observations (Friedl, 195-7, 210-11; cf. Ammar, 53).

The Kur'ân, under Judeo-Christian influence and as a response to the challenge of structural changes in tribal society, shows special sensitivity towards children. Rejecting the pre-Islamic concept of children as their fathers' property, it acknowledges their own right to live and regards their life as sacred (see e.g. XVIII, 31; VI, 151). This principle the shari'a extends even to foetuses: a special indemnity (ighara) is to be paid for causing an abortion. An unborn child can inherit, receive a legacy and, if it is a slave, be manumitted (Schacht, 124, 186; Motzki, Das Kind, 409-10).

The child's right to an established paternity (nasab), crucial in patrilineal families, gives rise to mutual rights of inheritance, guardianship and maintenance (Nasir, 156-61). It should be emphasised that Islamic law placed very few difficulties in the way of recognising the legitimacy of children. By regulating 'idda [q.v.], Kur'ânic law intended to help identify the biological father of unbabyed children. This problem was less acute in cases of divorce (Bianquis, 578). As a rule, however, any child born in wedlock is regarded as legitimate (al-walad li-sâhib al-frâgh... "the offspring belongs to the owner of the bed...", see Rubín, 5-26), provided that it is born not less than six months after the beginning of cohabitation, and not later than (according to the Hanafîs) two (according to the Shâ'îs and Maliks) four or even five years (al-Wanghari, iv, 477) after the last intercourse between husband and wife (see nIkâh, at VIII, 28). This means, in fact, that any child born to a woman, from any intercourse, is to be considered the legal offspring of her husband or master. Formal paternity can be established also through acknowledgment (ikrdr), to be used only when the child's lineage is unknown and biological fathership is feasible, or through evidence (boyyna) involving the testimony of two men or a man and two women (Bianquis, 135-205). Only by 'i'sân [q.v.] can a husband challenge the legitimacy of a child and disown his paternity. Sunni jurists showed more leniency towards walad al-zinâ (offspring born out of wedlock) than Shî'î-Imâmî ones in the contexts of purity, marriage and wet-nursing. But even among the Imâmî Shî'îs, the argument that it remains impossible to know for certain whether or not someone is walad al-zinâ played a role (Kohlerg, 237-66).
The Kur’ān abolished the pre-Islamic custom of adoption, whereby an adopted child could be assimilated in a legal sense into another family, and replaced it by the recommendation that believers treat children the infant’s welfare in this regard, for reasons in the faith and clients (XXXIII, 4-5, 37-40). Adoption was regarded by the ʿamāra as a lie, as an artificial tie between adults and children, devoid of any real emotional relationship, as a cause of confusion where lineage was concerned and thus a possible source of problems regarding marriage between members of the same family and regarding inheritance (Fahd and Hammoudi, 354-6). However, the custom of adoption, rooted in local tradition, survived in some Muslim communities, e.g. those of North Bali (Wikan, 452).

Viewing children as vulnerable, dependent creatures, Islamic law supplies various rules for the protection of their body and property. In some cases more attention is given to the child’s benefit (manfaʿāt al-ululad; see e.g. al-Sarakhsī, v, 207, vi, 169) than to the preference of maternal suckling. Family discretion and compassion, retain the power of guardianship (waʿlāya [q. v.]) over the child which involves guardianship over property (waʿlāyat al-māl) and over the person (waʿlāyat al-nafs), including overall responsibility for physical care, socialisation and education.

To these should be added the father’s duty to marry his child off when the latter comes of age (waʿlāyat al-tazān). Mothers, because of their pity and gentleness, are entrusted with the care and control of their children for the first few years of their life and, in case of dispute, have the right to custody during these years. If a mother dies, the responsibility falls on other female relatives, preferably in the mother’s line (see madāna, and Pearl, 92, 97-9).

Rūḍaʿa (lactation) [see rādāʾ] is the basic right of any infant at least during the first two years of its life (Kur’ān, II, 233; XXXI, 14; XLVI, 15). Moreover, it is the mother’s obligation (which, according to some opinions, can be enforced on her, if necessary, even if this involves injury) unless the alternatives do not endanger the infant’s life and are economically viable. At the same time, ṭūḍaʿa is a mother’s right, though it can be denied when she demands to be paid a certain sum for it and another woman is ready to suckle without or for lower pay. The father again is responsible for the infant’s welfare in this regard, for reasons in the expenses involved (Kur’ān, ibid., and LXV, 6), for finding a physically and morally suitable wet-nurse, if necessary, and for making sure she treats the infant well (Ibn Taymiyya, Ṭhibyirāt, 286; Ibn Kudāma, i, 312; al-Sarakhsī, xv, 122; al-Barāʾ, 31-5).

Cognisant of the infant’s needs, and in the belief that character traits are transmitted through the mother’s milk, Muslim jurists emphasise the preference of maternal suckling. Also, some jurists regard harmful for the nursling, and even forbid, sexual relations with a nursing woman (ṣibāʿa), in contrast to the authorisation given by a hadith (Ibn Bābawayh, iii, 305; al-Dhūjāḥi, fol. 65a; Musallam, 15-16).

Feeding of children in general and breast-feeding in particular constitute a central theme in mediaeval medical-hygienic writings and in the child-rearing manuals that Muslim doctors compiled under the strong influence of Greek medicine. These writings deal with such topics as weaning, the importance of wet-nursing, the frequency of breast-feeding, the weaning of the child and the like. This, in addition to instructions on how to treat the infant immediately after birth, how to prepare its cradle, to wash and swaddle it, advice on how to calm weeping children, on teething, on how to treat children when they start walking and talking and recommendations regarding entertainment and the company of other children. Together with observations on e.g. birth shock and the psychological development of the child, the authors discuss such theoretical issues as the relationships between innate dispositions and acquired characteristics, the changeability of natural dispositions, etc. It is clear that such 4th/10th-century authors of comprehensive medical compilations as al-Madǧūsī [q. v.] and Ibn Sīnā [q. v.], but particularly the writers of gynaecological, embryological and paediatric treatises, like Ibn al-Dżazār, Muhammad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādī and ‘Arīf b. Saʿd al-Kurtūbī, attached perhaps even greater importance to paediatrics than their Greek predecessors. Moreover, their rich and diversified knowledge implied an understanding of some of the unique characteristics of children from physical as well as psychological points of view. Ibn al-Dżazār’s Sīrat al-nihyān, for instance, has fifteen chapters on the child’s rites of passage or stages of growth in addition to six chapters on the hygienic care of newborn infants. Part of the material included in these paediatric writings was later “Islamised”, popularised and adapted for use by literate parents and nurses, for instance by Ibn Kāyīm al-Dżawīyya in his Tuhfat al-mawḍūd (Gildai, Children of Islam, 4-8, 19-34). Obviously, popular medicine and magic played an important role in the treatment of children among the common people (Ullmann, 2, 92).

The first stages of incorporating the new-born child into the larger human society, and particularly into the Muslim community, are symbolised by a series of childhood rites, most of them of tribal, pre-Islamic origin for whose performance the father has the responsibility. By reciting in his ears, immediately after birth, the formula used for the call to prayer (ṣahād?) as well as the words chanted in the mosque at the beginning of the prayer (ṣūmā), the infant was believed to acquire the basic principles of Islam.

Tahnīk, the rubbing of the infant’s palate with a date, was another ceremony early Muslims performed soon after birth. It probably symbolised the curbing of the child’s natural desires and the harnessing and directing of his energies, for it clearly parallels the practice of putting, for the first time, a rope in a horse’s mouth. It is also resembling the tribal custom of the community to share its food with the new-born child, accepting it as a member (Gildai, Children of Islam, 35-41; Motzki, Das Kind, 413). Other ceremonies, i.e. naming (tasmiya) (Schimmel, 14-24), the first haircut, which separates the child from its previous environment (Van Gennep, 50, 53-4), and the ḫikāka [q. v.], the slaughter of a sheep or a goat to redeem the child and to express gratitude for its birth, are delayed to the seventh day after birth when the prospects for the infant’s life look brighter. By performing these rites, the father confirmed his fatherhood in public and thus his responsibility towards the child. Some Muslim scholars have suggested adding male circumcision (ṣundūn [q. v.]), regarded as an act of purification and incorporation into the community of faithful (Van Gennep, 72), to the ceremonies of the seventh day. However, most say that circumcision should be performed later, at the age of seven (when the male child, under his father’s supervision, starts his systematic religious education) or ten or even thirteen years. In the latter case, it is probably designed to mark the beginning of adolescence and to prepare the child for marriage (Motzki, ibid., 416-17). Female circumcision (khafds [q. v.]), explained as primarily a means of
restraining a woman's sexual desire and maintaining chastity, is also practised when the girl is between six and thirteen years (on childhood rites, particularly male and female circumcision, in a contemporary Muslim community see Ammar, 116-23).

Ensuring that his children receive a good education is another of the father's duties. According to mediaeval Muslim thinkers, character training should start in early childhood, when the child's soul is still pure and impressionable and good character traits can be engraved upon it as upon a smooth stone. At this stage, the basic principles of faith should be instilled as soon as the child starts talking, the age of tamyiz is generally perceived as the appropriate time to begin systematic education, primarily towards performing the religious commandments (see al-Ghazâli, ibid., al-Tabarîni/ al-Tabrisî, 175), and for sending male children to the hadîth [q.v.] (or maktab) for their elementary education. The popularity of this institution in Muslim countries might have delayed by some years the induction of children into the labour force. Female children were generally educated at home by their mothers to fulfill their religious duties and to carry out household work. Obedience to God, filial piety and good conduct are the basic aims of child education (see Kur'an, IV, 36; XXXI, 13, 16-9), their accomplishment ensuring the child a happy life in this world and, more important, in the Hereafter. The focus of legalistic considerations is on ensuring that the coffin of a dead child is to be borne by people, as for a deceased adult. Kur'an commentators, theologians and heresiographers discuss whether or not the child is to be regarded as a human being in the full sense of the word. The answer given by some well-known jurists, like al-Sarakhsi (ii, 57), is in the affirmative. This means, for instance, that the coffin of a dead child is to be borne by people, not on the back of an animal, and that the washing of an infant's corpse and the prayer for him should be exactly the same as for a deceased adult. Kur'an commentators, theologians and heresiographers discuss whether or not children are questioned in the grave, whether children of unbelievers are sent to God to Hell, whether God punishes children in the Hereafter, and the exact status of Muslim children in Paradise (Rosenthal, 9-15). Discussions of this sort, abstract as they were, mirror, in some cases, certain concepts of childhood and attitudes towards children.

Like hadîth compilations, early Muslim sources contain much material on how to react to children's death, which later, against the background of the Black Death, were collected in special, apparently widely circulated, consolation treatises for bereaved parents (see e.g. al-Manbi'dî, al-Kaysî and al-Sâghwî, all from the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries). Their main task was not to deal with the theological problems involved in the death of innocent creatures but rather to help bereaved parents cope with outbursts of emotions and with the psychological difficulties they experienced. Most interesting in these treatises, as well as in a few lamentation poems written for or by bereaved fathers (see e.g. Ibn al-Rûmî, Diwân, Cairo 1973-9, i, 244, ii, 625, 6; Ibn Nubâta, Diwân, Cairo 1905, 156, 218, 347, 348, 546), are the tension between the emotional-spontaneous type of reaction, on the one hand, and the religious ‘rational’ one, on the other, and the efforts to harmonise them. They bring to light strong psychological attachments resulting in moving emotional reactions in case of death but also call for restraint and control and even point out the religious ‘advantages’ of children's death. However, these efforts too of Muslim scholars to impose on the believers a certain cultural pattern for the emotional expression of grief often reveal a degree of understanding of basic psychological needs. According to Islam, the cultural pattern for the emotional expression of grief is often revealed in the death of innocent creatures. According to Islam, the cultural pattern for the emotional expression of grief is often revealed in the death of innocent creatures. In modern Muslim societies, consolation treatises can give us a clear idea of the dimensions of the problem and draw a partial picture of the circumstances of children's lives and causes of their deaths.

The burial of deceased infants as adults, strong psychological ties between parents and children expressed through intense, heart-rending grieving in cases of children's death, difficulties in comforting bereaved parents as well as opposite reactions of restraint and control are all part of contemporary Muslim communities. However, the link between them and Islamic ethics is not always unequivocal (Grandqvist, 90-2; Wikán, 451-3).

4. Children in society

Any child born to Muslim parents is regarded as Muslim. If a child is not Muslim, e.g. a hadîth, that Islam ‘overcomes’ other religions (ya'â sama' in Arabic) (al-Ash'âr, K. al-Qur'ân, bâb 80) this is true also when only one parent is Muslim. Al-Sarakhsi (v, 210), on the other hand, maintains that the child follows his father's faith (al-walad... muslim al-Ab). According to some legal opinions, the fact that children lack responsibility (takalluf), that they are
neither rewarded nor punished for their deeds (marfu‘ al-kalam), that they are not even addressed by public prayer. Even though they are aware of the special religious status of children, there is no agreement between jurists on the specific status and obligations for both, male and female. ‘Abbas a child could not lead in prayer since it is not one of the “people of perfection” (ahl al-kamal) (Ibn Kudámá, ii, 54). A common argument is that the observance of religious commandments, particularly prayer and the fast of Ramadan, is for children of an educational rather than a formal-religious significance.

The special legal status of the child is reflected also in spheres outside the purely ritual domain. Being subject to legal disability or interdiction (khatīr) children, like the insane (madhūn) and the idiot (ma‘tūh), do not have the capacity to contract and to dispose (tasarruf), do not owe full obedience to their parents, and may be guilty of deliberate homicide, but because legally he is not considered capable of forming a legal relationship, he is subject to death penalty (Coulson, 179). Still, Islamic law distinguishes between various stages of childhood: The infant (jīf), who is wholly incapable, can incur certain financial obligations. A minor (sabīy, saghir) has in addition the capacity to conclude purely beneficial transactions and to accept donations and charitable gifts. An intelligent (sabīy ya‘tulatu), discriminating (mutma‘ayiz) minor, moreover, can adopt Islam, enter into a contract of manumission by muskāi‘ah, if he is a slave, and carry out a procurement (Schacht, 124-5).

That Islamic law allows child marriage seems to contradict its general attitude of protection towards children. The Khari‘a may have been following the social practice of the Islamic core countries in the 1st-4th/7th-10th centuries. Little is known about the frequency, the possibly differential regional distribution, manner of functioning and motives of child marriage, that is, whether a minor, like the insane or the idiot, may be married, if he is a slave, and how far afield as Morocco (al-WansharisT, iii, 30, 90, 96, 130, 195, 281, 292, 378) and Palestine (Motzki, Muslimské Kinderrechte, 82-90). Contemporary ethnological and sociological field studies have shown that in various regions and milieux of the Middle East there exists a practice of marriages in which either one or both partners are children. However, more recent family legislation in Islamic states prescribing a minimum age for social and demographic reasons has led to a marked decline in the number of child marriages (see nīkāş). From al-Fatāwā al-Khayriyya by the Hanafī jurist al-Khayr al-Din al-Ramlī (993-1081/1585-1670), it emerges that the minors involved were predominantly girls, that marriage contracts were made up for them while their ages ranged anywhere between seven and sexual maturity, and that generally neither the wording nor marital sexual intercourse were postponed until they had reached sexual maturity (Motzki, ibid.).

The sexuality of infants was deemed insignificant and males could be dressed, for instance, in silk clothes more typical of women (Ibn Kudámá, i, 629). This was no longer allowed for older children the moment adults noticed their budding sexuality (al-Ghazālī, Ifthā‘, iii, 93). Hadīth and fikr compilations recommend separating children in bed when they have reached the age of ten (according to one version, six), having adults avoid washing children of the other sex as soon as they are seven years, and even consider any form of physical contact between a mother and her six-year-old daughter a form of adultery (Ibn Bābawayh, iii, 275-6; Ibn Kudámá, ii, 313-4, 400; al-Dā‘ī, fol. 66a), thus reflecting the awareness of the latent sexuality of children approaching maturity. The popularity of child marriage renders this awareness even more obvious.

It is told of the Prophet that he did not allow the fourteen-year-old Ibn ‘Umar to join the Muslim fighters at Uhud, but a year later agreed to include him among the warriors of the battle of Khandak (al-Shafi‘ī, vi, 135). While reaffirming the age of fifteen as a criterion of majority, this hadīth reflects a general Islamic objection to the participation of children in war. The prohibition, attributed to the Prophet (see e.g. Mālik b. Anas, 163-4), against the killing of an enemy’s children (and women) in time of war is also important here. In his explanation, Ibn Taymiyya (Ma‘mul al-fatāwā, xvi, 80) bases himself on a threefold argument: (a) like Muslim children, the enemy’s children, from the juridical point of view, are to be regarded as innocent and not responsible; (b) like women in the enemy’s homeland, they are not a part of the fighting force; and (c) there is always the possibility for them to become Muslims.

The Kur‘ān calls for a just treatment of a fatherless child (yatim). Nineteen texts make mention of children of such status, the earliest speaking of God’s providential care of Muhammad. Several verses from the Meccan period forbid any harsh and oppressive treatment of fatherless children, urge kindness and justice towards them, particularly in the matter of property rights, and speak of feeding them as well as the poor. Exhortations to respect the property rights of children as well as to provide for their security by marrying them off are included in some of the Medinan sūras (O’Shaughnessy, 35-8) and echoed in later legal writings (see e.g. al-Sarakhtsi, xv, 129; al-Dā‘ī fol. 66a-b). Orphanages and foundling homes were unknown in pre-modern Muslim societies (unlike their European counterparts), so that caring for these children and educating them was the responsibility of their relatives. An abandoned child (lākī [q.v.], manbadh) was also brought up within an individual family. That the practice of abandonment was known in mediaeval Muslim societies, probably as a means for regulating family size or as a device for disposing of illegitimate children, can be inferred from the juridical literature. Questions such as the status of the foundling and his religious identity, his maintenance, the management of his property, claiming abandoned children and the like are rather frequently dealt with (see e.g. Mālik b. Anas, 293; al-Shafi‘ī, vi, 263; al-Samarkandi, i, 315-16).

A preference for males is typical of Muslim societies with a patriarchal family structure. The majority of the utterances in Arabic-Islamic sources that show understanding and sympathy for children refer to males. That female children are regarded as persons in their own right is shown, inter alia, by the efforts religious scholars made to counteract this practice by praising fathers devoted to their daughters (Ibn al-Dā‘ī, 356-9) and denouncing the rejection of newborn females that sometimes led fathers to wish them dead (Ibn Kayyim al-Dā‘ī, 10-13). It is against this background that differences in treating and educating male and female children and even female infanticide are to be explain-
ed. It should be emphasised, however, that infanticide was committed not only on females and that... the Prophet. Their own deeds and statements, too, are worthy of imitation, particularly in the history of Islamic rites.


The first endeavours to define the sahaba as a distinct group of individuals, and to establish the most important criteria according to which someone might be given the title of sahabi, probably reach back to the outset of the 2nd/8th century. At the beginning of the K. Fada'î ni ashab al-nabi of his Sahîb, al-Bukhari [q. v.], however, needs further interpretation. According to him, such an individual, while being a believing Muslim, must have accompanied (sahaba, lâhu yubba) the Prophet or have seen him. It has always remained a point of discussion, whether the fact of having seen, somehow (ru'yâ) the Prophet is sufficient in this respect. In general, participation in a number of the Prophet's campaigns, adulthood (bulgh al-hulum), and capability of transmitting directly from the Prophet were basic prerequisites. According to a passage in Ibn al-Qâhir (Usd al-sâhâba, ed. Tehran, n.d., i, 12), the division of the sahâba in classes was already common in the time of al-Wâkidî (130-207/747-825 [q. v.]) at the latest. He clearly speaks of a classification of the sahâba according to their pre-eminence in Islam (lâ' tabeâthum is lîl-islâm). For this, the moment of conversion to Islam was of particular importance. Ibn Sa'd (al-Tubahât al-kubrâ, ed. Sachau et alii, Leiden 1903-40) places the moment of conversion in a clearly defined historical context: certain individuals accepted Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Abâ'âbâ, al-Mu'âawiyah in the 3rd/9th century (Safi [Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 34; ii/1-2, 3; 59; ii, 10-11; 62, Il. 15-7; 88, Il. 2-4; 107, Il. 5-7; 116, Il. 21-3; 164, Il. 16-8, etc.; for further references, see M. Muranyi, Die ersten Muslime von Mekka... in JSAl, viii [1986], 28). This circle of early Muslims (aslama kadimi/kâna kadim al-islâm) is also designated as al-sâbi'ân/al-sabikân al-auwa'ân who, after 'Umar b. al-Khaṭâb had entered al-Arîm's house, counted 53 persons (see the list in al-Dhahâbî, Suyûr al-lâm al-nubâlâ, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arîmî and Husayn al-Asad, Beirut 1990, i, 144-5). The sabikân are also mentioned in Kur'ân, IX, 100, and LVI, 10. Kur'ân exegesis (tafsîr [q. v.]) already defined them in the light of the historical events of Muhammad's prophethood and considers as sabikân those Muslims who prayed in both directions, viz. north and south, who emigrated with Muhammad to Medina, and who took part in the battle of Badr [q. v.] and in the treaty of al-Hudâbiyâ [q. v.]. The latter are also called ashab al-athâr al-ridâwîn, i.e. those who took the oath of allegiance to the Prophet (bay'at al-ridâwân) under the tree in the oasis of al-Hudâbiyâ. The elite of the Meccan Muslims are also designated as the (first) Emigrants (al-muhâdîjîn [al-awwâlîn]), i.e. those who had joined the Prophet by March 628 (al-Hudâbiyâ at the latest, or, according to another interpretation, by January 624 (the date of the change of the kibla [q. v.]). Members of Arab tribes, who settled at Medina after their conversion to Islam and thus renounced returning to their tribes, are also designated as muhâdîjîn. However, in the endeavours of classification carried out by the following generations, these individuals do not appear among the "Emigrants" from Mecca, who emigrated with Muhammad—or shortly afterwards—to Medina. The above-mentioned classification cannot be established for the Medinan "Helpers" (al-Ansâr [q. v.]). Mentioned are only those representatives of the two main tribes of Ya'ârib [see MADINA]—the Aws and the Khazâraj—who took part in the secret meetings which the Prophet held at al-'Aqaba [q. v.] in order to negotiate guarantees of protection for himself and for the Meccan emigrants at the eve of the Hidjra [q. v.]. The Ansâr did not take part in Muhammad's campaigns before Badr (Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 6, 1. 16; al-Wâkidî, Kitiib al-Madâgî, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, l, 11, 48). The moment of conversion to Islam and the participation in the campaigns of the Prophet were of particular importance for the economic and social position of the sahâba and of their descendants. These aspects seem to have been taken into consideration when, under 'Umar b. al-Khaṭâb, the lists for endowments were established (see G. R. Pue, Der Disvan von 'Umar b. al-Hasîb, diss. Bonn 1970). Early lists in the Maghâzî literature, among which is a papyrus fragment of the 2nd/8th century with the names of the fighters at Badr (A. Grohmann, Arabic papyri from Fîrîbî al-Mird, Louvain 1963, 82-4), confirm the keen interest of historiography in the above-mentioned endeavours of classification. Ibn Sa'd composed his K. al-Tubâkât al-kubrâ on the basis of this principle of classification, and also from old lists given by the historiographers. In the first class (sahaba) are mentioned the ahl al-sâbi'ân, the fighters at Badr from among the Meccan Emigrants and the Ansâr, the twelve nukâhâ of al-'Aqaba and some Muslims whose participation in the battle of Badr cannot be proved beyond doubt. In the second class are the Emigrants who were converted at an early date and had migrated to Medina. The fighters at Uhud during the Prophet's stay at Mecca, are the so-called mustâd'âfîn, a term which W. M. Watt (Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1953, 48, 96) renders with "those who are considered weak". They represent the class of Meccans who were socio-economically weak and destitute, and who were prevented by their clans from participating in the Hidjra. According to Kur'ân exegesis, Sûra IV, 75, refers to this group of the oldest sahâba. The good qualities and virtues of the sahâba, measured against their early merits for Islam (manâkîb fadâ'în), were a favourite theme already in the narrative art of the oldest historiographers of the early 2nd/8th century. The works of the 3rd/9th century known as muṣâannafât [q. v.] in their turn devote a special kitâb to this theme: fadâ'î ashab al-nabi, manâkîb al-anâr. In the meantime, specific collections were devoted to the ten Companions of the Prophet to whom he is said to have promised paradise (al-muṣâhârîn al-aghār), namely the four "rightly guided" caliphs, Êtalâ b. 'Abd Allâh, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awâlmân, 'Abd al-Râhmân b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Mâlik, Sa'îd b. Zayd and Abu 'Abd al-Djârrâh [q. v.] (see e.g. al-Muhîib al-Tabari, al-Riâdî al-nâdira fi manâkîb al-aghâr, 'Tânja 1953). Due to the narrative art of the historiographers, the sahâba in the title of a celebrity with charismatic features. In Sunni Islam, abuse of them (sahb al-sâhâba) is considered as a sin and, according to many interpretations, is even to be punished by death. It is a duty to pronounce the târdîya, i.e. the eulogy târdîya 'Îlâm 'anhâ, when one mentions the name of a Companion of the Prophet. Historiography, local history in particular, deals in detail with information which has been transmitted.
about the stay of sahāba in provincial towns. One-third of the K. Futuh Misr wa-akhbārd by Abd al-Djabbar b. Abd Allah b. Muhammad [q.v.], as a reward for his services at the battle of Kotila. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and

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Sahābah is remembered essentially for his rubāʿīs, the total number of which is most probably around 6,000. Some early writers, however, place the figures much higher, but the numbers quoted by them appear to be exaggerated. In his poetry, Sahābi deals with mystical and moral themes. He was one of the chief poets of the Safawī period whose verse, according to Shibli Nu'mānī, reflects a philosophical colour (cf. Šīr ʿal-ʿAdīm, v, 3rd ed., A'zāmgār 1420, 209). Besides poetry, Sahābi also composed, in mixed prose and verse, a Sufi treatise (risāla), entitled ʿUraaṣ al-ṣawahl ("The true guide").

Bibliography.


SAHARA [see Al-Sahra].

SAHARANPUR, a city of northern India in the uppermost part of the Ganges-Djumna Doáb (lat. 29° 57′ N., long. 77° 33′ E.), now in the extreme northwestern tip of the Uttar Pradesh State of the Indian Union.

It was founded in ca. 740/1340, in the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluk [q.v.], and was named after a local Muchhal. The capital district suffered severely during the invasion of Timūr; in 932/1526 Bábur traversed them on his way to Pánpát, and some local Mughal colonies trace their origin to his followers. Muslim influence gained much by the proselytising zeal of ʿAbd al-Kuddús, who ruled the district until the reign of Akbar. Under Akbar, it was the centre of a zabár and important enough to be a mint place. In the reigns of Djahán and Shah Djáhán, Saharanpur was a favourite summer resort of the court, owing to the coolness of its climate and the abundance of game in its neighbourhood. Nur Djánád had a palace in the village of Nárnagár, which perpetuates her name, and the royal hunting seat, Fádsháh Mahálli, was built for Shah Djáhán. After the death of Awrangzib, the district suffered severely from the inroads of the Sikhs, who massacred and Muslims indiscriminately, until, until 1716, they were temporarily crushed by the imperial Mughal authority. The upper Doáb then passed into the hands of the Sayyids of Báhá, and on their fall in 1721 into those of several favourites. In 1754 Ahmad Shah Durrání conferred it on the Rohilla, Nádjb Khán [q.v.], as a reward for his services at the battle of Kotlá. Before his death, in 1770, it was overrun by Sikhs and
Marathás. His son Dabít Khán revolted from Dihlí, but was reconciled, and his son Ghulam Kadir, who succeeded him in 1785, established a strong government and dealt with the Sikhs. He was a coarse and brutal chief, and in 1788 he blinded the emperor Sháh 'Álam, being subsequently justly mutilated and put to death by Sindhyá. Saharanpur remained nominally in the hands of the Marathás, but actually in those of the Sikhs, until its conquest and occupation by the British after the fall of Allígárh and the battle of Dihlí in 1803. Saharanpur was only slightly affected by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, even though this last broke out in the nearby city of Meerut [see MIRÁF], with order restored by a Gurkha force by the end of 1857.

It is now the administrative centre of a District of the same name, a meeting-place for roads and railways and a centre for agriculture and food processing. The population of the city was 225,700 in 1971; at the opening of the 20th century, a majority of this urban population was Muslim, but many of these migrated to Pakistan after 1947.

**Bibliography:**

**AL-SÁHBA** is the name of a wádí in the al-Khardjí [q.v.] district of Najd [q.v. and see AL-HAWÁTA], the central province of modern Saudi Arabia. The word itself is the feminine of an adjective of the form áq'alu, but it has no comparative or superlative signification (Wright, Grammar, i, 185A, cf. AL-SÁHRA). It is related to sahíb, pl. suháb "desert, level country". The large valley runs eastwards into the Gulf basin across the sand desert of al-Dáhna [q.v. and, north of Yábrám, of al-Díjafúra (see the map in AL-SARÁB, DJEZÍRÁT).

**Bibliography:**

**SAHIBAN WÁ'IL**, the name given to an orátor and poet of the tribe of Wá'il, "whose seductive eloquence has passed into a proverb and who, it is said, whilst addressing an assembly for half-a-day, never used the same word (twice)" (Kazímirski, Dictionnaire, i, 1057; see LÁÚ and the other lexica). Speaking of the same elliptical chance, whereby some person became a household word whereas others, equally meritorious, do not, al-Džáhíz (Hayawdn, ii, 104), cites Sahiban Wá'il, who was eclipsed by his contemporary Ibn al-Kirriyá, murdered by al-Ḫájjídád in 84/703 (loc. cit., n. 5).

In his eulogy of the book (al-kitáb), the same al-Džáhíz (ibid., i, 39) says: "If you wish, it can be more eloquent for you than Sahiban Wá'il or more tongue-tied than Báští" (an adolescent), echoing a proverb which figures in the collections, where it is said "more convincing (al-šuháb) than Sahiban Wá'il, whereas one says "clearer (áfah) than Kusás B. Sáída [q.v.]" (cf. al-Nuwayrí, Khíyá, Cairo 1924, ii, 119).

Al-Tábarí, Taťíkhí, ii, 1257, attributes to him seven verses in which he praises the courage of the army of Kutayba b. Muslim (49-96/669-715 [q.v.]) in the course of the conquest of Afghanistan between 89/705 and 90/706, notably, at the time of the conquest of Khokánd [q.v.], which would indicate that Sahiban was still alive in the caliphate of al-Wálid I (86-96/705-15).

**Bibliography:**
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(T. Fadó)

**SAHIB (A.), "companion", a term with various senses in Islamic usage. Formally it is an active participle of the transitive verb sahiba yashahu "to associate with", but semantically a pure noun; it thus cannot govern an object in the accusative. The most common plural is asahid, of which the double plural (djamí al-asjam) asahib is given in the dictionaries, while its "diminutive of the plural" (tasghí al-djamí) usahib is attested (Wensinck, Concordance, s.v.). Other plurals include sahib (a collective noun), šahib and suhán, the verbal nouns suhaba and ashaba are also employed as plurals (collectives). For the Companions of the Prophet one finds sahib, asahid, and specifically sahiba [q.v.], the last of which yields the designation of the individual asháhid, by nisba formation (a procedure not uncommon with collective nouns). In the vocative the truncated form (turkhím) y sáhib lór y sáhibá "O my companion" is well attested. The fem. is šahibá, with the plural usahibh and the double plural asahibhub (cf. Wensinck, Concordance, s.v.).

Sahib, in its various semantic transformations, has produced a considerable number of titles, allusive names, and some technical terms, mostly by being the first term in a genitive construct. The idea of "companion" is specialised in cases where one speaks of the sahib of a poet, soothsayer, or orator, meaning his alter ego among the giin from whom he receives (some of) his inspiration (also called shaydín [q.v.], râ'í, and tâbí); this is a pre-Islamic notion, but one that lives on in Islamic times as a literary fiction (e.g. in the Risálat al-tawâshí. usa l-tawâshí of Ibn Shubayh [q.v.]). Still with the meaning "companion", the term has sometimes been used to refer to the councillors of a ruler, thus in Ibn al-Mukáfí's Risâlá fi l-sahibá (see Ch. Pellat, Ibn al-Muqaffá, mort vers.140-175, "conseiller" du Califé [Paris 1976], 88-9). The plural asahib followed by the name of a locality in the genitive serves to refer to people who are companions in that particular place; thus Kurání phrases like asahib al-djamána, asahib al-nár and asahib al-tah (see e.g. U.M. Chittick, The Sufi path of knowledge, Albany 1989, 270-4). The plural asahib followed by a personal name in the genitive is, alongside the nisba formation, the normal way of expressing the "adherents of so-and-so" or the "members of his school": asahib Abú Hanifa = al-Hanafíyya. Al-Fayyúmí (d. 770/1368) considers this last usage figurative (madjáz), presumably the school members are mostly not contemporary with the founder (al-Misháḥ al-nunír, Beirut 1398/1978, 394).

In one of its semantic developments, the term sahib becomes more general: "partner", "match" (sometimes "adversary"), and finally "someone (or something) endowed with s.th. or characterised by s.th.". In this last sense it ends up being synonymous with dhú (cf. sahib al-hál = dhú l-hál, "the noun modified by a circumstantial accusative"). Here belong the rather
popular allusive names, such as sahib al-hut "the man with the fish = Jonah (see Sura LXVIII, 48, and cf. the synonymous dhu l-nun in Sura XXI, 87); sahib al-imārāt "the man with the donkey" = the Khārijīte rebel Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī (q.v.) (cf. dhu l-himār, nickname of the Yemeni pseudo-prophet Ayhaha at the time of the Prophet, and for the symbolism of riding a donkey, see C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten, Munich and Berlin 1943, Eng. tr. History of the Islamic peoples, London 1949, 49); sahib al-nākā "the man with the she-camel" and sahib al-ḏimā "the man with the sheep" = the two Ismāʿīlī apostles; dhu l-himās b. Zikrāwāy and al-Husayn b. Zikrāwāy (see F. Dafāṭary, The Ismaʿīlīs, their history and doctrine, Cambridge 1990, 132). This type of cognomen seems to be particularly common with religious rebels and "liberators" and has an air of the being a code and/or taboo name. This type may also occur in the plural: asbāb al-fil "those with the elephant" (Sūra CV, 2). In the same semantic category belongs the plural asbāb followed by an abstract noun in the genitive to denote adherents of a specific concept: asbāb al-tansuḥūth "the believers in metempsychosis", asbāb al-taʿayyūf "the proponents of juridical discretion" as opposed to the asbāb al-hadīth "the proponents of the (exclusive use) of Prophetic Tradition."

The last example shows that, even with a concrete noun (hadīth being a corpus of texts), the resulting compound may still belong in this category, with "belief in", "defence of", or a similar notion being understood. Thus e.g. sahib al-dīd and sahib al-kalb "the advocate of the rooster" and "the advocate of the dog" (in al-Dāūhīz, al-Hayawān, passim); obviously, these expressions could also mean the "owners" of the rooster and the dog.

By narrowing the semantic field just mentioned one arrives at the notion of "possessor, owner, lord." In the legal sense of ownership one finds it in sahib al-bayt "the owner of the house" and similarly in sahib al-dāyì "debtor." In the sense of "chief" it forms part of the designation of a good many administrative offices: sahib al-dīdījār "army chief", sahib al-barād "chief of intelligence", sahib al-shūra "police chief", sahib al-sūk "market inspector" (cf. tr. of Grk. agoranomos, later on called multābār, cf. J. Schacht, An introd. to Islamic history, Cambridge 1961; C. Cahen, Précis d'histoire islamique, Paris 1964, tr. by C. Imber). These officials are often referred to as "Ibn al-Saḥib" ( = al-Sahib) who possessed various administrative offices including the appointment over the portal of the Kubbeli Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār, bearing the date 731/1331, names the founder of the mosque as the "great lord" (al-maṣūla il-mawā'itī) Ahmad b. Muhammad, who was presumably the "Ibn al-Saḥib" to whom al-Umārī refers. An inscription dated 742/1341 on the Ulu Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār refers to the same person as "Nūṣrat al-Dawla wa l-Dīn Ahmad") describing him as "the progeny of the great viziers" (sulṭān al-awsāṣa il-ṣāmām) (Ahmed Tewfīd, in TTEM, 1st series, xi [1341/1923], 357). It is conceivable that this Ahmad b. Muhammad was the son of the "Sāmān al-Dīn Muhammad son of (Nusrat al-Dīn) al-Munsūrī al-Umanī (Gümüş, in about 790/1390, notes that "Karasar" possession of the "grandsons of Fakhr al-Dīn". Al-Umārī too, in about 730/1330, notes that "Karasar" belonged to Ibn al-Saḥīb ( = al-Saḥīb) who possessed, in addition, a thousand villages and four thousand cavalrymen. To defend his possessions against Čōban's son, Timurtaş, he had sought the protection of the lord of Germiyan through marriage to his daughter Madašik al-ashār, cited by Ahmed Tewfīd, in TOEM, 1st series, ii [1327/1909], 536 ff.). An inscription over the portal of the Kubbeli Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār, bearing the date 731/1331, names the founder of the mosque as the "great lord" (al-maṣūla il-mawā'itī) Ahmad b. Muhammad, who was presumably the "Ibn al-Saḥīb" to whom al-Umārī refers. An inscription dated 742/1341 on the Ulu Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār refers to the same person as "Nūṣrat al-Dawla wa l-Dīn Ahmad") describing him as "the progeny of the great viziers" (sulṭān al-awsāṣa il-ṣāmām) (Ahmed Tewfīd, in TTEM, 1st series, xi [1341/1923], 357). It is conceivable that this Ahmad b. Muhammad was the son of the "Sāmān al-Dīn Muhammad son of (Nusrat al-Dīn) al-Munsūrī al-Umanī (Gümüş, in about 790/1390, notes that "Karasar" possession of the "grandsons of Fakhr al-Dīn") 'Ali (Sāḥib) of Husayn) who is buried in the Sahip Ta Mausoleum in Konya (Ahmed Tewfīd, loc. cit.).

Evidence of the family appears in the second half of the 8th/14th century, but in the Ottoman period Ayyūn Karahisār -continued to be known as Sāḥib'in Karahisār (Nagri, ed. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen, Kütahya, Konya, Ankara 1949, 165), or from the 10th/16th century, as Karahisār-i Sāḥib ("Sāḥib's Karahisār").

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SĀḤĪB ATĀ ĀĞHULLARI, the modern designation for the descendants of the Rûm Saḷļūqiḍ vīzīt Fakhr al-Dīn Āli (d. 687/1288), known as Sāḥīb Atā. Literary sources record two sons of Fakhr al-Dīn, Tād al-Dīn Husayn, the eldest (Ibn Bibli, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure, Leiden 1902, iii, 337) and Nasrūt al-Dīn (Aksara, ii, 308). The last of these is evidently the same as Afyun Karahisār (q.v.). In his list of Turkish principalities submitting to the nāṣiru dāwla (q.v.) after the accession of the Ilkhanid Abu Saḥīb ( = al-Sahib) who possessed various administrative offices including the appointment over the portal of the Kubbeli Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār, bearing the date 731/1331, names the founder of the mosque as the "great lord" (al-maṣūla il-mawā'itī) Ahmad b. Muhammad, who was presumably the "Ibn al-Saḥīb" to whom al-Umārī refers. An inscription dated 742/1341 on the Ulu Jadīm in Ayyūn Karahisār refers to the same person as "Nūṣrat al-Dawla wa l-Dīn Ahmad") describing him as "the progeny of the great viziers" (sulṭān al-awsāṣa il-ṣāmām) (Ahmed Tewfīd, in TTEM, 1st series, xi [1341/1923], 357). It is conceivable that this Ahmad b. Muhammad was the son of the "Sāmān al-Dīn Muhammad son of (Nusrat al-Dīn) al-Munsūrī al-Umanī (Gümüş, in about 790/1390, notes that "Karasar" possession of the "grandsons of Fakhr al-Dīn") 'Ali (Sāḥib) son of Husayn) who is buried in the Sahip Ta Mausoleum in Konya (Ahmed Tewfīd, loc. cit.).

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door of the palace in order to register complaints and pleas. When the vizier was a "man of the sword" and presided in person, the Şahib al-bâb's role as simple assistant was reminiscent of that of the hâdîb amongst the Mamülüs.

The institution did not exist among the first Fâtîmids, and Hâsun al-Mulk Aftâkîn in, the time of the vizierate for al-Afdâl, was the first şâhib al-bâb to be mentioned in the sources (beginning of the 6th/12th century). The şâhib al-bâb was addressed as "Amir al-Mulk". His deputy, to whom he delegated the important office (called al-niyâba al-shârîfa) of assigning their places to envoys accredited to the court, was generally a legal figure or a religious dignitary, whom one addressed as "Adayy al-Mulk. The şâhib al-bâb occupied an important place in the processions forming part of the official ceremonies and the calendrical receptions of the later Fâtîmids [see MAWÂRÎK. 1], a ceremonial occasion which Ibn al-Tuwâryrî [q.v.], describes in detail.


Şâhib Girây Khan I, khan of the Crimea (939/1532-51) and khan of Kazan (927-30/1521-4), son of Mengî Girây Khan I [q.v.] and his wife Nur Dewlet, mother through an earlier marriage of Muhammad Emin (d. 925/1519), the last khan of Kazan [q.v.], in direct line from Ulugh Muhammad, khan of the Golden Horde (1419-24, 1427-38). Half-brother of Mehmed Girây Khan I (920-9/1515-23 [q.v.]), Şahîb Girây was instrumental in this latter khan's new hostile policy against Muscovy, their father Mengî Girây's traditional ally. In 927/1521, Şahîb Girây was able with the khan's help to drive away the Russian-backed candidate, Şâhî 'Ali, and to occupy the throne of Kazan, thus stressing the Girây family's claims to the heritage of the Golden Horde. In concurrence with Mehmed Girây Khan I, he subsequently engaged in a struggle with Muscovy for the possession of the steppe region, which was to come to an end only 31 years later with Tsar Ivan IV's (1533-84) destruction of that khanate. In 929/1523, the brothers attacked the khanate of Astrapkhan [q.v.], from which the erstwhile Husayn Khan, Muscovy's candidate, was excluded. In the same year, they launched a major campaign against Grand Prince Vasiliy III of Muscovy (1505-33). In the following year, as Vasiliy III prepared an expedition against Kazan, Şahîb Girây abdicated from the throne of Kazan, designated his nephew Şafî Girây (first reign 930-7/1524-31) as his successor and took refuge with the Ottomans. The following eight years, Şahîb Girây stayed in Istanbul as a guest and trusted friend of sultan Suleyman I (1520-66 [q.v.]). He not only participated in all sultan's campaigns, e.g. in Hungary in 1532, but also became intimately acquainted with Ottoman institutions and culture.

After both the Ottoman-backed Şâfîdet Girây Khan I (1524-May 1532) and his nephew Islam Girây Khan I (May-Sept. 1532 [q.v.]), who had found support with parts of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, had renounced the khanship, the Ottoman sultan confirmed with a firman (reference to this is made in a document, the text and translation of which is given in Khatanat al-Dimashq, 121-5; transcription in Gökbilgin 1973, 55-6) Şahîb Girây as the new khan and the former khan, Islam Girây, as his kâliba [q.v.] or heir apparent. Accompanied by a large detachment of Ottoman troops (kaptî kula), among them 360 artillerymen (topçu and tıfendiştir), and 1,000 Janissaries, the new khan received the homage of the representatives of the Crimean noble clans (kâraça bey) at the mouth of the Dnepr (Özü [see Özi]) river. He was the first Crimean khan to receive the seghîn aklesî or accession money.

Obviously, the new khan had not been accepted by the entire Crimean tribal aristocracy, which supported by partisans from the noble clans, was threatening to ruin the country. Şahîb Girây's troubles with his nephew Islam Girây continued until he succeeded, in 1537, in having him killed by Bâkî Beg, one of the leaders of the eminent Crimean karaçe clan of the Mangîhts and subsequently Şahîb Girây's most dangerous opponent. After this incident, the Crimean nobles who had been partisans of İslâm Girây paid allegiance to the khan.

Şahîb Girây Khan I was now able to participate as a much-honoured ally in the Ottoman campaign against Moldavia (1538), which ended with the establishment of the serifkân of Akkerman comprising the territories of Budjak [q.v.], between the rivers Prut and Dnestr, and the neighbourhood of the former Tatar fortress of Özi/Oçakov (cf. G. Veinstein, L'occupation ottomane d'Ozâkov et le problème de la frontière illyo-tartare, 1538-1544, in Païs turco-tatar-Presént souvène. Études offertes à A. Bennigsen, Louvain-Paris 1986, 123-55). In the following year, the khan turned his attention towards his unruly Çerkes neighbours. Owing to the rugged terrain, however, the campaign was not successful, nor was another one in 1542.

In winter 1559/40, the khan sent an army of 30,000 men on a raid against Muscovy, under the command of the kâliba, his son Elin Girây. In winter 1541, Şahîb Girây in person led an—unsuccessful—campaign into Muscovite territory, but then finally managed to kill the Mangîht Bakî Beg, associated with the Nogâhs [q.v.], of the steppe who represented the Noghays' pre-eminence in the steppe. In 1549, he switched his attention towards his unruly Çerces neighbours. In spite of his excellent relations with the Ottoman court, at least during the first half of his rule, Şahîb Girây proved to be more than a puppet ruler in the service of sultan Suleyman's power game in the Black Sea area, or, on a different level, the preservation of the sultan's peaceful policy towards Muscovy in view of his trading interests. The khan's main political objective remained the containment of his northern neighbour. In this aim, he made regular inroads into that territory.

Both the intervention of the Şhi'rîn bey on behalf of the powerful Crimean aristocracy and the suspicion of Ottoman court circles in regard to Şahîb Girây's independent political action led to the khan's final downfall. Under the pretext of investing Dewlet Girây
SAHIB GIRAY KHAN I — SAHIB AL-MADINA

Sahib Giray Khan was also, in Persia, where it has since been corrupted into Khan or Kâhin, the name of a coin of 1000 dinars, the tenth part of a tâmaq. Bibliography: Sharaf al-Din Āli Yazdi, Zafer-nâma, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937-50; Muhammad Kâsim Firuzî, Gulshan-i Ibrâhîmî, lith. Bombay 1832; Ābd al-Hamîd Lâhawri, Pâdshâh-nâma, Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta 1866-72; Bûrhan-i-kâfî, s.v. kâhin. (T. W. Haig)

SAHIB AL-MADINA (A.), an administrative function found in mediaeval Islamic Spain.

Documentation for this is almost exclusively found in regard to al-Andalus. The Granadan jurist Ibn Sahî [q.v.], in his al-Abkâm al-kurban, mentions it amongst the six traditional functions (khutta or "magistratures") which gave their holders the right to pronounce judgements (the kâdî, the saihib al-shurta, the s. al-muzâlim, the s. al-nâdî, the s. al-madina and the s. al-sâkî). According to the Valencian Ibn al-Abbâr [q.v.], there existed until the 7th/13th century two distinct magistratures, the saihib al-madina and the s. al-shurta. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Sa'id [q.v.] (in the great, later compilation of Andalusian culture by al-Makkarî, the Nafr al-tâbîn, and in the following one, Ibn Khaldûn [q.v.], in his Mukaddima, also mention the title of s. al-madina, but make it the designation of the chief of the police or shurta in Muslim Spain. However, the Sevillan Ibn 'Abdûn [q.v.], who in his treatise on hisba, written towards the end of the 5th/11th century, passes in review the administrative offices in the capital at the end of the period of the Taifas and that of the first Almoravids, does not mention it. Nor does it appear in the detailed list of functions given by the Maghribi al-Wângârâsî [q.v.] in his K. al-Wâlibârî, even though this last is in part inspired by the Andalusian tradition.

Nevertheless, the Arabic sources on al-Andalus amply attest the existence of this "magistrature of the town" from the reign of the Umayyad amir of Cordova 'Abd al-Rahmân II (206-38/822-52), who, said according to Ibn Sa'id, "to have separated the wilayat al-sâkî from the functions of the shurta called wilayat al-madina", until the crisis of the caliphate in the early 5th/11th century. The names of a good number of its holders are given by al-Makkarî, the Nafr al-tâbîn, and in the following, Ibn Hayyân's [q.v.] Muktabâs, which used the Annals of Isâ b. Ahmad al-Râzî, an author contemporary with the caliphate, testifies to the existence of two wilayât al-madínâs, one for Cordova and one for the new capital of Madinat al-Zahra. The importance of the persons holding this first charge or dignity appears from the duties entrusted to them under the amirate and the caliphate. These were diverse, and could involve policing and public order, justice, the levying of taxes and even leading armies, all of which leads one to think that there were no strictly determined duties but rather, on a basis difficult to determine for the city of Cordova, a nexus of functions varying in extent according to the confidence placed in the holder, especially as this last often piled up for himself other offices (was it as kâdî or wuzâr, or as saihib al-madina, that such a person holding these offices at the same time might lead a military expedition?).

Under the caliph al-Hakam II, the detailed descriptions of the protocollary order of official ceremonies during the years 360-4/971-5 place the wuzâr, kâdî and saihib al-madina of Cordova Dâ'far b. 'Uljmân al-Mu'fâshî immediately on the caliph's right; but since this concerns the "strong man" at this moment in the régime, it is hard to discern exactly under which title he held this preponderant role. It is nevertheless certain that the post was at this time a lofty one; on al-

SAHIB KIRAN (A. and p.), a title meaning "Lord of the (auspicious) conjunction". Kâran means a conjunction of the planets, kiran al-šâdîn [see AL-SA'ADÂN] a conjunction of the two auspicious planets (Jupiter and Venus), and kiran al-nâsâyân a conjunction of the two inauspicious planets (Saturn and Mars). In the title, the word refers, of course, to the former only. The Persian i of the šâdîn is omitted, as in šâhîd-dîl, by fâkî-i šâdîh. The title was first assumed by the Amîr Tîmûr, who styled himself 'Alî šâhîd, "the second Lord of the Conjunction". (B. Kellner-Heinkele)
Hakam’s death in 366/976, al-Muṣṭaf designated the dead ruler’s youngest son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān II, as caliph, himself assumed the office of ʿādāb biʿl-madīna (which had not been filled for several years) and designated his own son ʿādāb al-madīna of Córdova. A little later, in his brilliant ascension to the heights of power, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Muṣṭaf appointed his son as ʿādāb biʿl-madīna of Córdova, after the death of his youngest daughter. Afterward, under the ʿĀmirid dictatorship, the function and title lost their importance. However, it is known that, at this time, a high prestige in government affairs was held by the title of ʿādāb al-madina, “in charge of the two cities”, i.e. Córdova and and, it is thought, the official ʿĀmirid centre of al-Madīna al-Zāhira rather than the caliphal one of Madīnatin al-Zāhira, which had no importance in practice by this time.

The fact that the office seems to have existed only in al-Andalūs poses a problem. It has been seen above that ʿAbd al-Rahmān II is supposed to have created the office. J. Vallvé, in a detailed study of the history of this function under the Umayyads, has set forth the hypothesis that the ʿādāb biʿl-madīna could derive from the come civitatis of the Roman and Visigothic period.

The idea ought to be approached with prudence. Certainly, the sources bear witness to the existence, during the Umayyad amirate, of an office of kūmis [q.v.] entrusted to a Christian, who originally had jurisdiction over the Mozarab community but who was at times the recipient of the sovereign’s confidence and given various functions, including the command of the guard, the kūbah and the collection of taxes, even involving those from the Muslims. But the pieces of evidence adduced by Vallvé himself allow us to aver that, under ʿAbd al-Rahmān II, there existed contemporaneously a kūmis of the Christians—for whom there are still some indications in the 4th/10th century—and a ʿādāb biʿl-madīna, and this makes the idea—in any case not very acceptable in the context of the Iberian peninsula under Islam—of a transformation pure and simple of the come civitatis into the ʿādāb al-madīna difficult to accept. Nevertheless, can one exclude the possibility that the change in numerical proportion between Christian and Muslim populations in Córdova in favour of the second group might, in the 9th/10th century, have led to the transfer to a newly-created office/magistrature involving administrative and judicial functions which had been, in practice, and in the context of the capital city, exercised until then by the “count” of the Christians?

Vallvé’s hypothesis endeavours to take into account an exceptional case in al-Andalūs, which is complicated by the fact that, after the Reconquista, in Aragon and Navarre at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries, the Christians gave to the municipal magistrate appointed by the king for administering and for rendering justice in the towns, the title of justicia, but also that of zafalmedina, obviously a linguistic calque of the Arabic ʿādāb al-madīna. The same state of affairs is attested in Christian Toledo, where there existed in the 12th century a zafalmedina.

This leads one to suppose that, in the political capitals of principalities reconquered by the Christians at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century, a high prestige in government affairs was held by the title of ʿādāb al-madīna of Córdova. After the death of his youngest daughter, Hakam’s death in 366/976, al-Muṣṭaf designated the dead ruler’s youngest son, ʿAbd al-Rahmān II, as caliph, himself assumed the office of ʿādāb biʿl-madīna...
cordance, iii, 360-1). As a leaf meant to receive a written text, the sahifa could be rolled up (tawā) or spread out (unrolled (nashara), and might often be suspended (‘allaka) e.g. from the hilt of a sword. It was meant to be read in public and put into effect like an edict or ordinance.

The Prophet, just before his death, asked for a sahifa for writing upon at his dictation (Ibn Hanbal, iii, 346; Ibn Māḍja, Ṣahīḥ, 7). This must refer to a blank piece of writing material, a leaf of parchment or papyrus.

According to the Sīra (Ibn Iṣḥāq and Ibn Ḥādhām [q.v.]), there will be a mysterious fire which will devour the unjust person but spare the one who has escaped death, whilst Tarafa perished. By getting the latter to retract his statement, Zuhayr b. Umayya, al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Adi, Abu ‘l-Baqṭāra b. Ḥādhām and Zam’a b. al-ᾀswād, harangued the crowd in front of the Ka’ba and denounced the sahifa; but the story goes that the words of it had all been eaten away by worms, with the exception of the opening words “In thy name, O Lord!” (Sīra, ed. Wūṭenfeld, 247-51; W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1933, 121-2).

3. History.

The conversion of ‘Umar was a shock for the Prophet’s enemies and encouraged the first Muslims, who performed their worship at the Ka’ba itself. This conversion resulted from the discovery of a sahifa (= page) of the Kurʾān which ‘Umar had read at his sister’s house (see above). This gave rise to another sahifa, an agreement amongst the leading men of Kuraysh, a kind of resolution voted upon by the people of Mecca and posted up inside the Ka’ba.

In A.D. 619, there had taken place the emigration of many of the Muslims from Mecca to Ethiopia [see Ḥidjra; Muḥājirūn], whilst those remaining in Mecca had protection from the young ‘Umar. But in a counter-stroke, the Meccan leaders produced from their deliberations a sahifa, this event being the most important one in the history of Meccan-Muslim relations in the years immediately before the Ḥijra. A social and economic boycott of the Muslims of the Banū Ḥāḍim and of al-Muṭṭalib was envisaged, involving a prohibition of marriages with them and avoidance of commercial contacts. These two Muslim clans took refuge in their shib or ravine, on the lands of Abu Ṭālib. The boycott lasted for two or three years, during which the sahifa was posted up in the Ka’ba, but was not completely watertight. Certain citizens eventually banded together to denounce the pact, and five of them, Zuhayr b. Umayya, al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Adi, Abu ‘l-Baqṭāra b. Ḥādhām and Zam’a b. al-ᾀswād, harangued the crowd in front of the Ka’ba and denounced the sahifa; but the story goes that the words of it had all been eaten away by worms, with the exception of the opening words “In thy name, O Lord!” (Sīra, ed. Wūṭenfeld, 247-51; W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1933, 121-2).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

A. GΗΕΔΙΡΑ

ŠAΗĪΗ (A.), literally, “sound, healthy”.

1. As a technical term in the science of Ḥadīth [q.v.], i.e. Muslim tradition.

It did not come into use immediately with the onset of iṣnād criticism, for al-Ḵaṭṭā‘ar muḥājiru (d. 360/970 [q.v.], who wrote the first systematic work on Ḥadīth), does not seem to have applied it yet. It is used by mediaeval as well as modern Muslim tradition experts (sometimes followed in this by some western scholars) to describe or qualify one particular prophetic tradition or a whole collection of such traditions. Sahīḥ traditions constitute one of the three major subdivisions of Muslim traditions, the other two being Ḥasan, i.e. “fair”, and ẓahīr, i.e. “weak”. The commonest definition of a tradition which is declared sahīḥ is that it is supported by an iṣnād [q.v.] which is labelled as sahīḥ, namely, one which shows a chain of transmitters going back to the Prophet in an uninterrupted manner, i.e. each pair of two transmitters in that chain must both be considered ṣad, i.e. “upright” or “honest” to the point that their testimonies are admissible in a court of law, and saḥīḥ, i.e. “painstakingly accurate”. In Arabic, it is to be understood that the words of it had all been eaten away by worms, with the exception of the opening words “In thy name, O Lord!” (Sīra, ed. Wūṭenfeld, 247-51; W. M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, Oxford 1933, 121-2).
not found anywhere else, nor mu’allal, i.e. marred by a ši‘a, i.e. a (hidden) defect pertaining to one pair of transmitters in its isnād. In short, a hadīth that deserves to be labelled sahih is one credited with the highest possible degree of acceptability.

Many different isnād strands received the qualification of being “the most sahih strand of all” at the hands of various early tradition scholars, but none is more famous than al-Bukhārī’s favourite strand: (al-ShaÞī‘ī [q.v.]-Mālik b. Anas [q.v.-Naṣīr [q.v.]‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar [q.v.-Prophet. This strand was used also to support a number of doubtful traditions, as its very frequent occurrence in e.g. the Lišān al-miṣān of Ibn Ḥadījī [q.v.] testifies. For a survey of the other strands held to be particularly sahih, see Bibl.

Tradition collections entitled al-Dārimī’s al-sahih are the canonical collections by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870 [q.v.]), Muslim b. al-Ḥadījīdī (d. 261/875 [q.v.]) and al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [q.v.]). Those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim are, furthermore, generally referred to as “the two Sahih”. Besides, the post-canonical collection made by Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [q.v.]) entitled al-Musnad al-sahih “al-‘ālam ‘l-tartib sahih Ibn Hibbān”, ed. Kamāl Y. al-Ḥūṭ, Beirut 1987, 10 parts. Finally, there is the ear-


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ly, mainly Ibādī [see taṣawwuf] collection of al-Rā‘ībī b. Ḥabīd (ca. 170/785) which is sometimes called al-Ḍārimī’s al-sahih.


2. In law.

In Islamic law, a legal act is regarded as valid, i.e. having its desired legal effects, if all its essential elements (rukn, pl. arkān) are present and the necessary conditions (ṣḥār, pl. ṣḥūr) are fulfilled. If one or more of these elements or conditions are lacking, the act is null and void (fāṣid or bā’il [q.v.]), therefore does not exist and has no effect. This classification applies to acts of devotion (‘ibādah) as well as to acts of secular law (muṣ‘alāt). With regard to the former, the desired effect is being acquitted of an obligation, which will result in reward in the Hereafter. Thus an obligatory sahih [q.v.] performed in compliance with the prescriptions, is valid, counts as the discharge of a duty and will be recompensed after one’s death. Similarly, a repudiation duly pronounced according to the rules is valid and produces its legal effects such as the dissolution of the marriage and the beginning of the period for the filing of a divorce (‘idda [q.v.]). Valid acts are not necessarily binding (ḍāṣan). Most schools recognise as valid suspended (muḥāṣṣah) acts, i.e. legal acts that have no obligatory effect until after their ratification by a third party, such as acts performed by an unauthorised agent (fudālī) or a discerning minor (mumayyiz). In order to be binding they have to be approved by the principal or the guardian. They are classified as valid because, after ratification, they are regarded as having bound the principal or the minor from the moment the original act was performed.


(R. Peters)

3. In grammar.

Here, sahih usually refers to the “sound” letters, loosely the consonants of Arabic, defined by default as being neither “weak” letters, mu‘alla, viz. the semi-

vowels alīf, waw, yā [see ḥurūf al-muḥāṣṣah], nor vowels, viz. fa’āla, kasra and damma [see ḥarakat wa-

ṣūkūn, kasra]. The criteria of soundness and weakness are purely phonetic and date at least to the 2nd/8th century; Sībawayhi (fl. 170/786 [q.v.]) and al-Khaṭīb b. Ahmad (d. 175/791, e.g. Kitāb al-ʾAyn, i, 51, 57, 59) both use saḥīḥ and mu‘alla. The soundness of a letter (sc. phoneme: kaf [q.v.]) denotes grapheme and phoneme alike, which does not imply that the grammarians overlooked the distinction (lies in its stability in all vocalic environments, unlike the weak letters, which are unstable between and after vowels, and in its organic difference from the vowels, which are articulated without any inter-

ruption in the air stream, while the sound phonemes, continuous or plosive, always involve some constric-

tion. The morphophonological implications of these articulatory features were minutely observed by the grammarians, who described in detail the various allophones and such sound-changes as assimilation (ṣīḏām [q.v.]), dissimilation, metathesis and substitu-

tion (baddāl [q.v.], and see al-Nassir, Bakalla, Bohas and Guillaume). On the morphological level, a verb stem containing no weak radicals is called a “sound verb” fi‘l saḥīḥ (or fi‘l ʿālam), with much inconsistency regarding the place of hamza in this scheme, and the “sound” plural is likewise al-ḍāmāl al-sahih as well as the more usual al-

ḍāmāl al-sālim. It has been noted that saḥīḥ in later grammar may also denote a “correct” utterance (Versteegh, 34), a possible logical origin is hinted at (al-Ridā “the limitist”), the case kalām saḥīḥ is already found in Sībawayhī, Deren-

bourg, i, 353, Būlāk, i, 400. More important than origins, however, is the still unexplored peculiarity that the same grammatical term may occur at different levels of analysis, indicating an approach to terminology fundamentally at variance with modern linguistic conventions.


(M. G. Carter)
The term has various regional applications, in accordance with the meaning "fringe area, zone".

1. **In the Maghrib.**
   (a) The Sāḥil of Tūnisia (Sāḥil of Sousse, Sāḥil of Sfax). This is the coastal region of the low steps of the north, around the towns of Sousse, Monastir and Mahdia, having a maritime climate and rainfall in excess of 300 mm per annum and characterised by the importance of its olive groves and the antiquity of its urban network.
   (b) The Sāḥil of Aģer ġallia. This is applied to the coastal regions of Algeria, mainly those around Algiers and Oran.

2. **To the south of the Sahara.**
   The Sāḥil (in the best known sense of the word) here is defined by the Arabic authors as a southern "shore" of the Sahel, here compared to a sea. The term was taken up in 1900 by the botanist Auguste Chevalier, who pointed a question in West and Central Africa of increasingly humid zones called Saharan, Sahilian, Sudanian and Guinean.

The Sāḥil zone thus delimited includes several African states, from west to east: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Fasso (Upper Volta), Niger, the northeastern extremity of Nigeria, Chad and the Sudan, with an area of about 4 million km². The term is, however, used above all for the central and western part, from Tiberis to the Atlantic Ocean. The Sāḥil does not have any well-marked physical features. Like all the Sahara [see AL-SAHRAN], flat surfaces predominate, either in the form of plains resulting from the levelling of the ancient pre-Cambrian shield, making up the main part of the countryside and interrupted by rare inselbergs, or else in the form of essentially sandstone plateaux edged with abrupt slopes making up striking relief features, such as, from west to east, the Tagant and Assabha, the plateaux of Bandiagara and the Hombori, and the Ennedi massif. Really mountainous masses are rare, apart from the volcanic one of the Djebel Marra in the Sudan, reaching 3,000 m/10,000 feet. Within this little-differentiated topography, the surface is often abundant or else made up of eroded plateaux of terrain (several dozen km), and increasingly flattened by water erosion as one goes southwards. Oriented ENE-WSW, and covered with reddish sands, these bands are separated by gullies between the dunes, e.g. the ergs of Trarza and Cayor in Mauritania, the Gourma to the south-east of Timbuctu, the Azaouak to the south-west of the Air, the Daza and Djourab to the north-east of Lake Chad and the Goz of Sudan. These ergs are the remnants of important climatic variations which have taken place over the last millennia, and have sometimes brought about an important advance of the desert southwards and the fixing of sand dunes, and at other times a retreat of the Sahara northwards accompanied by a considerable extension of Lake Chad and the overflowing of the Niger northwards, as was the case during the period 8,000-2,000 B.C., with the reversion to conditions identical with those of the present time having lasted hardly more than 3,000 years. Over the Sāḥil zone in general, there is shrubby steppe land in the south, becoming bushy in the north, with a weak vegetation covering index, and which is more and more open as one approaches the Sahara. Large, allogenous rivers—the Senegal, Niger, Chari and Nile—bring into the region waters which are often abundant.

The absence of topographical boundaries leads one to describe the Sāḥil as the zone of transition between the Sahara and the more humid regions of tropical Africa. Hence it can only be delimited by means of climatic characteristics, much discussed by writers; thus Ch. Toupet considers as Sahilian the band of terrain comprised between the annual mean isohyets of 100 mm in the north and 700 mm in the south, whilst Y. Pehaut limits it to the 150-200 mm band in the north and the 600 mm one in the south. This "climatic" definition is further complicated by the importance of variations in precipitation over the course of the years. The great droughts affecting the Sāḥil since 1967 have brought about displacements of the climatic zones towards the south by several hundred kilometres, and extensive changes for the worse in the natural habitat, worsened by the increases in population and their herds and by the fragility of the sandy soils of the ancient ergs; during years of greater rainfall, the Sahara-Sāḥil boundary retreats northwards, but the deterioration of the habitat is often irreversible and never completely restored. These droughts are due to the marginal position of the Sāḥil in relation to the inflow of rainfall. The Sāḥil in general is characterised by the alternation, in the course of each year, of a long dry season during which the northerly trade-winds (called Harmattan when they are continental) and a rainy season corresponding to the influx of humid air of the summer monsoons originating in the Atlantic Ocean (Gulf of Guinea). These monsoons, fairly abundant in the southern part of the Sāḥil, become more and more feeble and irregular as one approaches the Sahara.

The population of the Sāḥil is characterised by a marked decrease in density as one goes from south to north and by the mixture of "blacks" and "whites", more or less Islamised, with a distribution only explicable by what it has been possible to piece together of the history of the region and of the great empires which dominated it, poorly known for the central and western Sāḥil. The first empire, that of Ghāna [q. v.], which extended from the southern Sahara as far as Guinea, was described in 1068 by al-Bakri in his description of West Africa. It was interrupted in the 5th/11th century by the arrival of the Almoravids [see AL-MURABITUN], who came from southern Morocco and created an empire stretching from al-Andalus to the western Sāḥil; this did not last, but brought Islam and the Arabic language to the region. In the 7th/13th century, a new empire, that of Mali [q. v.], arose, from the Sāḥil to the tropical forest, in the bend of the Niger. After its apogee in the 8th/14th century, it was supplanted a century later by the Songhay empire, whose capital Gao was destroyed by an expedition sent from Morocco in 1591. At the same time, around Lake Chad, the dynasty of the Safawa reigned from the 3rd/9th to the 13th/19th century with various fortunes.

In all these regions, the penetration of Islam was achieved essentially in peaceful ways, favoured by the great empires based on commerce, and whose ruling classes showed themselves fairly tolerant. It was often the nobles and urban populations which became converts, whilst the rural populations, making up the mass of the people, remained animists. This penetration was equally the work of numerous Muslim traders involved in the trans-Saharan commerce, involving above all the export of gold, for which the
Sudan was the main world producer, to the Mediterranean countries, and the slave traffic, which had for long been important, to the lands of the Maghrib. It was likewise favoured by a general movement, since the Middle Ages, of the sedentary black populations, pushed southwards by nomads who were Muslims, and possibly by a deterioration in climate.

The present-day population of the Sahil shows a complex pattern of overlapping peoples, including societies often strongly hierarchical in social structure, which can be distinguished by their ways of life: the pure nomads, found especially in the northern Sahil, corresponding to the southwards extension of the great Saharan groups: Moors in the west, Touaregs in the centre and Tubus in the east. The semi-nomads, like the Kreda to the east of Lake Chad, regularly increase proportionately, and possess palm-groves or practise stock-rearing and an extensive agriculture at the same time, sometimes organising the transhumance of their herds under the care of herdsmen. The Peuls or Fulbe, a people whose origin is badly known, belong to this category, whilst practising stock-rearing of bovines which are more of a social value than one of food supply. Finally, the cultivators, mainly blacks, have great difficulty in practising dry farming in a climate with such feeble and irregular rainfall; the cultures utilising river water along the great waterways depend on the volume of the flood waters, and irrigated systems of agriculture remain rare. Within these activities, formerly highly hierarchical, recent political changes have brought a reversal in the strength of forces; the nomadic Saharan tribes, which were formerly dominant through their razzias and through the slave traffic, have found themselves ruined by the drought, the disappearance of the great caravan traffic and the collapse of socio-economic systems, and to a subordinate extent, to a political authority in the hands of the sedentary black populations, more quickly susceptible to education.

The peoples of the Sahil have often been severely affected by the great droughts which have adversely affected their modes of life at a time when they have been demographically increasing—e.g. it has been estimated that the population of Senegal has increased from one million at the beginning of this century to 7.5 millions in 1990—and the increase in ca. from one million at the beginning of this century to estimated that the population of Senegal has increased been demographically increasing—e.g. it has been affected their modes of life at a time when they have populations, more quickly susceptible to education. Turkish literature, their language remained complex, their religious preference he was a Shi’i (al-Damlri, Haydn, ii, 373-4). However, he seems to have favoured, as many learned men of his

with much use of the Persian and Arabic lexicons, the use of traditional love themes and writing in ‘arâd, i.e. the traditional metres of poetry. He left the Faculty of Law in Istanbul after two years and in 1903 was employed at the Foreign Office. After Feğri-i âti dissolved itself, Sähir wrote for the journal Gend kalemler (“Young Pens”) during 1911-12, this being the voice of the nationalist movement, advocating use of the national language and a national literature. During this time, Sähir wrote with the syllabic folk metre of ‘ırs (Tarîkû, edebiyat, 1908) and ‘ırs (Tarîkû, edebiyat, 1908). He left the Foreign Office and first taught literature in high schools but later became a merchant. He acted chiefly as the founder or editor of various periodicals as well as writing in them (Seyyâre, Demet, Kitâblâr, Türk Yurdu, Bilgi, Khâlqa Dogru and Türk Sûzü). These journals were mostly devoted to the promotion of Turkish nationalism during the war years. Kitâblâr, published in the 1920s, were monthly books containing poems, plays, short stories called Birindji kalemler, Cekezindji kalemler. He was appointed as a member of the Commission for Language Reform and became a member in the National Assembly for Zonguldak in 1928. In 1932 he was among the founding members of the Türk Dili Tercüem Cemiyeti. He died in 1935 in Istanbul, having married three times and having six children.


Sahl B. Hârûn b. Râhawayh (or Râhâyûn, Râhûn, Râmmûn), Persian author, translator, and a poet of great repute who wrote in Arabic in the early 'Abbasid period and died in 215/830. He was born in Dast-i Maysan or in Maysan [q. v.] in south-eastern Iraq. His family, originally from Nîshâpur, had moved to Iraq, and he was born in the region and then to Babylon, whence his nisba al-Asrâf.

The period of his youth and early education remains in obscurity. He attracted public attention first as the secretary of Hârûn al-Râghid’s vizier Yâbîyân b. Khâlid al-Barmaki (170-87/786-803). Under Yâbîyân, he was charged with the distribution of certain public payments (Ibn Abdrabbâh, v, 38). He survived the fall of the Barmakids, became an intimate of al-Râghid and acted as his sâhib al-dawâwsîn (Ibn al-Abbâr, lîst al-ktab, Damascus 1961, 85-6). It is not known whether he held this office under al-Amin, although during the pursuing civil war and fratricide which ravaged Baghdad, he remained in the capital and had contact with al-Amin’s vizier al-Fadl b. al-Rabî (al-Dâhîz, Bûyûn, i, 346). Under al-Ma’mûn he was bound to al-Hasan b. Sahl [q. v.], and served him primarily as the director of the House of Wisdom (bayt al-kitâb [q. v.]).

Early literary tradition portrays Sahl as the foremost partisan of the Shûbûbiyya [q. v.,] though by religious preference he was a Shî’i (al-Damiri, Hâyûn al-hayyûun, Cairo 1887, i, 313). The story known as “Sahl’s rooster”, related by the zealous Shî’i poet Dîbill al-Khuzâ‘î [q. v.], confirms his ties with the Shî’is (al-Dâhîz, Hâyûûn, ii, 374-5). However, he seems to have favoured, as many learned men of his
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generation did, the Mu'tazil doctrine and is mentioned next to its leading mentors Abu '1-Hudhayl, al-Nazzam and al-Djahiz (al-Djahiz, Hayawan, vii, 182, 206; al-Tha'alibi, Thanda al-kalib, Cairo 1965, 172).

Sahl found an ardent admirer and friend in his younger contemporary al-Djahiz, who praised him as a trustworthy gentleman not shy in defending the truth even to his own loss; a superlative orator, master of rhetoric and style, author of many treatises and voluminous books (Bayân, i, 52, 89). Still more warmly Abu '1-Aynâ' [q. v.] wrote of Sahl the worth of the world by letting him be one of its residents" (al-Tawhîdi, al-Basî'a wa l-'dha'khîr, Damascus 1964, iii, 326 n. 1).

In his own time Sahl became outstanding in eloquence and learning. And wrote books in challenge of Arab-Islamic practices. His description of the qualities of the chamberlain, hâdjîb [q. v.], was based perhaps as much on personal experience as on the lost Sasanid book Șabdî or Șâkînî (al-Djahiz, Rasâlî, ii, 39). In Sira al-'Ammân (Ibn Nubâta, 242), Sahl treated topics common to Siyar al-mulûk which describe royal customs of the Persian kings, dignitaries and heroes. Al-Tabarti's long passages on the rise of rivalries between the two brothers al-Amlîn and al-Mâmun, and anecdotes about al-Ma'mûn recorded on Sahl's authority in other sources, may have had their origin in this book. His treatise on jurisprudence and the function of the kâdi [q. v.], Risâla fi 'l-Kadâd, addressed to the Persian jurist and judge of Bâṣra 1sâ b. A'bân b. Sâdakâ b. 'Adî b. Mârdãngâhâ of Fâsâ (in office from 211/826 until his death in 220/835), echoed his experience in judicial matters and legal interpretation.

Among Sahl's many translations was the romance Wâmîk and Aţfûdha which was supposed to have been compiled at the time of Anûshîrwan and presented to him. The famous verse on the wall of Kaşr-i Shirin Palace, which pertains to the time of Khusraw Parwiz (590-628), is a direct reference to this romance (Rypka, Iranische Literaturgeschichte, Leipzig 1959, 132-3), but was also mentioned in al-Djahiz's Kitâb al-Bukhald and translated by Abdelkader Mehiri, An-Nâmî wa-l-Khâtâb, 1968, i, 52, 58, 77, 89-91, 197, 238, 243, 332-3, 346, ii, 39, 43, 74, 104, 195, 196, iii, 29, 352, 373-4, idem, Bukhald, Cairo 1958, 9-16 (= Risâla fi 'l-
Bukhār), 1, 5, 21, 40, 43, 93, 106, 130, 154, 182, and the editor's notes 268-71, ... fols. 35-
43). The two works attributed to al-Tustari and the considerable body of anecdotes and sayings quoted on

 Shortly after his death in Baṣra, al-Tustari's direct disciples split into two groups (cf. Bowering, Mystical 
vision, 75-99). One group selected Baghdād as the centre of activity, either joining the Sunnī circle of al-
Djumayy [q. v.] as did Abū Mamīn al-Djurayry (d. 312/924) and Abū 'l-Hasan Ṭallī who also
were inspired by the teachings of Abū Bakr Muhammad b. al-
Shāfi‘ī, Tābākāt, i, 67).
his authority in the Sufi primary sources give a fragmentary yet substantive picture of al-Tustari’s mystical theory and practice. The central idea of al-Tustari’s mysticism is the Sufi line of dhikr (al-ghāthah [al-tawba, al-tawfiq], which he put on a firm theoretical basis. All his life he observed the method of recollecting God by repeating a mental prayer, “God is my witness” (Allāhu ʿalā kum), by which the mystic is enabled to anticipate God’s final self-revelation (tajjud) as experienced in the beatific vision. Al-Tustari found the basis for his idea of tajjudī in Kur’ān, XLIII, 70-2, a reference to the people of paradise, rather than in the Kur’ānic reference to Moses, who was unable to bear the sight of God’s revelation (VII, 143).

There are only fragmentary source texts illuminating al-Tustari’s resolution of the central problem of Muslim mysticism, the relation between divine omnipotence and human responsibility. Al-Tustari’s thought attempts to achieve a conjunction of opposites and foreshadows Ashʿarī themes. However, these themes may have been introduced into his Taṣfīr al-Kur’ān by his disciples in the aftermath of al-Ashʿarī’s [q. v.]. God creates both good and evil and possesses two kinds of will, volition (maʿṣūla) and an express will (niyya). Since human action is caused by the divine agency, God has to possess divine foreknowledge (ʿilm Allāh al-sīḥā) of it prior to its occurrence. God’s providence (adhūn), made explicit in His command (amr) and interdiction (naḥy), runs parallel to God’s guidance (ḥidāya), made explicit in His help (maʿāmīna, also termed wulāya) and protection (ṣīma). When man performs an action in conformity with the divine Command and interdiction, he is granted the divine succour of God’s maʿāmīna, i.e. divinely given success (taufık). Should he commit an action in opposition to the divine Command and interdiction, man places himself outside the divine custody and is deserted by God, who withdraws His ṣīma and forsakes man (ḥishādān [q.v.]). It is man’s duty to turn to God with thanksgiving when he performs a good deed (ḥaana) and to seek God’s succour through repentance when he commits an evil deed (ṣayyā). Whether man conforms to or opposes the divine Command and interdiction, in each case the action comes from God although it is executed through man and by man (minhu bihim wa-lahum, see Böwering, Mystical vision, 175-84).


AL-SAḤM (a.) “Arrow”. For the use of arrows in archery, see KAWS.

1. In science.

a. Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular c b in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called al-saḥm, the versed sine (al-ṣawq al-maʿṣūra) of the arc a b; the sine (al-ṣawq al-muṣṭuwa) which corresponds to our sine, is a c (see—
addition to many other passages—al-Khwarazmi, Ma-
dftih al-culum ed. van Vloten,
... for resi-
dent students who, according to the wakfiyye for the
whole complex, had a stipend of two akces a day; there
point of the arrow, and the so-called "eye of
lous double-star which is in the eye. Neither in al-
op. cit., al-Sahd^ib al-muda^afa
c
x X Puppis.
him, is 3-2 in magnitude, they are only of the 3rd or
hand); of Sagittarius in Ulugh Beg, however, except
consists of 31 stars mainly of southern latitude, which
constellation. The bow-constellation of the latter was
essen-
Djurdjdn
or
c
Kodja Sinan [see SINAN], or
The holder is called masahim. Sahm, unlike the com-
ication law because it contains no interest. According to al-
Kardawi, zakat is only required on self-generating
shares in companies that do not change the essence of
their trading commodity, like import-export com-
panies or dealers in crude oil. The shares in these ex-
amples are seen as the actual active capital, therefore
they are liable to zakat. Zakat is not paid on shares
which do not generate profit directly. An example of
this is shares in companies that provide public ser-
ices. However, Abu Zahra, 'Abd al-Rahman Hasan and
'Abd al-Wahhab Khalil maintain that all shares should be
treated as ordinary capital. With regard to trading in
ahum, it appears to be a de facto practice in most
Muslim countries, including Saudi Arabia and the
Gulf States. This is despite the fact that Islamic
law views it with suspicion, liketing it to gambling
(maysir [q. v.]) and prohibited speculation.

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**AL-SAHM, HAMZA B. YUSUF al-Kurashl**

**Djurjani, Abu l-Kasim (b. at an unknown date towards
the middle of the 4th/10th century, d. 427/1038 at
Nishapur), traditionist and legal scholar.**

A native of Gurgan [q. v.] in the Caspian coastlands,
where he was a khalif and preacher, his major work,
and apparently the sole surviving one, is his Tauri^ib
Djurjani or Kutab Ma'surif ulam^a aht Djurjani,
especially a rigd^al [q. v.] work devoted to the scholars
and muhadditun of his native province, to which is prefixed
(ed. Haydarabad 1369/1950, 4-18) a brief historical
introduction on the Arab conquest of Gurgan and its
Arab governors. His information on the scholars of
Gurgan was subsequently used by later writers such as
al-Sam^ani, Ibn 'Asakir, Yaktki, al-Dhabab [q. v.], etc.
Hadjiji Khalifa also mentions of his work a T.
Astarabab and a K. al-Ar^abin fit Jad'dul as-Ashabi, whilst
his Su'dat 'an al-Hajj in al-Dar^akun [q. v.] is quoted
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**SAHN-I THAMAN or MEDARIS-I THAMAN**

**The eight madresses or colleges [see MADRASA] founded-
by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II [q. v.] as part of the
ancillaries to his great Fatih Mosque, the whole
forming a külliye [q. v.] or complex.**

The külliye was begun in 867/1463 and completed
in 875/1471, and the architect responsible was one
Sinan, called variously "the Elder", to distinguish
him from the great architect of the following century,
Koca Sinan [see Sinan], or 'Atik or Asadi "the freed-
man", implying that he had been of non-Turkish
slave status. The eight madresses were situated to the
east and west of the Mosque, the first group of higher
madresses being called the Aqgediz or "Mediterranean"
group and the second one the Karadeniz or "Black
Sea" group. There were further, lower (Tatimme
madresses, a hospital, an 'imaret [q. v.], a tibkahi
or hospice, a library and the two tombs for the sultan
himself and his wife Glibbahir Sulian, in the complex.

Each of the Sahm madresses had domed rooms (hurjeis
and a lecture room, with a total of 120 rooms for resi-
dent students who, according to the tibkahi for the
whole complex, had a stipend of two akces a day; there
were also day students, of which the 19th century historian Ahmed Djewdet Pasha [q.v.] was one (Tedhdkir, iv). The basic stipend of the madrasa was 30 akce a day. Little definite is known about the organisation and curricula of the Teimme medreses; their buildings have now disappeared, though those of the Şahn-i Thamun survive.

The Şahni Thamun produced a large number of scholars and jurists, some of whom played leading roles in the Ottoman state and society; like most of the surviving buildings in the complex, it was much restored and rebuilt. Although not common, the name Şahnun (cf., possibly, the diminutive of the form fašin, which expresses affection, as in Khulедин, Zaydun, Sađun and Hamdun) is attested throughout the Muslim West, in Spain (Ibn Hayyān, Muktabās, Paris 1937, 79, 81, 113), in the central Maghrib (Brockelman, S II, 715), and at Kairouan, where another faš (decisive influence on him: Buhlul b. Rashid (d. 95)). From Sahnun’s questions to the latter, his beard, long hair, large eyes and broad shoulders” (Tabi, op. cit., 95). He wore a string of beads around his neck; in the countryside he wore a woollen tunic, with a towel around his head; and in the town, in winter, he dressed in a black burnous. He is known to have had a daughter, Khadijja, who remained a spinster and whom he held in the very highest of regard, and a son, Muhammad, whom he educated with care and who became in his turn a brilliant faš (nicknamed Sahnun, it is said, on account of his shrewdness, or from the name of a bird), a Kairouan spinster and whom he held in the very highest of regard, and a son, Muhammad, whom he educated with care and who became in his turn a brilliant faš.

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Many of the Kairouanese masters, including Asad b. al-Furat—who ultimately sided with the party of the Hanafs, had studied directly under Mālik [q.v.], and it was with them that Şahnun served his first apprenticeship. Two of his masters exerted a particularly decisive influence on him: Buhlul b. Rashid (d. 183/799), who was more of an ascetic than a faš, and most of all the Tunisian ʿAli b. Ziyād (d. 183/799) who had been the first to introduce the Mawwatt of Mālik into Irfiyya. All that remains of his version is a fragment recently edited by al-Shadhilli al-Nayfar (Beirut 1980, 1984).

Şahnun made his way to the East, for purposes of ṭihla, to complete and perfect his education, either in 178/794 or in 188/804. The latter date is by far the more plausible. The list of his masters includes 21 names; among these, the figure of the disciple of Mālik, the Egyptian Ibn al-Kāsim al-ʿAtaki (d. 191/807), stands out prominently. Asad b. al-Furat (d. 212/827) had already preceded Şahnun in visiting Ibn al-Kāsim. From Şahnun’s questions to the latter,
starting from a Hanafi outline, and after discussion, the Asadiyya was born, the fruit of a compromise, of the Great Mosque, until he died. This death, allegedly, weighed heavily on his conscience, but this did not come to an end, and another began: that of masā'il, of prepared solutions. It was a sort of code which responded to a pressing need and arrived at the right time.

Armed with a copy of this book, obtained by not the most scrupulous of means, Sahnūn took the road to Fustat in his turn. His return was to last three years.

Under the direction of Ibn al-Kāsim the Asadiyya was submitted to a new analysis, in a spirit of greater fidelity to the teaching of Mālik. Sahnūn gave the text thus revised the title of Mudawwana, a name borrowed from another disciple of Mālik, Aḥšāb (d. 204/819). Barely had it become known when the Mudawwana—term is currently employed in Morocco with the meaning of code—eclipsed the Asadiyya completely. As evidence of this eclipse, only a few pages of the Asadiyya survive, while the Mudawwana has been the object of numerous commentaries and summaries [see Mālikiyya, vol. VI, at 278b]. Its influence was decisive in the crystallisation and diffusion of the madhhab of Mālik throughout the Muslim West, as is proved by the fact that the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf [q.v.], in his attempt to eradicate Mālikism, consigned the work to the flames, thus paying it the ultimate tribute. The Mudawwana was edited in the name of Mālik, Sahnūn's recension after Ibn al-Kāsim (Cairo 1323/1905-6).

Like Asad, Sahnūn had begun his career teaching the Kur'ān to children in a building (bayt) rented for this purpose (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Munīf, Adwarat Muhammad b. Sahnūn, in al-Naqra al-tīmiyya li-l-Kulliyya al-Zaytuniyya, Tunis 1982-3, vi, 239). On his return from the East in 191/807, henceforward enjoying the prestige of the master was consolidated, students" (Talbi, op. cit., 119). Some slept openly. The master did not object, considering that even thus they were gaining the benefit of samāʾ (audition). The popularity of his courses is clearly illustrated by the fact that miraculous phenomena were associated with them; it is related in all seriousness that the djinn themselves attended them.

In certain circumstances, prestige inevitably attracts controversy. Having become, with advancing age and after the death of Asad, the undisputed leader of Ifrīkiyya, Sahnūn also became a legitimate target. In 487/1105, the old quarral regarding the nature of the Kur'ān—created according to the Muʿtazilis, uncreated according to the Sunnis—became suddenly acrimonious. In Baghda, al-Wāthik declared his hostility towards the Sunnis while in Kairouan, Abu Dja'far Aḥmad, who had usurped power at the expense of his brother, the amir Muhammad I, seized the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone, bringing his policy into line with that of the caliphate, as was traditional, and at the same time offering pledges to the Muʿtazilis who had supported him in his confrontation with the Sunnis. Aḥmad b. Nāṣr, a fervent representative of the doctrine of the uncreated Kur'ān, was executed in Baghda by al-Wāthik personally in Shabaʿb 231/April 846. The following month, Sahnūn, who had taken refuge in the riḥla of Kāsir Ziyād in the Sahel, was arrested and transferred to Kairouan. A trial took place in the Palace in the course of which the Muʿtazilī kādī Ibn Abi ʿl-Djawād, who had held this post for eighteen years and had sided with the usurper, demanded his execution. More fortunate than Aḥmad b. Nāṣr, Sahnūn was merely placed under house arrest. This did not last long; the following year the amir Muhammad I regained power, sent his brother into exile in the East, dismissed his kādī Ibn Abi ʿl-Djawād and, in accordance with the movement which had begun in the East with the accession of al-Mutawakkil, practised a policy of reconciliation with the Sunnis.

It was in these circumstances, and after protracted negotiations, that Sahnūn was appointed kādī, with full powers (Monday, 4 Ramaḍān 234/1 April 849). He was then 74 years old. He was elevated to this post by a Sunni council that had been formed in the Sahel by the support of the Hanafi faction, who were then broadly in the majority, and of their leader Sulaỳmān b. ʿImrān. As a means of consolidating the Sunni consensus, Sahnūn involved the latter in the exercise of his functions, and began taking important measures designed to strengthen Sunnism and to reinforce the power of the kādī. For audiences he set aside a special room to which only plaintiffs were admitted, having submitted a written application, in person and in turn, without the option of being represented by third parties, whatever the social rank of the applicant.

Released, as was to be expected, by the authorities, the Muʿtazilī Ibn Abi ʿl-Djawād, son-in-law of Asad, was placed under arrest, officially on a charge of financial embezzlement, something which the accused persisted in denying until the end. Naturally, the underlying motive for the indictment was otherwise. In addition to personal motivations, Sahnūn had decided to strike a blow against heresy. He was in fact, so it is related, very severe in his opposition to the innovators (ahl al-bidaʾ), of whom Ibn Abi ʿl-Djawād was not one of the least. Day after day, with the object of extorting the desired confession from him, Sahnūn had him flogged in the courtyard of the Great Mosque, until he died. This death, allegedly, weighed heavily on his conscience, but this did not
deter him from pursuing energetically his policy of the repression of heresy, in other words the censure of the leaders of heretical sects. This was one of the greatest architects of the exclusive supremacy of Sunnism in its Maliki form throughout the Muslim West. He dispersed the sects of the ahl al-bida’ (Mukaddima, i/1, 5). He was one of the greatest architects of the exclusive supremacy of Sunnism in its Malik! form throughout the Muslim West.


The name of Sahnun remains associated with the definitive triumph of Malikism throughout the Muslim West, a triumph which Ibn Khaldun, as a sociologist, explains by reference to Bedouinism (Representatives of 1956, 810-11). This explanation does not take account of the fact that it was Hanafism which enjoyed a broad majority at the outset. In the reversal of the situation, it is therefore necessary to stress the exceptional role played by Sahnun. At his initiative, and by means of his prestige, Kairouan became a major centre for the study and diffusion of Maliki fiqh. He left, it is said, some 700 disciples, all of them “truly shining lights in their respective towns” (Tabakdt, op. cit., 133). His mausoleum, in the outskirts of Kairouan, is the object of constant veneration.

But Sahnun was not only a great faqih. His knowledge was matched by his piety, and by a life which was austere to the point of asceticism. Although wealthy—at the end of his life he possessed 12,000 olive-trees (ibid., 165)—he disposed of his income in the form of alms and continued to live a life of poverty. He was easily moved to tears, and frequently sought seclusion in the ribat of Kash Ziyad. Rather curiously, and in a manner contrary to much of Tradition, he preached a version of monasticism: “If one can get by without a wife,” he said, “it is preferable to renounce marriage” (al-Maliki, op. cit., 364). “In him there were qualities,” wrote Abu ‘l-I-‘Arab, “which were not to be found combined in any other: perfect knowledge of the law (fiqh), sincere piety, rigour in the application of justice, contempt for temporal things, simple tastes in food and clothing, generosity. And refusal to accept anything from princes” (Tabakdt, Aligiers 1914, 101).

Sahnun was a great master of fikr and also a man of rigorous and demanding ethics. It is this which explains his success, and the constant veneration in which he is still held.


1. History of the term.

The Arabic authors provide only fragmentary and often vague items of information on the Sahara. The only region which they know with some precision is the northern zone, bordering on Ifrikiya and the Maghrib, the zone within which Ibn Khaldūn (Hist. des Berbères, ed. de Slane, i, 190) includes the Tafillalt, Touat, Gourara, Fezzan and even Ghadāmīs. These authors further disagree on the boundaries of the Sahara. Thus al-Bakrī asserts that the sands mark the beginning of the "land of the blacks" (Ma‘dīlīk, Algiers 1911, 21, tr. de Slane, 49). Ibn Khaldūn, on the contrary, states that this land is separated from Barbary by a vast region formed from deserts "where one risks dying of thirst". One also finds here and there some information on the parts of the desert crossed by caravan routes (e.g. on the western Sahara; cf. the description of the desert called Nisār or Tisar by al-Idrīsī, Yusr by Abu Tīfīdat) or on certain trade centres like Tadmakka and Awdaghust (q. v.) (al-Idrīsī, Tisar by al-Idrīsī, Yusr by Abu Tīfīdat) and sometimes more recent (the great inselbergs of the Tademait plateaux to the north of In Salah, and the recently-formed hamādjas of the southern piedmont region of the Sahara). The greater part of these surfaces is covered by the ergs hardly cover more than one-sixth of the area of the Sahara, even though they may at times make up very extensive ensembles like the Great Western Erg (ca. 80,000

2. Boundaries.

The present-day Sahara is bounded on the west by the Atlantic; on the north by the chains of the southern Atlas from the Moroccan High Atlas to the hills of Gafsa in Tunisia; then by the Mediterranean, then Libya (apart from some better-watered areas of the southern Atlas from the Moroccan High Atlas to the Atlantic; on the north by the chains of the desert of the Lamta [see LAMTA], bounded on the desert of the Lamta in the west, the desert of Sidjilmasa [q. v.] and to the north by Touat, Gourara and the Mzab [q. v.] and to the south by the kingdom of Agades; (4) the desert of the Lamta [see LAMTA], bounded on the north by the deserts of Ouargla and Ghadāmīs, and on the south by the deserts which stretch as far as Kano; and (5) the desert of the Bardawa, that between the desert of the Lamta in the west, the desert of Awjilah in the cast, Fezzan to the north and Bornu to the south (tr. Schefer, iii, 207 ff.).

3. Physical geography.

(a) Climate and vegetation. The Sahara is characterised above all by its desert climate, linked to the great anticyclones which often fix themselves there. The great scarcity and irregularity of rainfall, as well as its pronounced isolation, make the southern part of the region one of the hottest of the globe, where the average annual temperature can reach 30°. These two factors join together to make the air extremely dry and to bring about intense evaporation, even if there are notable differences between the central region of the desert and its fringes; on the periphery, rainfall, though feeble, arrives at least once a year, and the action of water running, favoured by the absence of vegetation cover, remains the predominant factor modifying the natural milieu in the semi-arid and arid areas, when these are not too pronounced; the steppe lands to the north, more complex in the Sāhil (q. v.) to the south, mark the transition to wetter regions and form milieux relatively more favourable to human activity and to pastoralism. It is only in the central part of the Sahara that the action of water becomes negligible in the areas which are completely arid and hyper-arid; effective rainfall there is so rare, and separated in time by several years, that the action of temperature and, above all, that of the wind, becomes the essential factor making for erosion of a virtually fixed environment, such as can be observed in the great plains of Tanezrouft on the Algerian-Mali frontier and of Ténéré on the Algerian-Niger frontier, or in the saïrs of southern Libya. In the desert proper, vegetation is extremely sparse, apart from in certain wadi beds where some spiny trees manage to maintain themselves by deriving water from deep underground.

The abundance of prehistoric artefacts in the most desolate regions of the Sahara point to the region having undergone climatic modifications. Since the beginning of the Quaternary, it has been affected by alternate phases of humidity and dryness connected above all with changes in the earth's orbit. The last humid phase, the better known, took place mainly between 6,000 and 2,000 B.C. It affected the whole of the Sahara, and conditions were clearly more favourable, as shown by frequent traces of lake-dwelling sites which allowed the installation of Neolithic peoples throughout almost all the desert. These peoples covered the sandstone rock faces with numerous carvings and paintings depicting the fauna of wet zones.

(b) Relief. The mountainous massifs, even if at times important, cover only a small part of the Sahara. They number three. The Tibesti (21° N, 18° E), the most extensive and the highest, reaching 3,400 m/10,300 feet; the Hoggar [see AHAGGAR] (23° N, 6° E), slightly lower at 3,000 m/9,000 feet; and the Air (18° N, 8° E), only reaching 2,300 m/7,000 feet. Other massifs, such as the Adrar of the Ifoghas and the Adrar of Atar [see ADRAR], are clearly of lesser importance and are only remarkable in relation to the surrounding plains. In essence, the greater part of the Sahara is an immense desert, by its very nature divided into two groups. The vast erosion surfaces which have levied the ancient shields of the African plate formation cover the greater part of the Sahara; they are often interrupted by residual relics with steep slopes, called in the Earth Sciences by German terms, inselbergs when they are isolated, and inselberge when they form small mountainous massifs covering a small part of the surface (e.g. the "massif" of the Eglab on the Algerian-Mauritanian border). The other surfaces are made up of sedimentary coverings of the base, forming plateaux and called hamādjas when they are not too worn by erosion. These coverings are sometimes ancient (sandstone tassils around the Hoggar and Tibesti massifs, often much dissected by erosion), and sometimes more recent (the great Mesozoic hamādjas of the Tademait plateaux to the east, and the great sand dunes of the northern region of Tihagh, and the recently-formed hamādjas of the southern piedmont region of the Sahara). The greater part of these surfaces is covered by the ergs (q. v.), occasionally covered by a thin sandy surfacing. In effect, contrary to an idea frequently put forward, the sand dune massifs making up the ergs hardly cover more than one-sixth of the area of the Sahara, even though they may at times make up very extensive ensembles like the Great Western Erg (ca. 80,000
km²) and the Great Eastern Erg in the north of the Algerian Sahara, and the Edeyen (a Berber term) of the Great Eastern Erg in the north of the Algerian Sahara, and the Edeyen (a Berber term) of the Great Western Erg in the south of the Algerian Sahara. Watercourses (waddis) are rare, above all in the hyper-arid central part; their valleys are often very wide and their beds, which are not commensurate with the current quantity of water transported, are favourite spots for human activity; they are the heritage of the more humid climatic variations of the Quaternary period.


4. Human geography and population. The ancient human population of the Sahara is complex, and has its roots in the distant past. One must in fact go back to the beginnings of the Neolithic period (ca. 8,000 B.C.) in order to see how, each time when the climate becomes more wet, the desert becomes repopulated on the its margins—Maghrib, Nile valley, the Sahil. The population was already varied, as is seen in the diversity of the axes of population. All through the Neolithic period, the ancestors of the present-day Berbers and African populations were content with military campaigns of intimidation or mountains, the Sahara henceforth made obligatory retreat of the oasis (where traces of the Neolithic period could now for the first time practise stock rearing and even, at times, agriculture. They also formed political entities, straddling the Sahara and Sahil, which were attracted by the Sahara, in respect of gold and of slaves and made human relations harder.

The 14th century was the golden age for these trans-Saharan relations. The Meccan Pilgrimage of the king of Mali, Mansa Musa [0.0.], in 1324, was the apogee of this, so impressive was its richness. But from the end of the 15th century onwards, the more and more exigent presence of Europeans on the Atlantic coasts of Africa disturbed trans-Saharan relations and made human relations harder. Around the 10th century, a period of climatic remission allowed a number of peoples of the Sahil—Peul or Fulani, Kanuri, Kanemi, etc.—to re-establish themselves as far as the 20° latitude north, where they could now for the first time practise stock rearing and even, at times, agriculture. They also formed political entities, straddling the Sahara and Sahil, which were the first ones in that region and which clashed, towards the north, with those of the Berbers and Arabs.

Arab penetration was in fact an early one, along the tracks, which became the axes for human, commercial, intellectual and religious penetration. From the outset of their conquest of North Africa, they were attracted by the Sahara, in respect of gold and of slaves from its southern fringes. The first moves date from 666 (Fezzan and possibly Kawar), 682 (Sūs) and 734-5 (from Morocco towards Senegal). But during the 7th-9th centuries, the Arabs were still too much strangers to the Sahara for them to establish themselves there for any lengthy duration.

In the western Sahara, there was a strong current of contacts between Morocco and the Sahil, where the town of Awdaghust became important from before the 7th century. At the opening of the 11th one, Berbers of Mauritania—the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBĪN]—launched themselves in an immense politico-religious movement of conquest, of which the Berber-Sudanese front was as important as the Mooroccan-
Hispanic one. The region then fell once more into an indrawn state, troubled only by the progressive and irresistible movement, as far as the banks of the Senegal, of Arab tribes coming from Morocco, who gradually were to form, together with the Berber substratum, the basis of the Moorish peoples of the western Sahara.

In the Niger bend, Gao was already a powerful, and Muslim, town in the 8th century, frequented by the Massouf Berbers, living between Mauritania and Mali. Its relations with the Maghrib (Tāhār, Ḥadāmīs, Qat, Tunis and Tripoli) and with Egypt, and, above all, with the Hispanic one, were close. The town [q.v.] founded in the 12th century, was another of these staging-post towns of the desert. The kingdom of Mali [q.v.] was a truly international power, which the Ottoman empire, the Ḥafsids of Tunis and the Moroccan dynasties had to take into account. But the region was frequently devastated by the rivalries of the peoples of the Sāhīl (Soninke, Songhai, Mūsštīr, Paull or Fulinī, etc.), the Touaregs (who definitively seized the Air from the Hausas in the 12th century) and, later, the Moroccans, who endeavoured, without great success, to establish their power in the Sāhīl in the 16th century by destroying the Songhāi empire (battle of Tondibī, 1591).

In the eastern Sahara, there were several large groupings, along axes to the Mediterranean, by means of two main routes, Air-Ahaggar and Kāwār-Djado, with Fezzan as a staging-post. The kingdom of Bornu [q.v.] was the most important of these between the 16th and 18th centuries, in contact with the Ottomans, who controlled Cairo, Tripoli and Tunis, and who were above all interested in the slave trade. The Tubus, long established between Fezzan, Djado, Ennedi and Lake Chad, resisted all pressures.

Yet further to the east, relations existed between the Chad basin and the Nile valley in the Sudan, via Ennedi and Dāfūrī [q.v.].

The Europeans did not really appear until the 18th century. Previously, only the coasts were known to them above all, to the Portuguese. The account of the Moroccan Leo Africanus [q.v.], who crossed the Sahara between 1510 and 1514, gave Europe access to knowledge which, alone amongst outsiders, was at that time accessible only to the Arabs. In the 19th century, the Europeans acquired for themselves the means for exploring the interior of Africa, for varying reasons, amongst which were prominent a desire to combat the places of origin for slavery and a search for new economic outlets. All through this century, numerous explorers laid down the roads for colonisation, which was often violent and which excited strong reactions, frequently led by the Muslim Sufi orders of the Maghrib. These last played an essential role in the Islamicisation of the Sahil. One may mention, amongst the main explorers, before they yielded the place to military men, Mungo Park, Laing, Caille, Bornu, Chad basin and the Nile valley in the Sudan, via Ennedi and Dāfūrī [q.v.].


5. The contemporary Sahara.

Insofar as agriculture has not been able to develop
in the desert except under the beneficent effect of ir-
rigation (this marking the great difference between it
and the countries of the Sāhīl, where one can speak of
drying, under conditions of rainfall, as likewise
in the lands bordering the northern edge of the
Sahara), men have systematically colonised the more
low-lying parts. These zones, on one hand, can
benefit, all along the northern edge of the desert, from
the flowing of streams whose waters can be diverted
towards agricultural lands, and, on the other hand,
they allow the underground water level to be reached
more easily by means of wells. From which water is
raised by manpower, animal power or mechanical
pumps. But since the end of the last century, the
resources of the deep water table have been tapped
through deep bore-holes, in this instance, artesian
wells (water under pressure, hence spurting out) and
provide a supplementary advantage. The most abun-
dant resources are those of the so-called Albian water
table (or the Intercalary Continental ones), utilised in
the Algerian and Tunisian Sahara, which is also the
origin of the Great Artificial river of Libya, an enor-
mous aqueduct which transfers water towards the
coastal zones. But inasmuch as the Intercalary Con-
tinental water-table is made up of fossil water (the
results of the last rainfall of the Quaternary period),
the question must be posed, how long can this
hydraulic source last? The question remains
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raison d'être.

Decades of unrestrained urbanisation have in fact
radically modified the general picture, apart from the
effects of the long periods of desiccation which have
affected the fringes of the desert (where the most
numerous groups of nomads live) and which have
erased the complementary factors (climatic, whence
vegetational) making up the support for nomadic life.

While the towns of the Mauritanian Adrar (e.g. Atar)
or yet again he may have become an agriculturist once
account of his relatives who have become sedentarised,
or be he may now become an adjunct of tourism
(guide or porter) or yet again he may have become an agriculturist
once more, often aided by the state, which endeavours
to settle the nomads—unless these principal sources
of income stem from what is regarded as a side-activity,
the nomad himself having kept up a semi-way of life
as a nomadic herdsman, with the family continuing to
live in a tent. In sum, the abandonment of vast
pastoral areas has as its corollary the end of a certain
corn control over the expanses which the nomads enjoyed;
the Saharan expanses have never been so empty, and
the contrast between the towns where men and ac-
tivities are now concentrated and the pasture lands
which have now become useless, has never been so
brutal.

Development policies applied to the Sahara all end
up, whatever the political options chosen by the vari-
ous states, in processes which inevitably converge
on the same constant: a state-directed structure and a
multiplication of relationships which bring about
forms of association in the most varied fields. In prac-
tice, all of these work together to break up the isolation
which was once the common lot of the Saharan peoples:
a good network of roads, access to wage-
earning employment, the developing role of the towns
within the framework of a voluntarist policy and the
generalising of a market economy. In sum, in a few

Because of this, the oasis societies have undergone
deep changes, since the ways of urban consumption
and ways of life have expanded rapidly, as much amongst the sedentaries as amongst the nomads.

Many of the traditional modes inherited from the
past, whose management has been perfectly mastered
by the local populations, will probably continue to
have their raison d'être. But the most spectacular evolu-
tion stems from the development of agriculture for the
market, mainly based on the cultivation of out-of-
season vegetables which the Sahara can produce,
given its latitude and the length of sunshine there; the
agricultural populations which have been best able to
adapt to market demands are from those parts of the
Sahara which are the best supplied with towns, with
mercurial traditions, with the best food supplies and
labour resources, and most easily linked to the great
centres of consumption, i.e. the towns of the Medi-
erranean littoral and the export outlets. Furthermore,
the Saharan expanses, by virtue of their rich hydraulic
reserves, are more and more considered as reserves of
land, immense regions to be colonised, whose value
for intensive agriculture (mainly based on cereals,
above all wheat) may possibly allow of a solution to the
problem of finding food supplies (at least on the
local scale; for the national scale, this is a utopian
dream). Whence the increased number of deep bore-
holes which supply the self-propelled sprinklers and
which create a new landscape, that of agribusiness,
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In this context, nomadism is only a residual, very
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A new complementarity, this time based on relation-
ships with the town, has replaced these latter ones; the
nomad may now raise livestock for slaughter on the
account of his relatives who have become sedentarised,
or be he may now become an adjunct of tourism
(guide or porter) or yet again he may have become an agriculturist
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decades only we have witnessed a process of integration in the sense used in politics, i.e. entry into a vast grouping which is transforming the life of the Saharan peoples by bringing them fully into the process of state-building.

That the Sahara is going to be, in the future, an expanse which not only retains its population but attracts people as well, is the tangible proof that it has become part of the development process. The attachment of these immense Saharan expanses to the Mediterranean province of each of the states involved constitutes a geopolitical factor of first-rank importance.


(S. Bisson)

SAHSARAM, variously spelt as Sahasaram, Sasaram, Sarsaram, Sasiram, a small town in the Sahabād district of Bihar in India (lat. 24° 58’ N., long. 84° 01’ E.), associated with the name of Shir Shah’s tomb is an “architectural masterpiece”. It stands in a vast artificial lake with an octagonal hall surrounded by a wide arcade which forms a gallery. Its imposing structure rises in five stages to a total height of about 45.5 m. Spreading out to the water’s edge is a continuous plinth of steps. The tomb chamber has inscriptions carved on the kibla wall. The roof is supported by four Gothic arches. Brown, op. cit., 85, considers the tomb structure “an inspired achievement, a creation of sober and massive splendour of which any country would be proud.”

Other buildings of Sahsaram worthy of mention are the Ka’fa, the ‘Idgah and the hammam or Baths.


(K.A. Nizami)

AL-SAHUL, the name of both a town and a wādī in Yemen. The town lies on the road from Ibb to Al-Mahhadīr near the ruins of Zafār Al-Sahrāf, in ancient times the capital of the Ḥimyarite kingdom (see Smith, Assiyabid, ii, 216). For Wādī Sahsul, see Edward Guaser’s Reise nach Mārib, ed. D.H. Müller and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1990, 1978, charts 2-3. Al-Sahul was called Miṣr al-Yaman on account of its wealth in corn, and was celebrated for the so-called Sahulī croaks (sahuliyya) made there of white cotton. The Prophet is said to have been shrouded (kufna) in two of them for burial. Al-Sahul is mentioned in connection with the journey made by Asad al-Dīn Muhammad b. Badr al-Dīn Hasan from Qūwāwā via Wusāb to Dhīmar (q.v.). (see al-Khadrājī, i, 111; on Asad al-Dīn see al-Madīn L-Dīn Allāh Ḥamād, i, 98; Masʿūdī, Tānkh, 281; Khadrājī, al-ʿUkād al-luwiyya, ed. and tr. Redhouse, 61, 353; G.R. Smith, The Assiyabids and early Rasālids in the Yemen, London 1978, ii, 197; C. Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, Copenhagen 1772, 235; A. Sprenger, Die alte Geschichte der Arabier als Grundlage der Entwicklungs geschichte des Semitismus, Bern 1875, repr. Amsterdam 1966, 73, 104; idem, Die Post- und Reisewege des Orients, Leipzig 1962, 109, 147, 154; A.J. Wensinck, A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition, Leiden 1960 s.v. “shroud” (A. kafan), 214; EP art. (A. Grohmann).

(E. van Donzel)
The precise date of his birth is not known, but it is presumed that he was born around 1010/1601-2. His father, Mrzâ Abd al-Rahîm, was a leading merchant of Tabriz. When Shâh ʿAbbâs I (r. 983-1038/1587-1629) made Isfahan his capital he caused many merchants from Tabriz to settle there, in the quarter named ʿAbbâsîâbâd. At this time Şâib s father moved to Isfahan, where the poet is said to have been born. In his verses, however, Şâib often invokes his connection with Tabriz, and consequently he is referred to both as a Tabrizi and an Isfahani.

Şâib s early upbringing took place in Isfahan. He obtained his education at home, and became involved in poetic exercises at a young age. He is reported to have received his training in poetry from Rûknâ Masîb of Kâshân (d. 1066/1555 or 1070/1659-60) and from Shâraf al-Dîn Shfa (d. 1037/1628), although this is discounted by some recent authorities. During his youth he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and also visited the shrine of ʿAli al-Ridâ in Maghâd.
to the physical features of the beloved; another, called Mir'at al-khaydil (“The mirror of the beloved”); another, called Mihr, (“Worthy of keeping”). He also compiled an anthology, entitled Bayād, which contained a selection of his own verses as well as those of other poets, both old and new.

Sa'ib was well-versed in the art of calligraphy, a family legacy which may be traced to his uncle, Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Khathir (1210/1893-1991), titled Shīrīn-kalhī ("Of sweet pen"), who was a master calligrapher of his time. There exist several manuscripts of Sa'ib’s works in his own handwriting, indicating the poet’s skill in the nasta’īlī form of calligraphy.

Among the verse forms employed by Sa'ib, the predominant one was the ghazal. His collection contains some kashidas and muhānawīs, but these constitute an insignificant part of his huge output. It is the quantity and quality of his sahībīs, but these constitute a significant part of his huge output. It is the quantity and quality of his sahībīs, which are the most important aspect of his poetic tradition. He is portrayed in one account as having performed in traditional fashion, singing improvised couplets from his poems and other verses in a volume, which he called Wazīb al-hīds ("Worthy of keeping").

Sa'ib was a leading exponent of the Indian style of Persian poetry (sahib-i Hindi [q.v.]). He remained a prominent poet, retaining its spontaneity because of his skillful handling. His collection contains a selection of his own verses as well as those of other poets, both old and new.

Sa'ib was a leading exponent of the Indian style of Persian poetry (sahib-i Hindi [q.v.]). He remained a prominent poet, retaining its spontaneity because of his skillful handling.
Sa'id Khathir was in especially high favour with 'Uthman, and was appointed by that caliph, together with the other Kuraish 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harirah and the Medinan Zayd b. Thabit [q. v.], to prepare a Kur'ân vulgate text on the basis of the mushaf [q. v.], of Hafsa, probably in 32-36/652-6 (see Nöldeke-Schwally, G des q., 48, 50-2, 56). He married two of 'Uthman's daughters, Maryam and Umm 'Amr, and also had links with the Marwānid branch of the clan through his marriage to Umm al-Banîn, daughter of Marwān b. al-Hasam [q. v.].

In 29/649-50 he was appointed governor of Kufa in succession to al-Walid b. 'Ukba, achieving a reputation as a military commander by leading expeditions into Adharbaydjan and the Caspian provinces. But he incurred unpopularity in unruly Kufa—to him is attributed the saying that the Sawâd [q. v.] of 'Irâq was the garden of Kuraysh, i.e. meant to be exploited by the Meccans—and his return to his post from Medina at the end of 34/655 was blocked by the kûrâni and other agitators in Kufa under Yazid b. Kays al-ARTHAB and Mâlik al-AGhtar, who proclaimed Abû Mûsâ al-ASH'ari [q. v.] governor in the city. Sa'id fought in defence of 'Uthman's dâr in Medina when it was attacked by the rebels of the Egyptian army and was wounded protecting the caliph; but, after at first inclining to the cause of 'A'shâ, and thereafter that of 'Abbâs, he declined to participate in the Battle of the Camel, and settled in Mecca. He did not participate in the events of Sîfin [q. v.] either, but Mu'awîya in 49/669 appointed him governor of Medina in place of Marwân b. al-Hasam, and he remained in office till replaced by the latter in 54/674.

He finally returned to his estates in the Wâdi 'I-ASH'IK at Medina, and died at al-ARSA, most probably in 59/678-9. The leadership of his family then devolved on his son (as many as 14 sons of his are enumerated in the nasab literature, e.g. in al-Baladhuri, Ansâb, ibv, 136-49) by Marwân's daughter, 'Amr al-ASH'IK [q. v.].

Although an Umayyad, Sa'id had close relations with members of the Hashimi family, and it was recalled by them that he had taken no part against 'All in the First Civil War (see Lammens, Mo'awia I, [q. v.]; and see also Ansbacher, Al-Ash'arî, v, 190, 207, 267, 283-4; Tabari, i, index; Ibn al-Asâr, Usd, ii, 309 f.; ibid. Kamal, ii and iv, index; Ibn Hadjar, Ishâb, no. 5059; Nawawî, Tahâdi'l asmâ', ed. Wüstenfeld, 281-2.


Sa'id b. Abû aRûBA, Mihrân Abu 'l-Nadr al-As b. Umayya, a member of the A'Sâs [q. v. in Suppl.] component group of the Umayyad clan in Mecca and, later, governor of Kufa and Medina, died in 59/678-9, according to the majority of authorities.

His father had fallen, a pagan, fighting the Muslims at the battle of Badr [q. v. on 2/624 when Sa'id, his only son, can only have been an infant. He nevertheless speedily achieved great prestige in Islam not only as the leader of an aristocratic family group but also for his liberality, eloquence and learning. He...
Sa'id b. al-Bitrik is the author of a medical treatise, *Kitab ad-daw' al-kabir* (mentioned by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a), of which a manuscript has been preserved in the Manṣūrī library at Aleppo (cf. P. Sbath, *Al-Fihrist*, i, 3, no. 25).

(b) History

Sa'id b. al-Bitrik is best known for his universal history dedicated to his fellow-physician Ḥāfaẓ b. al-Bitrik, *al-Ta'khīk al-majmū'a* (mentioned by Ibn Abl al-Usaybi). His patriarchate was approved by the copyists Naẓm al-Ḍishwar, who gave it the title of *Annals*, although this is not strictly speaking a case of annals but of a universal history in which the material is divided chronologically according to the reigns of sovereigns. With this first Christian history in the Arabic language, dealing simultaneously with religious and secular events, Sa'id intended to offer to the Melkite community a history that would enable it to assert its identity vis-à-vis the other Christian communities, and vis-à-vis the Byzantine and Arab empires.

It begins with the creation of Adam and deals with Biblical history until the Babylonian exile, then expands into a history of the Near East until the birth of Christ, devotes substantial treatment to the beginnings of the Church, to heresies and to councils, to the reigns of sovereigns, of Byzantine emperors, and finally, from the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great to the birth of Christ, devotes substantial treatment to the beginnings of the Church, to heresies and to councils, to the reigns of sovereigns, of Byzantine emperors, and finally, from the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great to the birth of Christ.

It was known in the West from the 17th century onwards. In 1642, John Selden edited, translated and commented on a brief extract concerning the preaching of St. Mark and the origins of the Church of Alexandria; in 1661, A. Ecchelesius refuted Selden by producing a new translation of the same passage; in 1658-9, E. Pococke published the complete text of the *Ta'khīk* on the basis of the manuscripts obtained by Selden (all three copied in Aleppo in the 17th century), accompanied by a Latin translation and index. This translation was reproduced, as were those of Selden and of Ecchelesiu, in the *Patrologia* of Migne. In 1906-9, L. Cheikh, alone for the first part, in collaboration with H. Zayyāt and B. Carra de Vaux for the second, re-edited the Arabic text on the basis of the manuscript of the Zayyāt collection while giving the variants according to the Pococke edition, to which B. Carra de Vaux added a collaboration with two manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; this edition also contains the continuation owed to Yāḥyā al-Anṭāḵī. In 1987, B. Pirone produced an annotated translation into Italian, according to Cheikh's text.

The manuscripts, even though they differ on the date of the end of the chronicle and contain more or less significant variants, represent the same recension of the text. Nevertheless, one manuscript stands out from the others: the ms. Sin. Arab. 580 (582) of Saint Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, considered an anonymous chronicle (the manuscript is mutilated at the beginning and at the end) until Breydy claimed to have identified it as the original, and even autographic, recension of the *Ta'khīk* of Sa'id b. al-Bitrik, henceforward regarding all the other manuscripts as bearers of a version adapted and amplified in Antiochian circles in the 11th century, perhaps by Yāḥyā himself. Breydy bases his conclusion on three arguments: (1) The script of Sin. Arab. 580 (582) makes it possible to date this manuscript at the beginning of the 10th century (a cursive Kūfic, sometimes poorly deciphered by the authors of the later recen-
tion, examples in *Mamila ou Maqella?*, 73-4, and in *Etudes*, 33-4); (2) The statement by Yahya himself (PO, xviii/5, 708-9) that after his arrival in Antioch he had revised a number of topics which then became available to him, and that he had intended to correct in the same manner the *Taʾrikh* of Saʿid which he considered flawed and incomplete. Although he adds that he abandoned this project, Breydy thinks that he, or others, did not resist the temptation; (3) The fact that all the manuscripts of the *Annales* belong to the Antiochene Melkite circle, and the late date of a number of topics (the last do not appear back beyond the 13th-14th centuries). Comparison between the so-called Alexandrian recension of Sin. Arab. 580 (582) and the so-called Antiochene recension of the Pococoe and Cheikho editions, outlined in *Etudes*, ch. v., has not been made in detail by Breydy except with regard to the taking of Jerusalem by the Persians and its reconquest by Heraclius (in *Mamila ou Maqella?*); it permits him to establish the Arabo-Jacobite origin of the first version, while the additions and glosses of the second would seemingly derive from Byzantine sources found at Antioch. Only a critical edition taking account of the entire of the manuscript tradition, comparison between the two versions, and precise study of the origin of the additions, could definitely confirm, or refute, the conclusions of Breydy.

The vehement opposition displayed by Saʿid b. al-Biṭrīk towards other Christian persuasions led to ripostes, among others, from the Copit Sāwirūs (Severus) Ibn al-Mukaffāʿ [q. v.] in *Kitāb al-Maḍāmmin* (P. Chebeli, *Réfutation de Saʿid ibn Batriq* (Eutychius). *Le livret des conciles*, in PO, iii [1905], 121-242) and from the Nestorian Elia of Nisibis (L. Horst, *Das Metropolitien-Elias von Nisibis Buch vom Besetz der Wahrheit der Gläubigen*, Collmar 1886, 25-56 ff.). The few lines in which Saʿid denies the perpetual or-temptation; (3) The fact that all the manuscripts of the *Annales* are inserted at a later stage, and precise study of the origin of any of these passages, on account of its similarity to another of apologetics, the *K. al-Burhān* (ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 100; cf. H. Mohring, *Histoire de la conception de l’Euphrasien*, ed. De Goeje, i, 176, and by Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa). Nasrallah (ed. cit., 31) has advanced the hypothesis that the three long refutations of the Nestorians and the Jacobites (ed. Cheikho, i, 159-61, 161-75, 196-7), which interrupt the narration and are introduced by the expression *kāla Saʿid b. al-Biṭrīk al-mutatabbih*, were inserted at a later stage, and that the first and the third of these passages are borrowings from the *K. al-Dīd al-Dīd*; as for the second of these passages, on account of its similarity to another work of apologetics, the *K. al-Burhān*, it poses a new problem, that of the attribution of this work to Saʿid. On the basis of the presence of the same passage in both *Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* and the *Ein bisher unbekannten Werk* of Graf (Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk, and GCAL, ii, 37) considered that Saʿid was the author of the *K. al-Burhān*. While it is certain that this treatise was composed in Arabic by a Chalcedonian before 944 (since it situates in Edessa the mandilium which was transferred to Constantinople in that year, which is confirmed by a note to Sin. Arab. 75, composed in 982, declaring that its author inherited this manuscript from his grandfather, cf. Nasrallah, op. cit., 32-3), the attribution to Saʿid is today not considered valid (criticism of Graf’s hypothesis, notably from F. Tautul, in *al-Maṭrīk*, xxvi [1929], 914-19, and Nasrallah, op. cit., 31 ff.).


(c) *Apologetics.* Saʿid b. al-Biṭrīk undertook the defence of the Chalcedonian faith not only in his *Taʾrikh* but also in a work of apologetics which has not been preserved: *K. al-Dīd al-Dīd baʿn al-mukḥāliṭ wa ʿl-nasrānī* (mentioned by Saʿid himself, Annales, ed. Cheikho, i, 176, and by Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa). Nasrallah (op. cit., 31) has advanced the hypothesis that the three long refutations of the Nestorians and the Jacobites (ed. Cheikho, i, 159-61, 161-75, 196-7), which interrupt the narration and are introduced by the expression *kāla Saʿid b. al-Biṭrīk al-mutatabbih*, were inserted at a later stage, and that the first and the third of these passages are borrowings from the *K. al-Dīd al-Dīd*; as for the second of these passages, on account of its similarity to another work of apologetics, the *K. al-Burhān*, it poses a new problem, that of the attribution of this work to Saʿid. On the basis of the presence of the same passage in both *Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien* and the *Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk* of Graf (Ein bisher unbekanntes Werk, and GCAL, ii, 37) considered that Saʿid was the author of the *K. al-

SA’ID B. HUMAYD b. SA’ID AL-KÂTIB, Abū’l-Uṯmān, Abābīsīd scribe, epigrapher and poet. His exact dates are unknown, but he was probably born in the last years of the 3rd century A.H. and died after 257/871 (or 260/874), the year of Fadl al-Ṣāḥib’s death (q. v. in Suppl.). His family came from the lower Persian nobility—he himself is sometimes called al-dhibân—and he claimed royal Persian descent. He seems to have held various lower provincial offices, before stepping into the limelight as the kâbit of Ahmad b. al-Khâṣib, vizier to al-Muntasir (r. 247-8/861-2) (q. v.), for whom he drew up the bay’a declaration (preserved by al-Tabarî, Ta’rikh, ii, 235, tr. J. Kraemer, The History of al-Tabarî, v, vii, 1989). The last al-Muṣṭaq’s successor, al-Muṣṭa’in (r. 248-52/862-6) (q. v.), headed the diwan al-ṣarâ‘ al-Ṣāhib (al-Tabari, ii, 264, tr. G. Saliba, 133). He was, however, less of a career administrator, comparing, as he did, the government service with a bath-house: if you are inside, you want to get out, and if you are outside, you want to get in (Ibn Abî ‘Awân, al-Tâbâkât, ed. Mub. Abû al-Muṣîd al-Khâna, Cambridge 1950, 316); his favourite ambiens was the literary salons of his time, especially that of the famous poetess, songstress, and lute-player, Faḍl al-Ṣāḥib. With her he had a stormy love relationship, which occasioned a fair amount of poetry on both sides. But his love poetry and, if we can trust the anecdotes, his love life, was by no means restricted to females.

Ibn al-Nadîm lists a collection of his poetry (Fihrist 123r, 166v-167r [50 folios]) and a collection of his letters (ibid. 125v). Neither has been preserved, but the specimens and fragments transmitted in secondary sources have been collected by al-Ṣāmarrâ‘î (see Bibl.). He lists 43 pieces of prose, many of which are short sayings, while only two are lengthy documents. One is the bay’a for al-Munṭasir (see above), the other presents a description of a battle during the civil war between al-Muṣṭaq and al-Muṭṭazz (q. v.), written on 24 Safar 251/25 March 865 (reading ṣafīna for ṣhāṭa‘a in the text) at the behest of the governor of Bagdad, Muhammad b. Abâdalâh b. Tâhir, to be read in the Friday mosque (al-Tabari, Ta’rikh, ix, 296-303, tr. Saliba, 50-8, al-Ṣâ‘lim, 105-17). The collected poems and fragments of such run into 73 (plus 17 doubtful) items; the longest has thirteen lines. Ibn Abî Tâhir Tâyûr (d. 280/893 [q. v.]) presents Sa’d b. Humayd as a very able plagiariser (Fihrist, 123-24), remarking that, if one were to say to his prose and poetry “Return to your originators”, nothing would stay with him. This is, however, not an original critique, either. According to the anecdotes, he was a facile improver, and his poetry cannot be expected to be highly innovative. Most of the preserved pieces are in the ḥaṭal genre; they are smooth and elegant.

His shu‘âbi attitude (see shu‘a‘ibiyâ) emerges from the title of another book, now lost, that reads K. Iniṣṣif al-‘ajam min al-‘arab. “Demanding justice for the Persians from the Arabs”, also known as al-Ṭasâwir “The equalising” (Fihrist, 123v-24). The choice of words here shows him to be a moderate who did not claim superiority for the Persians.

Sa’d b. Humayd had a number of namesakes—al-Ṣâmarrâ‘î enumerates five of them (q. cit., 32-4)—of which Abû’l-Uṯmān Sa’d b. Humayd b. al-Bakhtâkân (Fihrist, 123v-26) was easily confused with our man due to the similarity in name as well as in shu‘âbi conviction.

Arabia, and occasionally to Europe and to China. The range of his interests is exemplified in 1845, when he sent an Arab horse as a present to the American President, and himself received an imperial dinner in which sixty-four pieces from the Chinese Emperor, of a kind of porcelain reserved for the Imperial Family alone.

From 1822 he was under pressure to end the slave trade, when he was forced to forbid the sale of slaves to Christian powers. In 1845 he was persuaded into a further treaty prohibiting both import and export of slaves from his African dominions. Since he had no control inland it was not difficult to evade these provisions.

The prosperity of Zanzibar, and in particular the wealth that accrued from the clove trade, in which his father's patriarchal administration. He was dependent on Sa'id's control inland it was not difficult to evade these provisions. Sa'id had no children by his legal wives, but of his many sons were born and an unknown number of females. Strict in his observance of the daily prayers, he delighted in lavish generosity at the great festivities; his personal life was of the simplest. He was an accomplished horseman and practical seaman. Sa'id, wrote a British consul, was "most truly every man's friend; he wishes to do good to all."
28 October 1899 into a modest family of rural origin. His first studies were at the local Qur’ānic school of the town, where he speedily revealed himself to his teachers as one possessing a lively intelligence and, in particular, a precocious poetic talent. He composed his first verses at the age of eleven, and an anecdotc is retailed about this, generally reported and related by those who had known him: he dealt with his subject of school composition in verse, at the same time preventing his masters from making the slightest correction. For financial reasons, he was unable to proceed to secondary studies and it was from a lawyer and literary man from the Sāhib region, one Rādjih Ibrāhīm, who practiced at Sousse, that he found encouragement, both moral and material. This last made Saʿīd his secretary and placed his personal library at his disposal. Saʿīd profited from this to complete his education, as a genuine autodidact. Soon afterwards, he made contact with certain organs of the press in the capital Tunis, becoming a correspondent for them. Having mastered Arabic and French, and even Hebrew, with the encouragement of his patron Rādjih Ibrāhīm, he went to Tunis and established himself there permanently, working as an editor for various newspapers and journals, such as al-Faḍr, al-Badr, al-‘Arab, Liṣān al-Shaʾb, al-Nādim, al-Wazīr and al-Saʿūdī, in the last of which he published his first poem, on 21 May 1920. This made him famous on a contemporary man of letters who was, like Saʿīd Abū Bakr, a strong defender of the rights of women. His translation of the commentary of Pappus on book X (on commensurable and incommensurable magnitudes) has preserved the fashion of an Ibn Batūta, with the title al-Andalus ka-annaka tarābah (1931).

On 29 January 1948 he died, and was buried at Tunis. After the achievement of independence, his remains were moved to the Mausoleum of Martyrs in his native town of Moknine, and this last has, for several years, and in homage to the person and his work, organised regularly a cultural and artistic festival in his memory. His name has been given to one of the main streets of the capital as well as in towns of the interior.

Bibliography

SAʿĪD B. YĀʾKŪB AL-DIMĀSHḴĪ, Abū Ṭūṭmān, physician and translator of Greek scientific works into Arabic. As one of the leading physicians of his time, he enjoyed the favours of the vizier ʿAbī b. ʿIsā (d. 334/946 [q. v.]). When the latter endowed a hospital in the Harbiyya quarter of Baghdaḏ in 302/914-15, he appointed Abū Ṭūṭmān as chief physician with the joint responsibility of supervising the hospitals of Baghdaḏ, Mecca and Medina (Ibn Abī Usaybiʿa, i, 234, ll. 8-10, according to Thābit b. Sinān; cf. Ibn al-Djawzi, al-Muntazam, vi, 128; on the vizier’s measures for public health, see ibid., 221-2, and al-Kifisti, Hukama, 193-4).

As a translator, he served not only the demands of the medical profession but showed equal competence in mathematics and philosophy. Together with Ishaḵ b. Ḫunayn and Thābit b. Kurra [q. v.], the most eminent transmitters of Hellenistic science in his generation, he was close to the Shiʿī mutakallim and heresiographer al-Ḥasan b. Muṣā al-Nawbakhti [q. v.; and see Ibn al-Nādim, al-Fihrist, 177].

Of his medical works, versions of Galen’s De pulsibus ad iuron (with a commentary ascribed to Johannes Philoponus) and De neronorum dissectione, and of De urinis by Magnus of Emesa, are extant in manuscript; his own tabular compendium of De pulsibus is lost (see Sezgin, GAS, iii, 82, 90, 159; M. Ullmann, Die Medizin im Islam, Leiden 1970, 81, 90). His translation of the commentary of Pappus on Euclid’s Elements, book X (on commensurable and incommensurable magnitudes [irrationalities]) has preserved a valuable document lost in the original Greek, of the late Alexandrian tradition of mathematics (see Sezgin, GAS, v, 175; ed. W. Thomson, with G. Junge, The commentary of Pappus on book X of Euclid’s Elements, Cambridge, Mass. 1930; German tr. H. Suter, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik bei den Griechen und Arabern, Erlangen 1922, 9-78).

His lasting importance as a translator lies in his philosophical work, where his scope went far beyond the ethical Platonism and Galenism of the medical
tradition, as attested in his own masd^il on Galen's De moribus (lost, see Ibn Abl Usaybi'a, i, 234) and a chapter of sayings of the Siwdn al-hikma (lost, see Ibn Abl Usaybi'a, i, 234). His translation of Aristotle’s Topica, books I-VII, became the definitive version of this fundamental textbook of logical reasoning. His translation of Aristotle’s De topica, mufredda, but a particular claim of his to fame was his association with Ibrahim Müteferrika (q.v.), the pioneer printer of Islamic Turkish books in Turkey, being with Ibrahim the joint grantee of the original firman issued by Ahmed III for the establishment of a printing press in 1139/1727 (see MATHA'A, 2. In Turkey).

Bibliography: See that to MEHMED YIRMISEKIZ ÇELEBİ, also ALAETIN GÖVİA, Türk meşhurlar aniklopedisi, s.v.; Türk dili ve edebiyati aniklopedisi, ii, 128-9.

SA‘ID PASHA, MUHAMMAD, youngest son of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha (q.v.) and hereditary viceroy of Egypt, theoretically under Ottoman suzerainty, 1854-63. He was styled Pasha, but was already known in informal and unofficial usage as Khedive before this latter title was formally adopted after his death (see KHXDEV).

Born in 1822, his father had had a high opinion of his capabilities and had sent him at the age of only nineteen to Istanbul for negotiations over the tribute payable by Egypt to the Porte. Sa‘id’s uncle and predecessor in the governorship of Egypt, Abbâs Hilmi I b. Ahmad Tüsün (q.v.), had endeavoured to change the succession arrangements in the Ottoman firman of 1841, providing that the succession should go to the eldest living descendant of Muhammad ‘Ali’s line, in favour of his own progeny, hoping that his son İlimi Pasha would succeed him. Abbâs’s death was briefly concealed, but Sa‘id nevertheless managed to succeed without difficulty in July 1854.

Abbâs Hilmi had been both zealous in guarding his rights vis-à-vis the Ottoman sultan and also suspicious of European pressures on Egypt and of foreigners in general. Sa‘id was mistrustful of the West and its new techniques, having had several European tutors, and had an especial fondness for French culture; he appeared as a mild and benevolent ruler, more popular than his secretive, traditionalist predecessor. But he was also somewhat weak and susceptible to advice from interested parties, so that he succumbed to the charm of Ferdinand de Lesseps and granted to him the famous Suez Canal concession (see below).

Possibly influenced by outside advisers, Sa‘id revived many of his father’s economic, social and legal policies, whilst relaxing the extreme centralisation of Muhammad ‘Ali’s time. He promulgated the first comprehensive law in Egypt on private landed and immoveable property, granting the right freely to foreigners in general. Sa‘id was interested in railways and other forms of communication. The railway between Cairo and Alexandria was finished and a concession granted to the Eastern Telegraph Co. In 1854 the first River Navigation and Transport Co. in Egypt was founded, and in 1857 a commercial

1174/1761. He was the son of the statesman and diplomat Mehmed Yirmisekiz Celebi Efendi (q.v.), and accompanied his father on his diplomatic mission to France in 1152/1740-1. After a career as a secretary in the Divan-i Humâyûn, he himself was sent on embassies to Sweden and to France (1154-5/1741-2), and in 1169/1756 became Grand Vizier to Qâhîm Mân (q.v.) for five-and-a-half months. He finished his career as governor of Egypt and then of Adana and Mar‘âsh, dying in the latter place.

He was the author of inter alia a collection of poetry and a dictionary. The Elements of theology (Isagoge) finished before 298/910-11, the date of a copy taken from Abû Uthmân’s exemplar (see ibid., i, 532). Even more widely read was his rendering of Porphyry’s Introduction (Isagoge) to Aristotle’s Categories (ed. Badawi, Mantiq Aristi, ‘1019-1105). A partial translation of Aristotle’s Physics, comprising at least books IV (with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias), was finished before 299/910-11, the date of a copy taken from Abû Uthmân’s exemplar (see ibid., i, 532). Even more widely read was his rendering of Porphyry’s Introduction to Aristotle’s Categories (ed. Badawi, Mantiq Aristi, ‘1019-1105). A partial translation of Aristotle’s Physics, comprising at least books IV (with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias), was finished before 299/910-11, the date of a copy taken from Abû Uthmân’s exemplar (see ibid., i, 532). Even more widely read was his rendering of Porphyry’s Introduction to Aristotle’s Categories (ed. Badawi, Mantiq Aristi, ‘1019-1105).
Navigation Co. to help foreign trade. Above all, in 1854 de Lesseps received his first Suez Canal concession, confirmed by the Paşa in 1856. The European powers, including both France at the outset and Britain, tried by diplomacy to hinder the project, but work was begun in 1859 by peasant corvee labour and continued for a decade; the seaport at the northern end of the Canal was named Port Sa‘id [q. v.] after the Paşa (see D. S. Landes, Bankers and Pashas. International finance and economic imperialism in Egypt, London 1958, 69 ff.; J. A. Farnie, East and West of Suez. The Suez Canal in history 1854-1956, Oxford 1969, 32 ff.).

In the financial sphere, the Bank of Egypt was founded in 1854 and the process began during Sa‘id’s reign whereby European financial and commercial influence became pervasive. The Paşa’s financial needs for his military ventures (see below) and his public works led him to seek a £3 million loan from a London banking house, a harbinger of the disastrous financial policies which were to plague his successors. Ibn al-ʿArabi’s well-known followers were drawn much closer to the philosophical teachings of Ibn al-Farid’s poem, but their main significance lies in the importance as two of the earliest commentaries on Ibn al-Farid’s own works on煤气灯气 al-Maṣāḥif wa-suluk; the first is Sa‘id al-Din and called its introduction an unparalleled exposition of “the science of reality” (Nafahdt, 559).

Farghani’s third work, the Persian Manāhiḥ al-ʿibād ‘l-maṣāḥif wa-suluk, outlines the five pillars of Islam along with the legal works pertaining to the school of Muntahah ‘l-madārīd. From 1957, 542).

It was not as widely read as the other two, but it gained more readership than it might have because Kutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 710/1311) studied it, and called its introduction an unparallelled exposition of “the science of reality” (Nafahdt, 559). Farghani’s best known for his Persian and Arabic commentaries on Naṣr al-suluk. The full name of the first is Sa‘id al-Din Farghani, often called Sa‘id ‘l-madārīd, author of important ūṣūl works pertaining to the subject of Ibn al-ʿArabi. Sometimes the form Sa‘id al-Din is found, but this seems to be a copyist’s correction of Sa‘id ‘l-madārīd, confirmed by the Paşa in 1856. The European bankers and Pashas, internationa...
mode of expressing Islamic teachings than was the Shaykh al-Akbar himself. Farghani's introduction to Munirad 'ilm-madarik is an especially good example of a dense philosophical and relatively systematic exposition of Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings. It provides a better survey of the technical terms and discussions that were to play major roles in theoretical Sufism in the coming centuries than does Ibn al-'Arabi's own Fısü al-shikam, which was to be the object of over one hundred commentaries.

Bibliography: See also W.C. Chittick, Spectrum of Islamic thought: Sa'id al-Din Farghani on the implications of oneness and manyness, in Lewisohn, op. cit., 203-17. (W.C. Chittick)

SA'ID AL-SU'ADA', the name of a khankah or establishment for Sufis at Cairo founded during the Ayyubid period in a former Fatimid house within al-Kahira, now in the modern Djamaliyya street (INDEX DES MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES, no. 480).

In Fatimid times it was a dwelling facing the Dīr al-wizāra, at that period the ministry of justice. Some famous persons dwelt there, such as the vizier ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn b. Ruzzik [q. v.], who had a tunnel dug to connect it with the Dīr al-wizāra. It was at this point that it acquired its name of Sa'id al-Su'ada' "the Supreme-happy one", from the name of the person thus styled, the ustādī Kanbar (or 'Anbar), an instructor at the great palace under al-Mustansir (al-Makrizī, Khitat, ii, 415).

Khanqah Sa'id al-Su'ada': plan as it was in 1987 (CEA, Versailles).

With the change of dynasties, the Fatimid palaces were destroyed, but this one was spared. At an early date, Sulāh al-Dīn installed there the Kurdish amīrs of his government and then, in his capacity as the owner of the palace, the Sufis themselves received a daily allowance of bread, meat and provisions from the revenues of the wa'īf institut ed in 569/1173-4. These properties comprised a garden in the district of Birkat al-Fīl and Kaysariyyat al-Sarrāb in Cairo, and part of Dahmur in al-Bahnasniyya. Saladin also built nearby a hamamīr for the Sufis (still functioning in the 19th century and called the "Hamamīr al-Djamaliyya", used by men and women, see 'Ali Pasha Mubārak, Khiṭat, ii, 218).

This was the first khankah in Egypt, and its head was appointed shaykh al-shuyukh—this until this post reverted to the shaykh of the khankah of Sīrāyūs in 724/1324—so that it was thus at the head of "official" Sufism. From this time onwards, this place acquired the name of Duwayrat al-Su'ada', little house of the Sufis. It also sheltered Muslim travellers requiring shelter, religious hospitality being one of the basic duties in the Muslim world at this period. Since it was a khankah, the khanka was not given there, and on Fridays the Sufis went to pray in the mosque of al-Hākim; later, when the mosque of al-Askar had been restored, they went there for their worship. The Sufis of this khankah were so famed that the people, in order to acquire their baraka, came each Friday from al-Fustāt and al-Kahira to join with them in their procession to the mosque of al-Hākim. Al-Maqrizi (Khiṭat, ii, 416) says that 300 Sufis were accommodated there. In addition to their daily bread and meat, they received confectionery, soap and a wardrobe (eight sets of clothing a year); in 708/1309 their emoluments were increased (idem, Suluk, ii, 50). This prosperity lasted until the crises of 806/1403-4, when the kitchens had to be closed (idem, Khiṭat, ii, 416). From the second half of the 9th/15th century onwards, the khankahs, closely linked to the secular power, lost some of their prestige, and, with the decline of their waqfs, some of their revenues. Sa'id al-Su'ada' did not escape this process.

From the architectural viewpoint, this monument, rebuilt in the Mamluk period (Fernandez, 22), displays a plan with a central court surrounded by four iwāns, the eastern one being the prayer room, and there are cells for the residents. A minaret was built at a late date, in the 780s/1380s, by the shykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Anṣāri (al-Maqrizi, Khiṭat, ii, 416). This monument was classified by the Committee for the Preservation of Islamic Monuments in 1931.


AL-SA'ID (or SA'ID) AL-MAŞR, the term which in Arabic denotes Upper Egypt, this being, in the strict sense of the term, the serviceable section of the Valley of the Nile (from 5 to 10 km in breadth by some 900 km in...
length), situated between Cairo and Aswan [q. v.]; to this should be added the Fayyum [q.v.], considered one of the provinces of Upper Egypt, and the nearby oases in the western desert (al-Wāḥāt: Bahriyya, Farāfrah, Dākhla, Khārdja [q.v.]), over which the authorities of the Valley have been obliged to exercise supervision; finally, to the east, the security of the tracks crossing the mountainous region between the Nile and the Red Sea has also been the responsibility of these authorities. The history of the Sā'īd cannot be understood without consideration of these routes and of the populations which made use of them at different times; measures taken to control them were often the basis of the importance successively attained by different towns in the Valley.

1. History.

According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (Futūḥ Misr, 169), the Arab troops arriving from the north, in the year 20/641 or shortly thereafter, at first ignored the existence of the Fayyum and proceeded along the Valley under the leadership of ʿAbd Allah b. Saʿīd, to whom control of Upper Egypt had been entrusted from the outset, until they encountered the forces of the kingdom of Nubia [see nūba]. An official treaty or bakt [q.v.], a revival of the Graeco-Roman pactum, was established with the Nubians from 31/652 onwards. But
in the interests of maintaining a recognised border, it was logical that the principal garrison of Upper Egypt should be established at Aswān, while in the Valley there were located only a few Arab military installa-
tions, ranged along the Nile, quite isolated among the Coptic populations, which sometimes comprised large conurbations such as Ashmūnayn and Aḥkhīm (al-
Baladhūrī, Futūḥ al-buldān, 217). From the outset, Upper Egypt seems to have had its own governor, distinct from the governor of Fustāṭ (al-Kindi, Wulāt, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakām, Futūḥ Misr, 173), but this may have appeared to the caliph in the course of the maintenance and order; the governor of Fustāṭ spent six months in Upper Egypt in 112/730 with the object of establishing there the basis of a taxation system. Anti-
fiscal revolts seem to have erupted from the end of the 1st/7th century onward, before the great revolt of 121/739, which was suppressed with severity (al-
Kindi, Wulāt, 81). Subsequently, Upper Egypt does not seem to have been involved in the other revolts oc-
curring in the Delta.

Onomastic analysis of the funeral inscriptions of the cemetery of Aswān, which are known to this day, shows that conversions must have begun at a fairly early stage around the southern garrison. Further-
more, an Arab immigration, apparently with a Kaysī majority, took place directly from the Hidżāz, across the Red Sea. Overall, the Arab population of Upper Egypt increased considerably in the course of the 3rd/9th century. On the one hand, possibly following measures taken under al-Muṭtasim in 218/831 to establish there the basis of a taxation system. Anti-
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Kindi, Wulāt, 81). Subsequently, Upper Egypt does not seem to have been involved in the other revolts oc-
ccurring in the Delta.
Kuraysh), to contain them towards the north. Kaysi groups thus played an official role, also controlling the Valley of the Nile from Fusjat to Aswan, promoted by Fatimid policy, ultimately found expression in major changes, essentially resulting from the crisis which destabilised the caliphate in the 460s/1070s. Between 465/1074 and 466/1075, it is known that negro troops in conflict with other elements of the army, expelled from the Delta and from Cairo, arrived and established themselves in the region of Aswan, and that all the Bedouin groups of Upper Egypt, from the Qa‘afira in the north to the Banu Kanz in the south acquired, on account of the governors of Upper Safid and Lower Safid are encountered for the first time (Sidjilat musaniiriyin, 185). Kus became the capital of Upper Safid. Its importance grew gradually: following its selection by the authorities, the track from Kus to ‘Aydhab became the principal caravan route towards the Red Sea; in 516/1122 a mint was established there, which no doubt continued to function until the arrival of the Ayyubids. From the 530s/1130s onward, the governors of Upper Safid acquired, on account of their resources and the troops at their disposal, such status in the Fatimid realm that they intervened directly in the crises which marked the end of the caliphate. The result was evidently the laying of the foundations of a Muslim city at Kus. The authority of the governor often extended to the north as far as Akhmim. In Lower Safid, the importance of Asyut which existed at Kus, and there were madrasas of Muslim elites in the region, which owed much to the Bedouin of Syria, remained sparsely Islamised. The Arabs were kept under strict supervision, and the authorities continued to rely on the same tribal groups. When in 671/1272 Sultan Baybars [q.v.] inflicted the first blows against the Nubian kingdom, the Banu Kanz offered their assistance; it is known that this led to the installation at Dongola of a Muslim prince in 716/1316, and to the control, at least temporary, of the Banu Kanz over Nubia; but this was also the end of a sedentary power whose presence hitherto had played an important role in denying access to the Bedouin tribes, to the east of the Nile, but also to the west. Meanwhile, in Upper Egypt, Bal‘ and Qubayna (Yemenis) survived hostile, taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by political troubles in Cairo, or by Mongol aggression, to rebel in the region of Asyut and of Manfalut, or to cause disruption on the routes between the Nile and the Red Sea. The definitive accession to power of al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad [q.v.], which owed much to the Bedouin of Syria, seemed to mark an improvement in relations between the Mamluk power and the Arab groups; it was manifested especially by the strict supervision hitherto exercised over the tribes. Groups...
of Tayyib and of Djudham thus came from Syria to join the Yemeni groups of Middle Egypt, and by way of the darb al-arabim, their advance towards Central Africa, which was quite unhindered, began from Manfalût. From 721/1321-2 onward, Manfalût (already a royal idā), became a famed slave market (al-Uddfûwî, Ḫâris, 427). The result of these developments appeared after the death of the great sultan: the Yemeni groups (under the leadership of the ʿArak, from the Djudham rather than the Dhubayna), more numerous and enriched by their new activities, became uncontrollable, pressing ever more heavily on the orders which had hitherto been held in check, to the point where the ruling power was forced to make concessions, agreeing to rely henceforward on the support of these Arab groups which had hitherto been hostile, entrusting to them responsibility for the maintenance of order and some ikās.

The consequences of this evolution were significant in an Upper Egypt where epidemics, from the mid-8th/14th century onward, rendered more precarious the sedentary structures confronting the nomads. The Yemeni groups, which had outflanked the Banu Kanz by way of the south, forced them to withdraw towards Aswān, and from 767/1365-6 onward the latter, turning hostile, made the route to ʿAydhab impassable (al-Makrîzî, Kastil, ed. Wiet, iii, 300; from this date, the port ceased to be a centre for major commerce, and there are no grounds for suspecting deliberate destruction on the part of a Mamlûk sultan). The transport of spices was for some time conducted by way of Kuṣayr [q.v.], and then, as the extortions practised by the Mamlûk authorities in Upper Egypt proved a greater threat to the agression of the Bedouin, the merchants preferred to tackle the difficulties of navigating in the Red Sea, unloading the precious merchandise at Tôr, at the foot of the Sinai peninsula, where a port and a market were being developed (Ibn Dukmâk, Kisiâ al-Inštâr, 54); from here, spices were transported directly to Cairo and no longer passed through Upper Egypt. The cessation of this traffic had the effect that Upper Egypt, increasingly difficult to control, lost much of its interest for the Muslim elite of the region; agricultural land was exploited and the production of sugar cane kept the presses supplied. The sultan, whose authority no longer extended as far as Aswān (the land of the Banu Kanz began at Kom Ombo) was no longer able to maintain in the country sufficient forces to impose his authority. In 782/1380, the grand amir Barkûk [q.v.], soon to be sultan, took the decision to install in the region a group of Hawwâra [q.v.] Berbers, hither-to in Behera, where pressure from the Bedouin was proving too strong (al-Makrîzî, Bayân, 60). They became the new supporters of the authorities against the Arab groups, more efficacious than the nāʾâb of Asyût (a function which seems not to have lasted long), whose powers extended to Bahnasâ and Arîbī the regime in the second phase of the sultanate of Kâyîbîb [q.v.], foiled these aspirations. After the death of this sultan there was even a resumption of large-scale fiscal expeditions to Upper Egypt, these being the only means of collecting taxes, conducted this time by royal dawâddrs. The Bedouin had clearly decided to exploit the opportunities provided by the confrontation with the Ottomans. After the defeat of the Egyptians at Arâk, from the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the sultans attempted to restore their authority over the territory of Girgâ, but difficulties encountered anew by the régime in the second phase of the sultanate of Kâyîbîb [q.v.], displaced fellow-tribesmen to the north of Kuṣ. Upper Egypt at the end of the 8th/14th century was thus traversed by Bedouin groups, the most sub-missive of which could only be obedient to a stable power. At the time of the second Mongol invasion, political disorders and then a plague provoked a crisis at the beginning of the 9th/15th century in which the Mamlûk state narrowly avoided total dissolution. There can be no doubt that the insurrection was general; in 804/1401, the nāʾâb al-saltâna of Asyût and the governor of Manfalût were both killed by Bedouin. Subsequently, nothing is known of events in Upper Egypt until 816/1413, at which date the sultan’s ustâddîs brought from Upper Egypt to Cairo horses, camels, cattle, sheep, cereals, weapons, slaves, gold and jewellery seized forcibly as compensation for taxes which had not been paid during the crisis. It was not until the sultanate of Barsbây [q.v.] that the administration of Upper Egypt regained a more regular aspect, less suggestive of official pillage of the land. At Girgâ, the Hawwâra had become respectable land-owners; the amir Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz had founded the old mosque of the town; his successors, some of whom absorbed good Islamic culture and were regarded as saintly men, were now accepted by the Muslim élite of the region; agricultural land was exploited and the production of sugar cane kept the presses supplied. The sultan, whose authority no longer extended as far as Aswān (the land of the Banu Kanz began at Kom Ombo), was obliged to reckon with the amirs of Girgâ, but difficulties encountered anew by the régime in the second phase of the sultanate of Kâyîbîb [q.v.], paid taxes in kind, and in inspecting the condition of the canals. From 784/1382 onward, an amir of the kâsfî, whose powers extended to Bahnasâ and Arîbî
The Ottoman state officially recognised the authority of the Banū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz until the beginning of the 11th/17th century; from 980/1570 onward, advantage was taken of familial tensions among the Banū ʿUmar to install at Girgā an Ottoman detach- ment under the orders of a sandjak, who exercised authority in conjunction with the amīr. In 1019/1610 or later, the power of the Hawwāra ʿamīr came to an end, and the sandjaks were replaced by beys. Ottoman administration was thus ultimately established in Upper Egypt and the land was divided into kāhils. The beys and the kāhils were less powerful than them and were regarded as strangers in the land. Out of the conflicts between the numerous candidates for power among the Bedouin, from the 1150s/1740s onwards, another major Hawwāra family emerged, the Banū Hummām of Farshut, who suc- ceeded in imposing their authority until the interven- tion of the Cairo authorities in 1183/1769. Under their domination, the south of Upper Egypt enjoyed a degree of prosperity; the commerce of Kusayr increased, leading to the resurgence of Kena, and commerce with the lands of Black Africa brought them ad- ditional resources. They intervened thereafter in the nomination of the beys at Girgā, and the 12th/18th century was once more for Upper Egypt a period of Bedouin hegemony; the beys and the kāhils were less powerful than them and were regarded as strangers in the land. Out of the conflicts between the numerous candidates for power among the Bedouin, from the 1150s/1740s onwards, another major Hawwāra family emerged, the Banū Hummām of Farshut, who suc- ceeded in imposing their authority until the interven- tion of the Cairo authorities in 1183/1769. Under their domination, the south of Upper Egypt enjoyed a degree of prosperity; the commerce of Kusayr in- creased, leading to the resurgence of Kena, and caravans of slaves arrived from the sultanate of Fund- kāshifs. The beys and the kāhils were less powerful than them and were regarded as strangers in the land. Out of the conflicts between the numerous candidates for power among the Bedouin, from the 1150s/1740s onwards, another major Hawwāra family emerged, the Banū Hummām of Farshut, who suc- ceeded in imposing their authority until the interven- tion of the Cairo authorities in 1183/1769. Under their domination, the south of Upper Egypt enjoyed a degree of prosperity; the commerce of Kusayr in- creased, leading to the resurgence of Kena, and caravans of slaves arrived from the sultanate of Fund-

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2. Dialects.
In a broader sense, the Arabic dialects of the Sa'īdī are those of the peasants and the Bedouins who dwell in the Nile valley, the oases of the Western Desert and the Eastern Desert. In a narrower sense, the dialects of the Sa'īdī are those of the peasants, as they are spoken in the Nile Valley from al-Džīza in the north to Aswān in the south where the domain of the Nubian language begins. There are super-regional varieties used in popular songs, ballads etc., and poetry by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī is available in printed form.

These peasant dialects are relatively well known through the data collected for the Egyptian dialect atlas and other, more detailed studies (see Bibli.).

Some principal isoglosses which distinguish these Sa'īdī dialects from those of peasants in the north (in brackets) are:

1) preservation of long vowels before consonant clusters: māska (maska)
2) the closed antepenultima receives stress: mādara (madrāsā)
3) no stress on the -i/-ai of the 3.f.s. perfect: darābitu, darābitu, darābitu etc. (darābitu)
4) i.s. perfect gift: "I came" (git)
5) plural forms as bibān "doors", fisān "axes" (ibbān, fisān), and dukāra "males", sibā'a "lions"
6) numerous lexical items: tūrīya "hoe" (fās), fisān "axe" (bala), sa'āfīf "palm leaves" (sūf), farrāqa "chicken" (faraqā, bāhā, bāhā, būkha "duck" (bṭa), hātī wa hōi "stable, cow shed" (zīri, zīriyya)

Two major groups of dialects can be distinguished within the Sa'īdī: Middle Eastern ME (ME) from the out- skirts of al-Džīza to Abū Tīdī (some 25 km south of Aswān) and Upper Egyptian (UE) proper from Abū Tīdī to Aswān. Whereas ME has basically the same rules of elision and insertion of /i/ as the Delta dialects, excluding those of the Sharkiyya province, UE is strongly influenced by Bedouins, apparently of western origin, who settled there in the past and inter- mingled with the local population. Therefore, in ME there is no elision of /i/ after -CC.yktūba "they write" and insertion takes place after -CC ibn kalb "son of a dog"; in contrast to UE yktūba - yktūba and kalb, except UE 2 (see below) which resembles Southern ME (SME) not only in this respect. Further, all UE dialects show glottalised /t/ [t] like the Awlād 'All at the Mediterranean littoral, a verbal noun of the 12nd stem of the type xaftīl - sittīl "furrowing" (taxīl) and the plural types fūlah, fūlād, fūlāsīl as in ḥīmāna "horses", bāsi'īl - bāsi'āl "buffalo calves". The dialect-
tological distinction between ME and UE is consistent with differences in the material culture of the peasants, see Winkler, 1936, 455. ME and to some extent UE 2 seem to represent an older type of Sa’di Arabic less influenced by Bedouins.

Other isoglosses permit further subdivision of the two regions into four subgroups: NME 1 (south of al-Djiza, northern Bani Swafy province and al-Fayyum), NME 2 (southern Bani Swafy from al-Faqlan to al-Minjy), SME (to Abu Tidji), UE 1 (approximatively to Nadj Hammadi, on the east bank from Kus farther south to the altitude of Arman, on the west bank from al-Ballâs to al-Kurna), UE 2 (the Kena bow on the east bank approximatively from Nadj Hammadi to Kus and on the west bank to al-Ballâs), UE 3 (on the west bank from al-Kurna (al-Ba’rât) to Esna), UE 4 (on the west bank from Esna to Gharb Aswan, on the east bank from the latitude of Hammadi to Kus and on the west bank to al-Nadj). Linguistic borders in UE tend to be somewhat blurred and the dialects may differ from village to village. The distinctive features of these dialect groups include:

(7) preservation of /i/ after -x-C: miskit ‘she took’ in NME, a feature which sets NME apart from SME and links it to the western and northern parts of the Delta and the oases

(8) insertion of /a/ in a cluster -Cr-: bukara “tomorrow” in NME which separates NME 1 from NME 2 with the borderline near al-Faqlan; /g,g/ for /k/ and /g/ beginning of /̈/ from NME 2 to the south

(9) /g,g/ for /k/ and /g/ instead of /h, /g/ beginning of /̈/ from NME 2 to the south

(10) preservation of diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in NME 1: katun “mortar”, batu “house” (bun, bêt elsewhere)

(11) allomorphy of the Ind and IIfid stems: one allomorph for perfect and imperfect in NME: kallam - yikallam (NME 1), kiltim - yikiltim, allim - yikallim (NME 2), in contrast to two allomorphs with morphological distribution in SME and UE: kallam - yikallam

(12) preservation of /a/ in kattir “much” and yimisik “he was seized” in SME and UE 2 (kitir, yimitik elsewhere)

(13) paradigmatic levelling in the imperfect, either complete, such as kitub - niktbu in UE 1 and UE 3, or incomplete, such as akht - niktibu in UE 2.

(14) vowel alternations a > i,u in UE 2, in contrast to two UE 1.

(15) genitive exponent: hinin in UE 1, hawn in UE 3, 4, alit - allit in UE 4.

(16) i-stem perfect i-type: kibir in ME and UE 2, UE 4, kibir in UE 1, ikbir in UE 3.

(17) ba-prefix for present tense in UE 2 and UE 4.

(18) stress on the final syllable of words like shgd “winter” in UE 1 and UE 3 (folia elsewhere).

(19) vowel alternations a > i,u in UE 3: masak “he took” - miskat “she took”, bagar “cows” - bagura “a cow”

(20) /a/ in word-initial position instead of /i/ in UE 4: anta “you m.”, abna “we”, ali “which”, al-“the”, asfaddal “please”, ambak “yesterday”, awad “another” etc. a feature shared with Central Sudan.

Fem.pl. forms, a Bedouin feature, such as yikaban “they write” occur in UE 3 and 4. For historical aspects, see Woidich, 1994; for Coptic remnants in the lexicon, see Behnstedt, 1981.

Very little is known about the speech of Bedouins found mostly at the fringes of the Nile valley, the Oases and in the Eastern Desert. The dialects of the four Western Oases are closely related to ME by syllable structure, but deviate in many other respects (see Behnstedt-Woidich, 1982). The ‘Ababida in the Eastern desert (Bir ‘Umm il-Fawaxir) seem to speak a Sudanese type of dialect, with rigidity “her leg,” and with a stressed final vowel in habbi “my rope” and hamri f. “red”.


(M. Woidich)
continuity—or geographical contiguousness—required by the isnād in the religious sciences, i.e. the chain of guarantors for a fact which one wishes to carry back, generation by generation, to the Prophet or his Companions. The success of Sā'īd’s little work may well have stemmed from this trait, as set out in its title, *Tabāki al-umam* “The generations of the nations”. The kādi of Toledo thereby inserts within the classification of the philosophical sciences a principle directly inherited from the religious science disciplines, much more familiar to the immense majority of his readers. He established the truths of mathematics or incorruptible rectitude for hadīth, by an irreproachable isnād which attests its exact transmission and preserved integralness, right from their origins.

From this point onwards, a question arises. Should one see in Sā'īd, in accordance with M.-G. Baïty-Guesdès, one of those philosophers of which al-Andalus offers examples in the 6th/12th century, one of the majority of his readers. He established the truths of mathematics or incorruptible rectitude for hadīth, by an irreproachable isnād which attests its exact transmission and preserved integralness, right from their origins.

The minister’s favour had, however, a more profound effect. As the seat of a caliphate since 317/929, Cordova intended to surpass Baghdad, and held mastery of the Arabic language as one of the stakes in this contest. The Andalusians freely admitted the fluency of the Easterners, but they stressed the solecisms which these Arabs, over-confident in their own natural speech, inflicted on the language of the ancient poets. The grammarians al-Kāli [q.v.], who came from Baghdad, and al-Zubaydī had thrown lustre on the reigns of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Rāthmān III (d. 350/961) and al-Hakam II (d. 365/976). Al-Mansūr’s usurpation added a question to the debate. The minister had in his turn to overshadow, by his merits, the glory of his masters, as they themselves had claimed to throw the star of Baghdad into the shade. Sā'īd was openly welcomed as the al-Kāli of al-Mansūr. His major work *Fusus fi 'l-ʿadāb wa l-ʿaʿāf ār wa l-ʿabbār*, written in 385/995, prided itself on thrusting the Nauṣādī of the old master into oblivion without borrowing the least example from that work.

In practice, Sā'īd’s preferences were for lexicography (lughah) rather than for grammar, and for the poetry which constituted its treasury. Put to the test when he first came to court, Sā'īd became worried over the grammatical obscurities which were hurled at him, but triumphed in the explanation of a verse by Imrū’ al-Kays. He could not have done anything better to please the ḥādīṯ, who on every occasion cultivated the purest of the Arabic values upon which the Cordovan caliphate aimed to base itself. The only other work of Sā'īd’s which is mentioned was precisely a “story” in the Bedouin taste which he wrote for his master.

Altogether, the opinion of posterity in al-Andalus remained a guarded one. The Easterner was reproached for his boorishness, and in this there may perhaps have been a discreet condemnation of the regime which he served. According to al-Makkāri, the Arab Sā'īd came out worst in a linguistic dispute with a knowledgeable young slave boy. Above all, Ibn al-ʿArīf [q.v.], the tutor of al-Mansūr’s children, after having failed in convincing the latter of Sā'īd’s plagiarism, ridiculed Sā'īd by inventing a factitious book and author whom Sā'īd soon claimed to have read. Al-Mansūr was furious when the *Fusūs* thrown into the river, before pardoning him. The world of scholarship was less indulgent.

After al-Mansūr’s death (392/1002), Sā'īd was less often seen in the entourage of his son al-Muzaffar [q.v.]. Ibn Ḥazm, then aged 12, saw him, however, still declaiming one of his poems. The civil warfare (399/422-1009-31) caused him to move to Dēnía, and then to Sicily, where he died, in 417/1026 according to Ibn Ḥazm.

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**SA‘IDA (French form, SA‘IDA)**

A town of Algeria, the chief-lieu of the department (wilāyā) of the same name, situated 175 km/108 miles from Oran (Wahrān [q.v.]) and 95 km/59 miles from Mascara (al-Mu‘askar [q.v.]), at an altitude of 900 m/2,950 feet. It is on the wādī Sa‘īda, in touch with the Causse of Oran (hills of Sa‘īda) and the High Plains, limestone plateaux which form part of the Atlas of the Tēlīs, to
the east of the hills of Ouarsenis (Wanshans). The
town had about 30,000 inhabitants and the depart-
ment about 200,000 in 1987. The region is suitable for
raising cereal crops and for sheep rearing.

The recurrent strategic position which the site has
retained through history, ever since it was ocupated
by a Roman settlement, was highlighted in modern
times when it became one of the headquarters of the
amir 'Abd al-Kādir [q.v.], who built a fort there but
dismantled it in 1841 on the approach of French
troops under General Bugeaud. In 1844, General
Lamoricère constructed from it another fort slightly
north, which became the nucleus of the present
town.

Bibliography: See those to 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muhāyī 'l-Dīn and al-Mu'aṣṣār.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SA'IĐA GILĀNI, Indo-Persian poet of the
11th/12th century.

Details are lacking regarding his early life. He went
to India from his native Persia during Djiḥāṅgrī's
reign (1014-37/1605-27), and lived on to serve under
his successor Ẓahār Djiḥān (1037-68/1628-58). Apart
from poetry, he was skilled in calligraphy, engraving
and assayng of precious stones. Djiḥāṅgrī gave him
the title of Bēbdāl Khān, perhaps as an appreciation
of his talent since bēbdāl means 'matchless'. In addi-
tion, he was appointed officer-in-charge of the royal
jewellery, a position which he continued to hold
during Ẓahāh Djiḥān's reign. Under the latter ruler,
he also received the command of 800 infantry and 100
cavalry.

In 1037/1628, soon after becoming emperor, Ẓahāh
Djiḥān decided that a lavish throne, inlaid with gems,
should be constructed for his personal use. The charge
of this enterprise, which later materialised in the
celebrated Peacock Throne (Ṭakht-i Tdwus), was
entrusted to Sā'īḍa Gīlānī, who supervised the project.
It took seven years for the completion of the throne,
which was inaugurated on Nawrūz 1044/23 March
1655. To commemorate this event, Sā'īḍa Gīlānī
composed a kāsida of which only remnants have sur-
vived. The kāsīda is said to have contained 134
couples, each line of which carried a chronogram.
Some of the chronograms were related to Ẓahāh
Djiḥān's birth (1000/1592), some to his coronation
(1037/1628) and the majority to his gracing the
thrones. His poetry earned for him royal recognition.
Very little can be said about Sā'īḍa Gīlānī as a poet,
since his extant writings are limited to a handful of
works: two kasidas, five mathnawis of some 5,000
couples dealing with Djiḥāṅgrī's reign. His poetry earned for him royal recognition.
14 Shahrīwār 1027/26 August 1618 he was
rewarded handsomely by Djiḥāngīr for a kāsīda
composed by him for the emperor, and in 1042/1633 he
received a similar treatment from Ẓahāh Djiḥān for
composing a poem which described the courage of
Prince (afterwards Emperor) Awrangzīb in an
elaborate combat. Sā'īḍa Gīlānī's special skill lay
perhaps in the making of chronograms. Apart from
those mentioned earlier, he composed them on such
events as Djiḥāṅgrī's conquest of the fort Kāṅgrā
(1029/1620), his building a mosque there (1031/1621-
2) and the death of his wife Mumtāz Mabhān
(1040/1631 [q.v.]).

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(1).

(MUNIRuddIN RAHAMAN)

SA'IIFA (s.), pl. sawīfī (<ṣawī ‘summer’), sum-
mer raid or military expedition (see Lane, 1756;
Dozy, Supplement, i, 857).

1. In the Arab-Byzantine warfare.

The term is used by the early Islamic historians to
denote the raids of the Arabs into Byzantine Anatolia.
These were normally mounted annually, over a
period of some two centuries, beginning during the
government in Syria of Muʿawya b. Sufyān [q.v.],
from ca. 640 onwards. They tailed off in the
3rd/9th century as the ʿAbābāṣīd caliphate became
racked by internal discord and as the Macedonian
emperors in general turned the tables and took the
offensive against the Arabs.

These expeditions were launched during the summer
months, in order to avoid the harsh wintry condi-
tions of the Anatolian plateau, from bases in the
frontier zones of northern Syria and Mesopotamia.
Given that Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) was geographically a European entity with Marches (see below), beyond which there was at all times an independent Christian presence to be reckoned with, the appearance of the sawdīya in Umayyad Spain is not surprising. Of the importance it came to assume in Iberian Peninsular history one clear indication is the passage of al-sawdāʾya into Castilian as acefia (whence, for instance, salir en campana de acefía "go on a summer campaign"). Although in Arabic chronicles such expressions as ʿasaṣṣufūd bi ʿaṣṣufūd (lead/send (s.o.) to lead the army) on the occasion of an expedition against the Christian north of the Peninsula, they occur also in the context of campaigns within al-Andalus itself against centres of rebellion or Viking raiders [see al-Maqūsī]. Thus it was not with the identity and location of the enemy that sawdīya was primarily and originally associated, but with the time of year at which an expedition was launched—which could be as early as 1 May or as late as the end of July, though the norm would seem to have been at a time midway between these two extremes. When necessary, expedient or limited in scope, campaigns were conducted outside the summer season and likewise took their name from the time of the launch. Hence one in winter was a shaitya, one in spring a rabsiyya and one in autumn a kharṣiyya (on these last two in the time of the ʿAmirid al-Mansūr [below, para. 4], see al-ʿUdī [979, 292]).

By the end of the reign of Alfonso I, king of Asturias (739-57) and conqueror of much of north-west Spain and Portugal, perhaps as much as a quarter of the Peninsula formed no part of al-Andalus, and of that proportion a fair share was an uninhabited times known as the Marches (al-thughūr). Of these there were originally three: the Upper (al-aṭlāf), the Middle (al-awsat), and the Lower (al-udnā). Each was controlled, not by a civil governor, but by a military commander (šābād) based at Saragossa, Toledo and Mérida, respectively. Such was the position during the Emirate of the 3rd/9th century, though with the gradual contraction of al-Andalus changes had already begun to take place that in the long run were to result in the reduction of the thughūr—under which those of the asturias in the North-West and one, reaping a particularly rich harvest of booty, against Gerona and Narbonne in the North-East. For his son al-Hakam I (159-206/796-822 [q.v.]), obliged for much of his long reign to quell insurrections from the Marches down to Cordova itself, sawdīya were anything but the annual events they became under his son ʿAbd al-Rahmān II (206-38/386-822 [q.v.]), who, despite some of the contest of expeditions, almost every year of his reign against the Asturio-Leonese kingdom. In operations against the Franks in what is now Catalonia he entrusted command in 212/828 to his Umayyad kinsman ʿUbayd Allah b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansi ("of Valencia"), a man whose Arabic designation šābīh al-sawdāʾya is worth noting here if only because it seems not, as may be thought, to have derived from any special office or rank he held, but was, rather, an ad hominem style acquired through the long and distin-
guished services he rendered as an organiser and leader of sawdīya.

From among the constants and many variables of the Umayyad sawdīya—under which those of the ʿAmirid ḥādhīb [q.v.] al-Mansūr (Almanzor) [q.v. at vol. VI, 430 ff.] are to be subsumed—only one or two can be touched upon here. Of most constant was the need, imposed by Cordova's remotesness from the far north, to ensure the smooth progress of troops towards a distant base from which, once rested and marshalled, they would take the field. To delay till the last moment disclosure of the chosen route was one factor offering Cordova the best prospect of success for the outward journey. By far the most crucial factor, however, was its need to provision its troops en route to the March. As it was normal to have the army live off the land in areas to be crossed, ascertainment of the state of crops and harvests was a precondition of the launch of a sawdīya, for drought could lead to the cancellation of a sawdīya and the frustration of plans such as even ʿAbd al-Rahmān III [q.v.] had to suffer, for example, in 303/915. Years later Ibn Abī ʿAmīr (al-Mansūr, 571/981) was to provide against any similar setback by creating, notably in Cordova and strategic forward positions, vast stockpiles of grain, which lasted over several lean years from 378/988.

The recruitment, composition, organisation, funding and equipment of troops for Umayyad sawdīya are, like their precise aims and modus operandi, beyond the scope of this article. What should be said, however, is that the ḥuṣnād of our sources’ expression al-ṣawdāʾya wa l-ḥuṣnād were provincial recruits enlisted for a sawdīya to swell the regular army. Instructions for their recruit-
ment went out as early as February, and after mobilisation (istifār) in the summer they would converge on the outskirts of Cordova. Around the same time, commanders in the Marches would be ordered to prepare their contingents to join the Cordovan forces on arrival. Whether or not the ruler was to lead a sawdīya in person, he would normally oversee preparations, which could last as long as 30 days. From his palace he would process, amid popular acclaim, with his guard and entourage to royal quarters within his troops' encampment on the great Fāsib al-Suṣrākūd ("pavilion plain"), north of Cordova. One notable ceremony to follow much later was the solemn fasten-
ing of banners (ṣaḥd al-alwāsya) to commanders’ lances in Cordova’s Great Mosque on the Friday before the troops departed. Upon their return the banners would be replaced on the walls of the mosque.

Whatever profit the Umayyads may have derived
from even the most successful of their sawdha, it was
certainly not any lasting extension of the boundaries
of al-Andalus. That such was not the basic aim of the
sawdha (Levi-Provencal, Hist. Esp. Mus., ii, 103 ff.),
may well be true, but that seems no less true is that in
al-Mansur's hands the sawdha became less of a routine
response to Christian initiatives than an assault of
unexpected and unprecedented ferocity as it was
drawn into the Abbâsid period. Moreover, Ibn al-
Azhîr and al-Sam'anî noted the usage of al-saîgh as a
nuha among Muslims from the 2nd/8th to 4th/10th century.
Some of the persons were expert transmitters of hadith in the mediæval Islamic
world, and at least one of them was a well-known
Arab writer called Ibn al-saîgh ('goldsmiths' son').
Besides being reliable transmitters of religious
knowledge ('ilm), some goldsmiths had attained up-
ward social mobility. The customary law of kafa'awas
liently applied to the goldsmiths, who could marry
outside their own social group into the wealthy and
respectable groups of the bourgeoisie such as the
clash-merchants (kazzâz) and perfumers ('attât).
Early Islamic cities such as Fustât, Baghdad, Cairo,
Damascus, Tunis, and so on had separate goldsmiths'
markets (sîk al-sâîgh). Al-Ibâhihi, writing a rare tale
about a goldsmith, illustrates the goldsmith's guild
within the master-craftsmen (mu/a'llim) employed and trained journeymen
(jânîn, pl. jumânûn) in workshops and earned handsome wages. Literary sources
provide evidence regarding the existence of goldsmiths' guilds over the centuries in many Islamic
cities of the Middle East until modern times.

southern Adharbaydžan, on the right bank of the Dijaghatu, the modern town of Shahr Dizh. In the south the boundary runs a little over the river Sârûk, a tributary on the right bank of the Dijaghatu. In the north it is bounded by the district of ‘Adîvari, in the east by the province of Khams. The name is derived from the Mongol sayin ‘good’.

The local Turkish Afshar tribe, of which a part had to emigrate to Urmia to make room for the Çardowël (Çardowlı) tribe of Lur origin (the district of Çardow in the Saymara), were brought by Fath ‘Ali Shâh from Shiráz at the beginning of the 19th century. The chief of the Afshars had to command about 5,000 men. In 1830 Shân Kat began to be destroyed by a Kurdish invasion under Shâhk ‘Ubâyîd Allâh. Shân Kat, formerly occupied by a Persian garrison, guarded the entrance to Adharbaydžan through the Dijaghatu valley. The caves of Kerfût with a Greek inscription, described by Ker Porter (Traité, ii, 538-52; Ritter, ix, 816), as well as the site of Takht-î Sulayman (the ancient Gazaka, al-Shîz of the Arabs; cf. Marquart, Extönahr, 108), are in the territory of the Afshars of Shân Kat. The lake of Camli Göl (near the village of Bâdarlî) with a floating island is likewise well known. A section of the Afshars belong to the Ahl-i Hakk sect which may be mentioned here. The name of the device derives, with some stretching of the imagination, from the form and shape of the main astronomical markings.

speaks of the "country of Gharmāniya, which is the land of the Sakaliba." Ibn Fadlan, who journeyed to Volga Bulgharia in 309-10/921-2 (the subject population of which included, in addition to various Turkic groups, Finno-Ugrian and other northern peoples), termed the Bulghar ruler "King of the Sakaliba" (see Togan, Ibn Fadlan’s Reisebericht).

The Arab accounts derive the eponymous Saklab from Mādhāb b. Yaḥūf (al-Maṣʿūdī, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥūf) or Ḫā̀dūn b. Yaḥūf, Al-Kazwīnī (Αὔγαρ, 614), however, derives him from the descendants of Liyāk b. Kālikhīm b. Yānān b. Yaḥūf and presents him as the brother of Rūm, Arman and Firand. According to the tale preserved in the anonymous Mughūnl al-tawdīrīkī, 103-4, Saklab’s father, whose mother died immediately after his birth, was raised on dog milk and developed a canine disposition. His son was called "Saklab" (hence the popular etymology found in Gardīzī who derives this name from ṣag-ḥābi < Pers. ṣag "dog"). Later, as each of Yaḥūf’s children acquired a land of their own, Saklab struggled with Rūs, Kimārī and Khazar for possession of a territory, but was defeated. He was thus obliged to make his home in the north. This homeland of the Sakaliba is described as very cold, with homes built underground and heated by steam, a theme found in a number of the detailed descriptions in the Islamic geographical literature with the Sakaliba lands. Gardīzī, in his tale of Kirghiz (Khirkhzī) origins, relates that the leader of the Kirghiz “was from the mass of the Saklabūs.” Having killed a Byzantine envoy, he was forced to flee to the Khazars, Bashdjirts and Tokuz Oğuz. There he was joined by other Sakaliba. Gardīzī concludes that this is why “the features and traits of the Saklabūs are to be found among the Kirghiz (such as) reddishness of hair and whiteness of skin” (tr. Martinez, 124-6, ed. Barthold, 28-9). This constitutes one of several indications of the presence of an ancient Europoid strain among the Kirghiz. It also shows the close association, in the Islamic geographical literature, of a certain fair-haired, ruddy complexioned population type of Eurasia with the Slavs.

The later Perso-Islamic historical tradition, in a notice of dubious historicity, mentions a “pass of the Khazars and Sakaliba” in connection with the activity of the Sāsānīd Dīmāsp, who briefly ruled Persia 496-8. These and other notices purporting to record their presence in the north Caucasian zone in the early decades of Islam (e.g. Baḥrānī) are almost certainly anachronistic. Paradoxically, we are probably on surer ground with references to Slavs that had been transplanted to Asia Minor or were serving in Byzantine forces that might have had contact with the Arabs as early as the decades preceding the advent of Islam. The earliest evidence for Arabo-Slavic contacts is found in the Byzantine sources. The 10th century chronographer Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 348, notes that in 615/616-5, some 5,000 Σκαλιβάν ζησον on a great river called μάχη (Tanais). The Khazar territory, capturing the city of al-Bayda (probably Sarkel on the Don). Proceeding further, as we learn from the account of Ibn Aṭurança, it is unclear whether this Slavic urban settlement is to be sought in Asia Minor or in the Balkans, although the former seems more likely. Several decades later, in a different theatre of operations, the Umayyad commander and future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, in 120/737 made a daring advance into Khazar territory, capturing the city of al-Bayda (probable Sarkel on the Don). Proceeding further, as we learn from the account of Ibn AṭFrançois (viii, 71-2, see also Togan, Reisebericht, 295 ff.), he “attacked the Sakaliba and the various infidels who lived beyond them”, taking prisoner some 20,000 families. Marwān continued his advance and made camp on the “River of the Slavs” (nahr al-Sakāliba). In this region, he succeeded in capturing the Khazar Kagan and compelling him to embrace Islam. In a collection of notable addresses by Ibn Ṭawdhīk, 207-8, has a brief notice on this campaign, noting that the 20,000 captive Sakaliba who were settled in Khākhūt (Ḵāḵēt’e in Georgia) later revolted, and Marwān “attacked and killed them.” The location of this nahr al-Sakāliba remains controversial. It has often been identified with the Volga (Togan, Reisebericht, 305). Another view (ibid., 307), however, identifies these Sakaliba with the Būrtāz, Suvārā, Asgil and other Turkic and Finnic peoples of Volga Bulgharia. A passage in al-Maṣʿūdī’s Tanbīh, 67, however, brings us southward to the Don. He remarks that “many settlements of the Sakaliba and other nations who penetrated deep into the north” are on a great river called ṭūḥ (Tanais). The Ḥudūd, tr. Minorsky, 75, 216, reflects the confusion of the medieval Muslim historians and geographers regarding the rivers of the Sakaliba and Rūs lands, presenting us with a conflation of the information on the Don and Volga. It notes that the river of the Rūs “rises from the interior of the Sakaliba country ... skirts the confines” of the three Rūs urban centres and the Kipčak land and “empties itself into the river Atil.” With later authors the situation is not significantly clearer. Abū Hāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473-565/1080-1170 [q. v.]), a native of Muslim Spain who spent much of his adult life in the Volga region (from 525/1131 largely in Sāsānī-Sakālibān), passed through the lands
of the Şakaliba (actually the Rûs region) on a journey that eventually brought him to Hungary ca. 1150. He reports that he took Bulghar by ship on the "river of the Şakaliba", by which he appears to have designated the Oka (ed. and tr. Dubler, 22/61, 196-9). His contemporary, al-Idrisî (ed. Bombaci et al., viii, 909-10), but without al-Gharnâtî's first-hand knowledge, designates the Don as the naḥr nisâyya.

With regard to other riverine centres, al-Mas'ûdî (Tanbih, 67, 183) also mentions the "Danubâ"/Danûbî (Danubian-Bulghar) rivers on which Şakaliba settlements are to be found. Around the Małâwa, in particular, were the habitats of the Nûm-ûn (< Slav. Nemìn "German") and Murûwât (Moravians, see below).

The same Marwân who led the successful 120/737 campaign, when he became caliph, placed Şakaliba colonies along the borders with Byzantium in Cilicia (at al-Ḫusûs), northern Syria (at Salmân, near Kûrûs/Cyrhrûs) and the upper Euphrates (Hiṣn Ţiqûd/Arm. Kharbâtirî, on the border zone). The second 'Abbâsîd caliph, al-Mûnṣîrî, in 147/764-5 sent his son to raid the Şakaliba (al-Yâ’kûbî, Buldân, 237). In that same year, according to al-Baladhurî, 166, the caliph rebuilt the Maṣûlîta (Mopsuestea) and transplanted thither Şakaliba, Persians and Christian Nûbatâns from al-Ḫusûs. Some of these Şakaliba must have been the descendants of those Muslims who had left Bulghar by ship on the "river of the Şakaliba", by which he appears to have designated the Oka (ed. Bombaci et al., viii, 909-10), placed the Şaklab country at the mouth of the Oka (ed. and tr. Dubler, 22/61, 196-9), by which he appears to have designated the Oka (ed. Bombaci et al., viii, 909-10), but without al-Gharnâtî's first-hand knowledge, designates the Don as the naḥr nisâyya.

Our 4th/10th century sources are unanimous in relating an unnamed "ruler (šâhab)" of the Şakaliba, to whom the Georgians mountaineers, the Šanârîya (Ts'âna), appealed (along with similar entreaties to the Byzantine Emperor and Khazar Khağan) for aid against the caliphal forces led by the Türkic general Bûgha the Elder [g. s.]. The Šalvar that took shape in the Balkans were, of course, oriented, in peace and war, towards Constantinople. Although the Muslim sources largely ignore the ferocious Byzantino-Bulghar wars of the 8th-9th centuries, the material deriving from first-hand sources, i.e. travellers, merchants (Jewish and Muslim), Muslims who had spent time in Byzantium and Eastern Europe (e.g. Muslim Abî Muslim al-Djârmî and the sources that came to comprise the "Caspiân Codex", see Zakhoder, Kaspijskij soed) and had direct experience of the region, had substantially increased. As a consequence, the information available to the Muslim world, although not without some confusion (cf. the confusion noted above with regard to the "river of the Şakaliba"), became more expansive and richer in detail. Our 4th/10th century sources are unanimous that the Şakaliba occupied a heavily forested, "vast country" subject to ferocious frosts. The borders of this "country of the Şakaliba", however, are not precisely delineated. According to the Hudûd, tr. 158, to the east lay the Inner Bulghars and some of the Rûs, to the south were some parts of the Gurz Sea (usually the Caspiân but here designating (see 53) the Black Sea) and some parts of Rûm. To the west (actually north-west) and north were the "Uninhabited lands." The Sea of Azov (the Maeotis, Mâwtek in the Hudûd, 54) is noted as the "extreme limit of the Şakla País northward." Al-Kazwînî (Ağha, 614), writing in the 9th century, but largely based on al-Mas'ûdî, places the Şaklb country in the west of the sixth and seventh climes, adjoining the Khazar realm and the mountains of Rûm.

The Slavic primary habitat and migrations

The imprecision of our sources with regard to Şakaliba borders is understandable. These lands, although very important for trade, were distant, dangerous and difficult of access. Moreover, from the 5th-9th centuries the Slavs had been undergoing a series of migrations out of their ancient habitat. Gothic, followed by Hunnic, pressures provided the catalyst for the breakup of Proto-Slavic "unity" and the migrations of elements of the Slavs southwards towards the Danube and across it to the Balkans and westward into Germanic and (earlier) Celtic lands. By 527, the Antes and Sclaveni were raiding the Byzantine Balkan holdings. This pressure increased with the advent of the Avars in the Western Eurasian steppes ca. 558. By the early 7th century, the Slavs were swarming over many parts of the Balkans, penetrating as far as Greece. Slavo-Avar pressure increased during the reign of Heraclius (610-41), who successfully defended Constantinople against a joint Avaro-Slav-Persian land and sea assault in 626. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DAI, 146/147-148/149, 152/153), the Serbs and Croats took possession of the region extending 3,500 farsâqû in length and 700 far- sâqû in width. Al-Khârazmî (105), however, equated the country of the Şakaliba with "Char-mâniî" (the "Germania" of the Latin tradition), i.e. Central Europe. In keeping with this scheme, the country of "Sarmâniyya" (Sarmatia) was identified with the territories of the Burgâнд and al-Lân (Alans). Ibn Khurrâdâdhbih, 92, 155, with Ibn al-Fâkîh, 6-7, 83, following him, divides Europe (Arûj) into "al-Andalus, al-Şakaliba, al-Rûm and Firanja." The Şakaliba are placed north of al-Andalus, alongside of the Burgând and Abar (Avars). In another passage, Ibn Khurrâdâdhbih, 119, notes the Khazar, Alans, Şakaliba and Abar in a listing reflecting the disposition of the larger, politically more important peoples extending from the Volga to Central Europe (Ibn Rusta, 98 has a similar listing).

The location of the Şakaliba lands

By the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the material deriving from first-hand sources, i.e. travellers, merchants (Jewish and Muslim), Muslims who had spent time in Byzantium and Eastern Europe (e.g. Muslim Abî Muslim al-Djârmî and the sources that came to comprise the "Caspiân Codex", see Zakhoder, Kaspijskij soed) and had direct experience of the region, had substantially increased. As a consequence, the information available to the Muslim world, although not without some confusion (cf. the confusion noted above with regard to the "river of the Şakaliba"), became more expansive and richer in detail. Our 4th/10th century sources are unanimous that the Şakaliba occupied a heavily forested, "vast country" subject to ferocious frosts. The borders of this "country of the Şakaliba", however, are not precisely delineated. According to the Hudûd, tr. 158, to the east lay the Inner Bulghars and some of the Rûs, to the south were some parts of the Gurz Sea (usually the Caspiân but here designating (see 53) the Black Sea) and some parts of Rûm. To the west (actually north-west) and north were the "Uninhabited lands." The Sea of Azov (the Maeotis, Mâwtek in the Hudûd, 54) is noted as the "extreme limit of the Şakla País northward." Al-Kazwînî (Ağha, 614), writing in the 9th century, but largely based on al-Mas'ûdî, places the Şaklb country in the west of the sixth and seventh climes, adjoining the Khazar realm and the mountains of Rûm.

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lands that now bear their names during the reign of Heraclius.

Although our Muslim sources came into direct contact with the Slavs after the great migrations were completed, the various Slavic groupings, extending from the Elbe and Baltic to the Pontic zone and Balkans, were still in the process of defining themselves as political entities. The Islamic authors of the 'Abbasid era were aware of them, collectively, as a distinct ethnolinguistic and cultural grouping consisting of various branches. Some of these subgroupings, in certain of our accounts, were already emerging as more clearly defined polities with their own identifying characteristics. Others, unaccountably, remained a liminal presence. Nonetheless, we have a number of remarkable accounts of the Sakaliba, with an occasional wealth of detail. These accounts are associated with three historico-geographical traditions (to some degree interrelated) that are represented by Ibn Rusta and Gardizi; al-Mas'udi; and Ibrahim b. Ya'qub.

The Sakaliba lands

The Ibn Rusta-Gardizi tradition (Ibn Rusta, 143-5; Gardizi, ed. Barthold, 38-9, tr. Martinez, 162-6, elements of which are also preserved in the Hudud, 158-9, and Marwazi) is largely ethnographic and derives primarily from sources belonging to the 300/900 century. It begins by noting that the Sakaliba lands were only 10 days' travel from those of the Pečenegs [g.e.]. The Sakaliba country was located beyond the steppe in dense forests. According to al-Mas'udi (Murudż, i, 142) "their residences are in the north towards where it joins the west." Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (ed. Kowalski, Relacja, 1, 56), writing in the 960s, however, has them stretching from the Syrian Sea (Bahr al-Shami, i.e. Eastern Mediterranean) to the "Ocean" (the Baltic being meant here). Ibn Fakih, 295, in a reference, perhaps, to an Eastern Slavic grouping located near the north Caucasus, remarks that the Caucasus is connected to the land of the Sakaliba and "in it there is also a tribe of the Sakaliba".

Tribes, political organisation and urban centres

Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (7) describes the Sakaliba, in general, as possessing formidable military might. Indeed, if not for their excessive divisions, "no nation could stand up to them in power."

We have a variety of notices on the titles and leaders of the Sakaliba. Ibn Khurrađadžibb, 17, and al-Biruni, 102, mention that the "king of the Sakaliba" has the title *kazas* (al-Biruni has *kub* = "prince"); a title ultimately of Germanic origin). Al-Mas'udi (Murudż, ii, 142-5) has an important notice on the Sakaliba tribal polities known to him. He remarks that they have kings, are divided along tribal lines ("they [comprise] many tribes and a vast [number] of types") and often war among themselves. He makes reference to a tribe among them "in which the kingdom [al-muk] was of old"; implying the earlier existence of some all-encompassing Slavic political union. Their king was called Māqāk and his tribe is called Walīthaba. The tribes of the Sakaliba followed this tribe in other times past...". He further comments that the Walīthaba were the "purest of lineage, ... the greatest of their tribes and the foremost among them... Then the authority between these tribes was disputed and their (political) organisation (nizām) came to an end. Their tribes formed different groups. Each tribe placed a king over itself...". Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (1-2), who gives the

name/title of this king as Māqāk, largely repeats al-Mas'udi's information, adding that in his day, the "tribes of the north have gained ascendancy over some of them and inhabit" some of their lands (probably a reference to the growing power of the Germanic Holy Roman Emperors in the western Slavic territories).

Elsewhere, al-Mas'udi, Murudż, ii, 144, perhaps referring to the situation in his own day, mentions lādyr as the leading king of the Sakaliba, a ruler possessing many towns, cultivated fields, large armies and to whose territory Muslim merchants were wont to travel for trade. Beyond his lands lay those of the "king of al-Afrāq" (Prague, see below). The identity of this figure is also unknown. Russian and Ukrainian historians (e.g. Hrushevsky, i, 408) suggested that 'lādyr was al-Dīr = the Varangian Dir of the Rus' chronicles, who briefly held Kiev in the mid-9th century. Given the context, this seems unlikely. Lewicki (Swiat, 356) reads this name as *Al'far and proposes him as a ruler of White Croatia. This is not impossible, but it lacks corroborating evidence.

The Ibn Rusta-Gardizi tradition, reflected also in the brief notices in the Hudud, 159, and Mudżmat, 421, reports that their chief, whom all obey, wears a crown. Their chief of chiefs is named *tsayt bīk* and his deputy is called *tašbādi* (*šābāndi*). The first name appears as a reference to a stock of *šābāndi/Svetlopok* (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, DAI, 64/65, 176/177, 180/181, Єфремівська, the king (reg. 870-94) of Moravia before it was overrun by the Hungarians.

The second name/title noted by our sources is viewed as an attempt to render a Slavic *šapanyt* < *župan* (an Old Slavic title of possible Avar or Turkic origin).

Ibrahim b. Ya'qub (1) reports that in his day, the Sakaliba had four kings: an unnamed ruler of the Bulgarians (Balkarín), Bayysldw (*Boyeslav, probably Boleslav I, 935-67, the Bohemian ruler, see Kowalski, Relacja, 60), the "king of Frāgha (Prague), Buyma (*Boym = Bohemia and Krkut' (Kраков, a reference to Boleslav I's control of White Croatia), Mažka, king of the North (a reference to Mieszko I of Poland) and Nakwn (Nakon) in the far west...). Nakon was the ruler of the Obodriti/Obrčně (see Samoškan, 131-40). Ibrahim, who journeyed to this land, has left us a detailed description of these kingdoms. Nakon's realm, in the west, was bordered by the Saxons (Sarah) and the Murmān (Normans, probably Danes; see Kowalski, Relacja, 63); to the east were the Veléti/Vlkí/Ljutići; and in the south were the Lusatian Sorbs/White Serbs (see Salivon, Samoškan, 132). Boyeslav/*Boleslav's realm extended from Prague to Krakow, requiring some three weeks' journey. Prague, our source notes, was constructed of stone and lime. This land, according to Ibrahim, who reaps the prices for wheat, barley and fowl there, was deeply involved in commerce. Sakaliba, Rus, Hungarians, Muslims and Jews came to trade, bringing out slaves, tin and furs. Ibrahim reckons among the remarkable characteristics of the people of Bohemia, given the stereotypical image of the Sakaliba in the Islamic lands, the relative absence of blindness among them. Most, he reports, have dark brown hair.

The land of the king Mažka (Mieszko I) is described by Ibrahim 4-5) as the most extensive of the Sakaliba domains, with fertile soil and an abundance of foodstuffs, meat and honey. The king supported his
army of 3,000 armoured men, 100 of whom are equal to 1,000 of others, from the taxes levied on the markets. The king also provided for the children, male and female, of his army, including dowry and bride-price payments. Magh'a's neighbours are the Rûs in the east and the Baltic Pruss (Brus) in the north. Our source then passes on to an account of the (now) Slavicised Bulgarians (Bul'kârín), whose land he did not personally visit, but whose emissaries he met in Magdeburg (Mddhtburgh) at the court of Otto I. He reports that they had more than a rudimentary governmental apparatus and had men who were familiar with foreign languages.

Of the other tribes and their rulers, almost all of whom are to be found in the Central European Slavic lands, al-Mas'ûdq (Muradî, ii, 142-3) first mentions the *Utšutâra. This name is also cited by Ibrahim b. Ya'kûb, 9, 120 ff.) who has the corrupted form Šhrâba (var. lect. šhrâna, šhrâna, šhrâ, şhrâvâna). These are the Stodome of Brandenburg, the Heveldi of the German chroniclers (see Marquart, Streifzüge, 104). The king of these Utšutâra is recorded as Bashkâbîj. Next are the Dalâbâ whose king “at the present time is called Wândâ sâkî.” These are the Dudlebi/Dulelbî, an Eastern Slavic tribal grouping, much oppressed, according to Slavic historical tradition, by the Avars (PSRL, i, 11-12) whose territory extended into Western and Southern Slavic regions. The name of their ruler “King Tange” is the Germanized Conrad of Franconia (d. 919). Clearly, the use of the Slavic *Nemćin probably points to a Slavic source for this ethnonym in the Muslim world (cf. also the Khazar Hebrew Correspondence; Ottoman Turkish *v. q.v. Nemć “German, Austrian” is most probably a later, independent borrowing). Next to them is the unidentified tribe called Mušbîn (included in Ibrahim b. Ya'kûb, 9, 120 ff.). This grouping is followed by the Serbs, of whom al-Mas'ûdìq remarks that they are “awe-inspiring” (muhib). Marquart, Streifzüge, 106-9, who conjectures that al-Mas'ûdìq's notice stemmed from the first third of the 9th century, identified them with the Lusatian Sorbs, the “White” or “unbaptised” Serbs noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DJI, 152/153), some of whose inhabitants, according to the Hudud, “resemble the Rûs.” It has long been suggested that Wândû rendered *Wândût, the name of an Eastern Slavic tribe, the Vândi.

Beyond the domain of *Idrî (see above), the foremost king of the Sakaliba, according to al-Mas'ûdìq, Muradî, ii, 144, is the king of the Alfragh (Prague) who has “mines of gold, cities, vast, cultivated fields, many armies and great numbers (of people).” He conducts wars with the surrounding states of Rûm, the Franks (al-Fîrândî) and the Langobards (îbekdî, recte ìnkûbêrdî for ìnkûbêrdî) with “alternating success (sîdêjî).” Beyond him is the “king of the Turcs” (Hungarians), whose people are “the most handsome in appearance of the Sakaliba, the greatest in numbers” and who are known to be related to the Turks. Their language resembles that of the Arabs (turban, shirt and waistcoat). They practise agriculture and viniculture due to the abundance of water which is not channelled into ditches or canals, but follows its own course over the ground. They consist of two distinct communities (regrettably not further defined). Most of their trade is with the West (ms. *fî for *fârâ, thus Barthold, 59, translates this as “they carry on their trade predominantly with the Arabs”). There is a rather confusing version of this notice in the Hudud, 160, in its section on the “Afîrûdî.” Here, their eastern neighbours are given as some of the Khazarian Pechenegs and portions of an unnamed mountain range. To their south are other Khazarian Pechenegs and the Gurz Sea (the Black Sea). In the west are some parts of the Gurz sea (!?) and the Inner Bulgârs. To the north are some Bulgârs and the Wândû mountains. The Hudud further comments that they are Christians who speak Arabic (Târî and Rûmî. Their dress is like that of the Arabs and they live in tents and felt huts. All of these details, in particular their linguistic affiliations, seem highly improbable (see Minorsky’s comments, 442). They are portrayed, in the Hudud, as being “on friendly terms with the Turks” (the Hungarians, who conquered them and destroyed their state in the late 9th century) and the Byzantines. This would appear to date this notice to the mid-9th century. Their neighbours, in al-Mas'ûdìq’s narrative, are the Khârûwâin (the White Croats are meant here, see above), the Sâsin (perhaps to be emended, as Marquart, Streifzüge, 122, suggests, to *Sâshîn “Čekhs”) and the unidentified Hûbâbîn, Khâshânîn in Ibrahim b. Ya’kûb. Marquart, Streifzüge, 140-1, would see in them the Guduscani (*Dschuchânîn), a Slavic tribe noted together with the Obokriti and Obôkriti (the modern Czechs) and the Vênûs or Venûs (Wenceslas), whom Marquart, Streifzüge, 103, identifies with Wenceslas I of Bohemia (920-9), for which there is no evidence other than a similarity of names. Our sources place them alongside the Nâmûgân (<Slav. nemêc, nemets “German”, see above), whose king is called Gârándî and who are described as “the bravest of the tribes of the Sakaliba and the most chieftains.” This grouping is followed by the Serbs of whom Marquart, Streifzüge remarks, that they are “awe-inspiring” (muhib). Marquart, Streifzüge, 106-9, who conjectures that al-Mas'ûdìq’s notice stemmed from the first third of the 9th century, identified them with the Lusatian Sorbs, the “White” or “unbaptised” Serbs noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DJI, 152/153), some of whose inhabitants, according to the Hudud, “resemble the Rûs.” It has long been suggested that Wândû rendered *Wândût, the name of an Eastern Slavic tribe, the Vândi.

Although some elements of the accounts of the Muslim historians and geographers touch on the Eastern Slavic groupings, most of our information on the latter is inextricably tied to the Rûs theme [see rûs]. Abû Hâmîd (ed. Dubler, 25-6/64, tr. Bol’shakov, 37), however, makes no distinction, for in his day, the Rûs, whatever their origins, were fully Slavicised. He reports that he went to a city of the Sakaliba called Qâhîr Karmân (Dubler: Qâhîr Kûmnân, cf. also Bol’shakov, who attempts to interpret “Kuyav” = Kiev from this form). “In it are thousands of Maghribians, with the appearance of Turks. They speak Turkic and shoot arrows like the Turks. They are known in this country as the Bâdina” (= Pecheneg). In this connection we might recall that Rashîd al-Dîn (ed. Karîmi, i, 482) refers to Kiev by its Turkic name Men Kermen. Kermen is a Kıpâk Turkic word meaning “fort, city.” It was borrowed into 14th century Russian as well. Rashîd al-Dîn fur-
Ibn Rusta, 127, is aware, however, that Christianity had already been adopted by Balkan Slavs during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Basil I (867-87). In reality, a "unity had already begun to make headway among the Balkan Slavic peoples before the era of Basil I. Events came to a head in the latter years of the reign of Basil's predecessor, Michael III (842-67). In the course of an extraordinary concatenation of diplomatic and military initiatives undertaken by the Franks, Great Moravia, the Balkan (Turkic) Bulgarian realm and Byzantium, the Bulghar ruler, Boris, converted to Christianity in 864 on the Cyrillic-Methodian mission, which forms the backdrop to these events, see F. Dvornik, Byzantine missions among the Slavs, and Vlasto, The entry of the Slavs, 155 ff.). The Slavic subjects of the Bulghars were already moving towards Christianity. The conversion, at first resisted by some elements of the Turkic Bulghar aristocracy, ultimately contributed to their complete Slavicisation. The Slavs to which Ibn Rusta referred are generally believed to be elements of the southern Serbian tribes converted in 877 (Marquart, Strefzage, 239-42). Vlasto, 208, has concluded that the bulk of the Serbs were Christian from about 870. Fine, The early medieval Balkans, 139-40, however, views them as still essentially pagan at this time. The comment by Ibn al-Fakih, 77, that the "Sakaliba have crosses," is, in all likelihood, a reference to the Balkan Slavs (Lewicki, Zdania abkhakii, i, ii, 56). Similarly, the report in Hudid, 157, regarding the "Christianscic Sakaliba" in a "province of Rum" who pay taxes to the emperor points further to the South Slav area. Al-Mas'udi, Tanbih, 181-2, perhaps alluding to the struggle between Rome and Constantinople in the 9th century for the confessional loyalty of the newly-emerging Slavic Christian communities, notes that "the majority of the Sakaliba, the Bulghars and other nations which are devoted to Christianity obey the ruler of Rumiyya." This must refer to the Byzantine emperor rather than the Pope of Rome.

Furs among the Sakaliba

According to Abū Hāmīd (ed. Dubler, 22-36/1-2, tr. Bol'shakov, 35), the "River of the Sakaliba" has in it an animal with a black pelt that looks like a small wolf. It is called a "water sable" and its hides are exported to Bulghar and Sakhsin [see SAKSIN]. They conduct their business affairs using fur-less, old squirrels pelts (as currency). If the head and claws are intact, 17 of these are worth one silver dirham. They tie them up in a bundle and call it a djukn. Furs, as we know from indigenous sources, served as currency in Rus', indeed a small unit of currency was the kuna (cf. Mod. Russ. kunitsa "marten"). Dubler (348) saw djukn as a possible garbling of kuna. Bol'shakov (73-4) preferred a reconstruction of the Arabic form as *djyn for Old Russian groma, a unit of currency larger than the kuna. Abū Hāmīd then goes on to describe the use of these furs, with the ruler's seal on them, as currency.

Religion

In his account of Khazar, al-Mas'udi, Murādī, i, 213-14, portrays the Sakaliba and Rūs as the principal pagans of the country. In contrast to the Muslims, Christians and Jews, who each have two judges for their respective communities, the pagans were accorded only one who renders judgment according to pagan practice (bi-hukm al-adhiliyya), the judgment of reason. The tradition represented by Ibn Rusta, 144, Gardizi, tr. Martinez, 164, ed. Barthold, 38, and the Hudid, 158, states that they are all fire-worshippers. Clearly, this notice stems from material that had been gathered before elements of the Slavs were converted to Christianity in the mid-late 9th century. Worship of the hearth fire and of the sun among the pagan Slavs, bespeaking strong ancient Iranian influences, is well-established in the scholarly literature.

There are some anachronistic references to the Sakaliba in the later Muslim sources, which repeat information stemming from the 9th-10th centuries. Most of these, however, no longer deal with them as a specific ethnic-linguistic unit, but rather as distinct countries, cf. al-Idrīsi's extensive treatment of "Bu'āmīyya" (Bohemia), "Buluniyya" (Poland) and "Rūsiyya (see Lewicki, Polska). Thus al-Dimashki (261-2) largely cites the information of al-Mas'udī, al-Bakri (who preserved ībrāhīm b. 'yā'kūb's account for us), al-Idrīsi and the historian Ibn al-Athir (tale of the Rūs conversion). An interesting mix of old and
more recent data is found in Abu 'l-Fida's Takwim al-buldun. For example, he reports the more...

Slavic sources: Povest' vesminnykh let ["The tale of bygone years"], in Púhov sobranie ruskách letopisů, 3rd ed. PSRL, St. Petersburg-Leningrad-Moscow 1846.


Persian Sources: Hādūd al-šālam, tr. Minor-...
ried the coasts of southern Italy as far as Salerno and Naples. The geographer and traveller Ibn Hawkal (378/988) noted that the most populous quarter in Palermo was the ħanūn al-Ṣaklabī (ed. Kramers, 119, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 118). But it was under the caliph al-Ḳā'im (322-34/934-46 [q.v.]) that the Slav element in the Fāṭimid forces really increased, especially after the revolt of Abū Yazīd [q.v.] and his Berber Khāridjiye supporters showed the need for reliable professional troops. Hence several Ṣaklabī commanders, with typical slave names like Maysūr, Mārām and Būgrāh, began to be mentioned in the Sources of Egypt, such as Amari and his reviser Nallino, interpreted the consonant ductus of the sources as al-Sikilli ‘the Sicilian’, but I. Hrbek has pointed out that it is unlikely that native Sicilians (for whom the plural form is normally al-Sikilliyyun), enjoying protected dhimmī status, would be enslaved.

The real origin of these Ṣaklabī muṣlisma must have been the Slav peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans, then in considerable turmoil from the warfare of the Byzantines and local Croat, Serb and Bulgār rulers and from expansionist pressures against the Slavs from the Germanic Ostmark. Prague was a centre of the slave trade, and St. Adalbert relinquished the bishopric of Prague in A.D. 987 because he could not ransom all the Christian slaves which Jewish merchants brought thither. Captives of war were shipped as slaves, almost certainly by the Venetians, through the ports of Dalmatia [q.v. in Suppl.], with the Muslim potestas as their purchasers, and, despite Papal and Imperial anathemas, this traffic continued well into the 5th/11th century; in 1076 Pope Gregory VII made King Zvominir swear as part of his coronation oath not to allow the slave trade in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Within the Fāṭimid caliphate, the Slavs continued to play a conspicuous role in the reign of al-Muṣṭāfī (341-65/953-75 [q.v.]), and al-Makrīzī states that the caliph learnt the languages of his servants and retainers, sc. Berber, Rūmīyīya (according to Hrbek, probably the Sicilian dialect of Italian), Sudānīyya and Ṣaklabīyya. Two of his prominent commanders, the eunuch Ǧāyṣar and Muẓaffar, were Slavs, but the most celebrated of all was the conqueror of Egypt for the caliph, Djiwarḏāl [q.v.], whose ambiguous nisba is probably to be interpreted as al-Ṣaklabī, as is possibly that of the eunuch commander Djiwarḏāl [q.v.]. Djiwarḏāl’s career, together with those of his son al-Ḥasan and, probably, of the eunuch Bardjiwaḥ [q.v.], in the reign of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021 [q.v.]), mark the apogee of Slav influence in the Fāṭimid state. During the course of the 5th/11th century, Slavs became less prominent in the army as the share of the Turks increased and as conditions in the Balkans became more peaceful, with the formation of stronger nation states there. They nevertheless continued to be thefavoured bearers of the ceremonial parasol or mizalla [q.v.] (this office coming fourth in the administrative-military hierarchy after the vizier, the head chamberlain or ǧāḥiṯ al-bāḥ, and the commander-in-chief or isfahālān), and they left a mark on the language of government, according to al-Makrīzī, Khīṭāt, Cairo 1324/1906, iii, 68, in the shape of the darb al-Ṣaklabī in the Zuwayla quarter of the city.

Biography: In addition to references in the article, see A. Mez, Die Renaissance des Islams, Heidelberg 1922, 153-6, Eng. tr. 159-60; I. Hrbek, Die Slaven im Dienste der Fāṭimidenv, in Ao, XXI (1953), 543-81; J. L. Bacharach, African military slaves in the medieval Middle East: the case of Iraq (869-953) and Egypt (848-1171), in IJMES, xiii (1984), 471-95. (C.E. Bosworth)

3. In the Muslim West.

As noted in section 1 above, the Arabic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries gave the name Ṣaklabī to the peoples of the centre and north-east of Europe occupying territories which stretched from north of the Byzantine empire to the lands of the Khazars and Bulgārs in the east to those of the Franks and Lombards in the west, corresponding, it appears, to the lands of the Slavs in the east, the Franks and Lombards in the west.

Since Umayyad times, slaves of such origin in the Islamic world had reached appreciable numbers, used as domestic slaves and as soldiers, in particular in caliphal service (see above, section 2). It seems that in the west, these Ṣaklabī came mainly from the commerce which had developed in the 8th and 9th centuries between the Dār al-Īslām and the lands of the Carolingian West. Western sources, and to a small extent, Arabic ones, attest the fact that these slaves, the product of war and, probably also, of raids mounted from Christian Germany into the Slav lands, were forwarded to Spain, and probably also the Maghrib, by merchants from marginal ethnocultural groups acting as intermediaries between the Christian and Islamic worlds: ‘Greeks’ of Italy (Neapolitans, Amalfitans and, very likely also, Venetians), and above all, the Jews of Spain and Sephardim.

It appears also that, very soon, the Ṣaklabī sold in Spain had previously, on reaching Muslim territory, undergone castration, evidently to increase their value on a market where the demand for eunuchs was strong, given the need for male staff for the running of harems. These facts doubtless explain why the term Ṣaklabī soon acquired the specialised meaning of ‘a white eunuch’, in opposition to the ashb, black slaves. In the 4th/10th century, this trade was very important and seems to have been the main cause for the rise of the great port of Almeria, from which these slaves were re-exported to other Muslim lands of the Mediterranean basin. Thus the castration was done in al-Andalus, in connection with an important Jewish group attested in the town of Lucena. Those Ṣaklabī brought to Khvārazm or Khvārāsān from the eastern part of the Slav world do not appear to have been the subject of the same treatment, but little is known about this question apart from what is mentioned exiguously in the geographers.

In an important article, David Ayalon has considered afresh the question of the true origin of these Ṣaklabī, which most authors, following Dozy, considered as stemming from wars and raids of the Muslims of al-Andalus against the southern fringes of the Christian West (northern Spain, southern France, the coasts and islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea) rather than from the actual Slav lands. According to Ayalon, the text of Ibn Hawkal adduced by Dozy, Lévy-Provençal, Ashton, etc., has been wrongly interpreted. He holds that the Arabic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries made a clear distinction between the Galicians, Franks and Lombards on one hand, and the Ṣaklabī or Slavs on the other. Hence it could be that, according to Ayalon, the Slavs were supposed to come from the Carolingian empire and not from the Slav lands, the military importance of slaves of Christian origin in the mediaeval Islamic world has been exaggerated. Ayalon’s thesis is that, in the main centres of Muslim power, and even in al-Andalus, for long, pagan soldiers with white skins from the Dār al-Ḥarb were preferred to Christians from Europe, who appear in this role relatively late.
This reconsideration, and the interpretation of Ibn Hawkal’s text, should be approached with prudence. Aydan argues that the Western documentation, in Arabic and Latin, which should be carefully re-examined before reaching the conclusion which he proposes. In principle, and from the ethnogeographical viewpoint, Ibn Hawkal may not be confusing the Šaklabl with the Franks and other peoples of the West. But in the same passage he says that the people of al-Andalus “attack the Slav lands in the directions of Galicia, the Frankish lands, Lombardy and Cremona, and will take prisoners there”, which is hardly comprehensible unless one admits that the human product of Saracen piracy on the Western European coasts was considered as belonging to the general group of Šaklabl. This point might be verifiable in certain particular cases, such as that of the “Slav” ruler of the Dénia Šā’īf in the 5th/11th century, Mudjāhid, whose origin was, there is reason to think, Italian.

In the East, some Šaklabl—it is difficult to know whether these were eunuchs or not—were used as soldiers by the Umayyads of Damascus, perhaps in imitation of the Byzantines, who had corps of Slav troops. The Šābbāsidis favoured the use of Turks, and the Slavs played only a minimal role in Baghdaḍ. But in al-Andalus, the Cordovan Umayyads seem to have prolonged, in this sphere as in others, the Damascus tradition. Servants of Šaklabl origin are attested in the 3rd/9th century under the amirāte, but it was under the caliphate that their increase in numbers became spectacular. At the end of ʿAbd al-Rahmān III’s reign (350/961), there are said to have been almost 14,000 Šaklabl at Cordova.

These persons, who had come as children into the service of the state, received a good “technical” and intellectual education, and were used as domestic attendants, court officials, soldiers and administrators, reaching the highest levels in all these spheres. Already under the amir ʿAbd Allāh, at the end of the 9th and opening of the 10th centuries, the most influential of the viziers was Badr al-Šaklabl. Under al-Ḥakam II, the influence of high Šaklabl officers rose still further. At his death in 365/976, two of them, Fāʾik al-Nizāmī and Dhwahdar, director of the ṣināʿa and court jewelry manufacture, were thus respectively, but also commanders of the Šaklabl guard, who had both enjoyed the trust of the dead ruler, wished to set aside his son and official heir, Hishām, who had both enjoyed the trust of the dead ruler, wished to set aside his son and official heir, Hishām, who was not yet twelve years old, and enthrone in his place al-Muqṭira, one of al-Ḥakam II’s brothers. But their plans were frustrated by the ministers al-Muḥāfiz and Ibn Abī Ṭāmir, the future al-Mansūr, the first of Berber and the second of Arab origin, who took advantage of the disquiet amongst ruling circles concerning the increased power of the Šaklabl.

In Hishām’s reign, power was speedily appropriated by al-Mansūr, who in his turn relied on numerous Šaklabl elements faithful to him, as did likewise his two sons after him. During the crisis which followed the “Cordovan revolution” of 399/1009 and the fall of the “Amirids, and until the death of the caliphate in 422/1031, several chiefs from the Šāmirid Šaklabl played a major role in the politico-military manoeuvrings which accompanied the breakdown of the Umayyad central administration.

The main ones here were Wāḏīḥ, commander of the Medinanacel march, and head of the “Šaklabl—Andalusian” party which, with the caliph al-Madīḥ, disputed control of Cordova with the Berbers of the caliphal army and their concurrent caliph al-Muṣṭafīn until his death in 402/1012. Two other chiefs, Ḳhayrān and Mudjāhid, then played a comparable role, but based respectively on Almeria and Dénia, where they had built up practically autonomous powers which were transformed into ṣan’āʾs once the central government disappeared completely.

Two other “Slav” Šāʾīf took shape at the same time on the eastern coast of al-Andalus, those of Tortosa and Valencia, without one knowing properly how the Šaklabl elements managed to achieve the upper hand in this region. The most brilliant of these rulers was incontrovertibly Mudjāhid of Dénia (403- 506/1012-465), famed for his ambitious, but unfortunately, enterprise against Sardiniā [see SARDANIĀ] and, above all, by his maecenates which made Dénia for a while one of the cultural capitals of the Mediterranean West, especially in regard to lexicography and the Kur’ān readings. It was at his court or that of his son ʿAlī (436-68/1045-75) that the Ṣiḍdāla of Ibbn Garcia [see IBBN GHAṢIRYA] was written, the only important Andalusian work belonging to the anti-Arab—although perfectly Arabised culturally—movement of the Šuʿūbiyya [q.v.]. The Slav Šāʾīf of Dénia is the one which lasted longest, the others having disappeared towards the middle of the 5th/11th century (the supply of Slavs hardly continued, it would appear, after the end of the caliphate).

The Šaklabl phenomenon in al-Andalus must be considered in company with the acquisition of power by Turkish elements in the ʿAbidānī caliphate or by other military elements of servile origin in various parts of the Muslim world during the history of mamāluḳ, in Egypt and blacks in 11th/17th-century Morocco. In the though-provoking works on this problem of Patricia Crone and Daniel Pipes, neither have fully taken into account the Šaklabl of Spain and, more generally, of the Muslim West, although these would have merited consideration. Elements of this origin played a role, probably less important and under the political control of the régimes they served, in Ifrikiya from the Aghlabid period to the Zirīd one, above all in the Fāṭimid caliphate there and then in Cairo (see above, section 2). Al-Bakri mentions contingents of Šaklabl in the little state of Nakṭūr [q.v.] in the 4th/10th century, but it is true that this principality lived in the shadow of al-Andalus. A quarter of Palermo is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal as the abaḥr al-Šaklabl, and during the Arabo-Norman period, the kings of Sicily had in their service Muslim eunuchs who can probably be considered as Šaklabl.

**Bibliography:**
SAKARYA (Ottoman orthography Sakarya or Sa'karya, modern Turkish Sakarya), a river in Turkey. It rises near Bayat in the northeast of Afyun in modern Turkey, with its chef-lieu at Adapazarı. In its eastward course it enters the district of Izmid, near Bursa. After Lefke it turns sharply to the north, entering the district of Izmid mark the track of its ancient course. In classical times Pentegephyra or Pontogephyra; see classical times. It has changed its course since the Byzantine period. The caliphate of the Fatimids had settled in a quarter of the old Fatimid district of Kairouan near Mekedje, having now run 400 km/250 miles. The stretch of its course in the former Kairouan had run in a north-easterly direction through the valleys of Kastamuni on the right bank and of the Carkh Su from Ankara and near this confluence the river took its course to the east. Sakarya receives on its right bank the Kirmir Su, and the Enguru Suyu from Ankara and near this confluence. From the level of which is above that of the river and the gulf in order to bring more easily to his capital the wood required for the building of his fleet. Being convinced of the feasibility of the project by the report of experts, he gave orders for its execution, but the opponents of the scheme were able to frustrate it by the argument of the ridge of the Sakarya. In August 1922, the Turkish army was victorious for a second time near the Sakarya; this was the beginning of the Turkish offensive which ended in the complete reconquest of Anatolia and the hurling of the Greek armies into the sea at Izmir (see S.J. and E.K. Shaw, History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey, Cambridge 1976-7, ii, 360-3).

Sakarya is now the name of an il or province of modern Turkey, with its chef-lieu at Adapazarı [see ADA Pazarı].

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Sakarya is now the name of an il or province of modern Turkey, with its chef-lieu at Adapazarı [see ADA Pazarı].
dedicated his career to augmenting his mentor's accomplishments. But in fact, al-Sakhawi's aptitudes inclined him toward the production of works remarkable more for their encyclopedic scope than for their originality of method. Al-Sakhawi's most noteworthy achievement was his massive biographical dictionary of 9th/15th-century notables, al-Daw' al-lāmīs fi 'tāyān al-karn al-sā'īn (ed. Husam al-Din al-Kudsi, 12 vols., Cairo 1353-5/1934-6). While the range and diversity of individuals included (the final volume exclusively on women) render the Daw' one of the foremost primary sources for the Islamic lands in pre-modern times, the organisation of data in its myriad entries highlights those qualities most esteemed by the scholastic elite when they evaluated their own peers.

Al-Sakhawi held several appointments as Shaykh al-Hadith in distinguished religio-academic institutions of Cairo. He also travelled to the Syrian districts of the Mamluk empire, witnessing recitations of Hadith by candidates for ijāza certificates and debating controversial texts with colleagues on numerous occasions in the provincial capitals. Al-Sakhawi made his first pilgrimage in 870/July-August 1466 and returned to the Hidjaz on the Hadj 193 times again, spending subsequent years in scholarly residence there. He relished his sojourns in the holy cities as a signal opportunity in his encyclopaedic approach and to his keen appreciation of the central Islamic lands in pre-modern times, the organisation of data in its myriad entries highlights those qualities most esteemed by the scholastic elite when they evaluated their own peers.

Although justifiably respected as a prominent figure of late mediaeval scholasticism, al-Sakhawi disguised a propensity for personal vindictiveness against his adversaries and those of his associates under the guise of a pious wish to evaluate his contemporaries' moral probity in order to assess the validity of their opinions, both for interpretation of the Sharī'a and the giving of historical details. While often captivating, al-Sakhawi's caustic opinions of his colleagues and derogatory remarks about their shortcomings must be weighed with caution. By contrast, his factual information is reliable due to its centrality in his encyclopaedic approach and his keen awareness that opponents would expose any errors or distortions he committed in return for his denunciation of them and their works.

In his final years, al-Sakhawi returned to the Hidjaz where he devoted his remaining energies to the completion or refinement of several texts and the training of students in Hadith transmissions. He died in Medina.

Bibliography: Inventory of works: Brocket-


SAKHARI, BANU, an Arab tribe in what is now Jordan.

The Mamluk encyclopaedists Ibn Fadl Allah al-Umari (d. 713/1314) and al-Sakhawani (d. 821/1418) wrote in their al-Daw', that the Banu Sakhri were living in the eastern plateau of the Mamluk province of al-Karak, but the tribe comprised the following six clans: al-Da'awāy, Banu Sakhjā, al-Dabiyān, al-'Atiyiyān, Banū Wahran, and Banū Hūbīr. The Ottoman state levied 'ādāb from them and the tribe of Karīm, which amounted to 38,000 akce. Records from the 17th and 18th centuries provide no more information, while 19th-century and early 20th-century sources report on the tribe in detail, especially in the accounts of European travellers such as Musil. The clan names of the earliest records do not match those in the later ones. In modern-day oral tradition, the Banū Sakhri are in origin an autochthonous tribe that originated in southern Jordan from the Hidjaz in the early 19th century. They first settled in southern Jordan and then moved north; thus they claim that their territory extended from the Hawrān in the north to the south of modern Jordan. Part of the tribe settled in the northern villages of the sandak of 'Ajlūn while others, the Sukhur al-Ghūr (the Jordan Valley Sukhur), settled in the fertile northern regions of the Jordan Valley.

The Banū Sakhri tribe played a significant role in the Transjordanian steppe (būdaya) because the Pilgrimage route between Damascus and the Hidjaz passed through their territory. The Ottoman state paid them a subsidy or al-sūra annually, but during periods of Ottoman weakness, or when they suspended payment of the annual allocations, the tribesmen would violate their commitments and loot the Pilgrimage caravan as it passed through their territory. One of many such cases was in 1753, when Shaykh Ka'dān al-Fayzī looted the caravan, amongst whose members was the sister of the Ottoman sultan.

The tribe also levied their own taxes as khasa from the neighbouring villages, particularly those in the sandak of 'Ajlūn. More often they simply raided the villagers' fields. Arabic press accounts provide plenty of information on looting and attacks against the villages of the sandak of 'Ajlūn, particularly Ramla.
in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They also rented out their camels as transport animals for the pilgrimage caravans, merchants and travellers. With the construction of the Hijaz Railway [q.v.] in 1906, their role diminished and they shifted away from camel herding to raising sheep and goats.

After the Ottoman Tanzimat reforms, the Banū Sākhr began to settle near abandoned sites with wells or reservoirs constructed by the Romans and later maintained and repaired by the Mamluks and Ottomans. To encourage this process, the Ottomans treated the Banū Sākhr as an important tribal body with dignity and gave them honorary titles. This put the ṣākī in a privileged position to register the lands within their territory under their own names.

The relations between the Banū Sākhr and the other tribes, such as the Huwaytāt, the Banū Ātīyya, and the Sārdiyā, were almost hostile and they often raided each other. But these tribes, especially the Banū Sākhr and Sārdiyā, formed an alliance, fostered by intermarriage, known as Ḍurūsh ('Arab al-Ṣamālī, "Bedouin of the North") to face the invading Ḍanāza tribe and its clients. As in other tribes, there were continuous struggles for leadership among the prominent members of the tribe. This was very evident in the paramount house of al-Fāyūz.

With the establishment of the modern state of Jordan, law and order gradually prevailed. The late King al-Husayn, among them has almost come to an end. Of this tribe is opting for agriculture and business and are now almost totally integrated into the fabric of the state. With the spread of education, a growing portion of their tribal shaykhs gave them honorific titles. This put the ṣākī, chief butler or sommelier (ṣākī, ṣākī, sahib al-shardb), in a position to determine policy and took steps to assimilate as many members of this tribe and other tribes as possible into the armed forces, especially in the Desert Patrol Forces. The Banū Sākhr now have their own elective constituency and since the establishment of the first legislative house in Jordan in 1928 they have had their own representation. They are now almost totally integrated into the fabric of the state. With the spread of education, a growing portion of this tribe is opting for agriculture and business and deserting their old way of life, so that nomadism among them has almost come to an end.

**Bibliography:**


2. Arabic secondary studies. Hind Ghassan al-Muktabas, ed. Ahlwardt, 8 1. 8; Salama b. Djanīl Dīwān, ed. Cheikho, 130 1. 12; on the other hand, it meant the person who gave out wine. The first sense was rapidly eclipsed, and only the second sense remained, the subject of this article. Ṣāḵī meaning cup-bearer seems to have been in current usage in pre-Islamic and Umayyad poetry (al-ʿAṣmaʾiyyāʾ, ed. Ahlwardt, 8 1. 8; Salāma b. Djanīl Dīwān, ed. Cheikho, 14 1. 2; Hamādah, 400 1. 11). Synonyms or quasi-synonyms are attested: mudīr (noun of agent from adārā to "circulate"), Ibn al-Muʿtazz, K. Fūṣūl al-taṣāfiqīh, 135, poet Muslim b. al-Mulād, 1-st ed. Amman 1959, 260-70; Ahmad al-Budayn tr. Peake, Baha 3 University of Jordan 1994, unpubl., 120, 195, 198-200 1. 231, 272, 310-11, 314, 319.

for captives in war or in raids, hence it was a degrading task (Djamharat nasab Kuraysh, i, 233; al-Azhari, ii, 78, 259; Dhu '1-Rumma, Diwan, Cambridge, 1919). In his ephebe in medieval Hebrew poetry, 1974, dedicatee of poem, p. 24; Mas'ud-i Sa'di-Salmân, Diwan, ed. Yâsîmi, 639). Hebrew poetry, with Samuel ha-Nagid (993-1056) (Dion, Jerusalem 1966, 88, 284, 286, 290, 294), Saloman ibn Gabirol (1020-57) (Secular poems, Jerusalem 1974, 24, 82) and Moshe ibn Ezra (1055-1135), imitate in every point the Arabic one (see Schirmann, La poésie héroïque en Espagne et en Provence, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv 1959, 373, 391; idem, The ephèbe in medieval Hebrew poetry, in Sefer ha-Shirim, xxvii, 55-6, 1951, 2; Y. Ratzabi, The drinking songs of Samuel ha-Nagid, in Annual of Bar-Ilan Univ. in Judaica and the Humanitèt, Ramat-Gan 1972, 423-74). For Persian literature, see the following section. 

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the text, see al-Aşâhî, Diwan, ed. Geyer, London 1928, 36, 45, 52, 178, 200, 214, 273; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, K. Fûsil al-tamâhî fi tabâbîr al-suwar, Damascus 1414/1989, 141-6; al-Sârî al-Raffâ'.
SÄKI

Dīwān, Baghdād 1981, i, 341, 404, 409, ii, 134, 205-6, 244-5, 290, 474, 582-3, 591-2, 712, 716-17, 732; idem, ... which hints at other ceremonial aspects of winedrinking (E. Herzfeld, Die Malereien von Samarra, Berlin 1927, 9-13, ed. A. Suhayl Khɔdkis, mdhruydn Paris 1964, i, 80, ii, 95). Nizam al-Mulk (Siydsat-2 vols., as the 3rd/9th century in the poetry of Abu Shakur of Ghazna, the sdki were as close to the ruler as were servants in a tavern or as participants in drinking parties in which distinctions between the server and the served are often moot. During the 2nd/8th to 6th/12th centuries rulers and princely figures, although often portrayed cup in hand, are only rarely shown in the company of a sdki; the rulers' rigid frontal posture gives such images a formulaic quality (Mirjam Gelfer-Jorgenson, The Islamic paintings in Cefalà Cathedral, Sicil, ly, in Hafnia [1978], 131-41).

Despite their rarity, early Islamic depictions of the sdki have historical importance. Both Sasanid court protocol and themes drawn from Dionysiac imagery are reflected in early Islamic representations. The scene of wine-drinking depicted on a silver platter, attributed to 2nd/6th-century Persia, and now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, shows various facets of the sdki's role. The focal point of its composition is a princely figure, surrounded by attendants, reclining on a couch while holding a wine bowl in one hand and a flower stalk in the other hand. The foreground is occupied by a much smaller figure who appears to be a sdki. He stands with crossed hands resting on his chest and his mouth is covered by a protective mask similar to that worn by Zoroastrian priests, probably to avoid polluting the cup with his breath or saliva, a custom mentioned by the pre-Islamic poet al-Aššā (see above, section 1; J.K. Choksy, Purify and pollution in Zoroastrianism, Austin 1989, 84-6, fig. 12). The tools of his trade appear to the right—a ewer and a tripod supporting a sieve through which wine is being filtered into a two-handled jug. Judging by his small size, this sdki was a relatively humble servant. A larger attendant stands behind the reclining drinker while two seated minions face the latter (V.G. Lukonin, Izkusto drenego Irana, Moscow 1977, 169).

A fragmentary wall painting discovered in the ruins of an ʿAbbāsīd palace at Sāmarrā [q. e.] depicts two sākỳas, with a flask in one hand and a bowl in the other. Each pours wine into the other's bowl, which hints at other ceremonial aspects of wine-drinking (E. Herzfeld, Die Malereien von Sāmarrā, Berlin 1927, 9-13, 885...
Both sākīs and sākiya appear in depictions of Islamic princes or rulers in various media. Four female attendants, including two musicians and a sākīya, are shown in attendance around the seated ruler who is depicted on a silver platter, which has been attributed to early 3rd/9th-century Marw, now in the Hermitage Museum. The sākiya standing to the ruler’s left holds a ewer in one hand and a piece of fruit in the other (B. Marschak, Silberschätze des Orients, Leipzig 1986, 76-7, figs. 30, 32). More commonly shown, however, are sākīs. One is depicted in a vignette from the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, built in 1144, where he holds both a cup and a flask (R. Ettinghausen, Arab painting, Geneva 1962, 44-5). The Hermitage owns a silver vessel, attributed to Khurāsān ca. 90/1000, which depicts a seated prince flanked by two youths in Turkish attire; one holds a flower, the other a ewer and cup (Marschak, op. cit., 77-8, fig. 33).

Literary references suggest that by the 4th/10th century a Turkish youth was considered the ideal sākī. When the vizier al-Muhallabi was offered a drink of water at the palace of the caliph al-Mu’tāf (334/639-467/74 [q. e.]), he was allowed to keep not only the service, a golden tray and a crystal jug covered with a piece of silk-brocade, but also the server, “a Turkish ghuldm [with an unblemished visage and beautiful clothes] (Hilāl al-Sābī, Ruyūn dār al-ghulīda, ed. M. ‘Awwād, Baghdir 1380/1961, 94-5). The mechanical sākī depicted by al-Djazarī in his book on mechanical devices is characterised as a ‘ten-year old slave’ who wears a short tunic and cap. He holds a glass cup in his right hand and a fish in his left. At prescribed intervals wine flows through the fish into the glass. The glass can be removed and the wine drunk. After the glass is returned to the sākī’s hand the process is repeated. A youthful sākī holding a ewer and cup also stands by the ruler’s side in a mechanical, boat filled with drinking figures which can be floated on a basin during festivities (The Book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices, tr. D.R. Hill, Dordrecht 1974, 107, 118, pls. XIV, XVII).

During the rule of slave dynasties such as the Atabegs in Syria or the Mamlūk basin inlaid by Muhammad ibn al-Zayn now in the Louvre and often referred to as the ‘Boat of St. Louis’ (Estelle Whelan, Renaissance of Islam: art of the Mamluks, Washington, D.C. 1981, 21-2). Among the Mamlūks, in particular, the sākī’s goblet was transformed from a token of servitude to an indicator that its bearer belonged to a privileged élite. Schematic drawings of a footed goblet appear on objects or structures belonging to sākīs or former sākīs. It was used as such by Sultan Kibīb both before and after his accession to the throne (Whelan, op. cit., 230, 234; L.A. Mayer, Saracenic heraldry, Ox. 1933, 5, 10-11 and passim).

The world of the sākī was not restricted to the courts of rulers or their amirs, for they were also employed in public taverns. The range of tasks they performed there is vividly illustrated in a painting from a manuscript of al-Harîrî’s Makhâdi ma ated to 634/1237. It shows the entire cycle of wine production and consumption in a two-storey tavern. On the lower level, grape juice flows out of a basin in which a youth tramples grapes, and another youth strains the juice through a cloth-covered vessel supported on a tripod. Two youths pass a wine jug from the first to second floor. Nearby, two men seated at a table drink wine from cups (Paris, B.N., ms. ar. 5847 fol. 33a; D. and Janine Sourdel, La civilisation de l’Islam classique, Paris 1968, 432, fig. 169). This condemned depiction may suggest that the beverage being consumed was only slightly fermented (J. Sadan, Vin – fait de civilisation, in Studies in memory of Gaston Wet, ed. Miriam Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 132-3).

The most significant transformations of the sākī’s visual role, however, occurred in post-Mongol Persia. The Mongols and their successors, particularly the Timūrids, were dynasties whose appetite for alcoholic beverages often reached epic proportions, and painters frequently depict both the serving and drinking of intoxicants in court settings. Under the Mongols, a form of official court portraiture existed in which a ruler and his consort were portrayed on a throne surrounded by their attendants, officials and relatives. Typically, the ruler and his consort appear to be drinking wine from shallow cups. One or more sākīs kneel before their hosts, ready to replenish their cups from flasks standing on a nearby table (Felix Çağman and Zeren Tanndîn, The Topkapi Saray Museum: the albums and illustrated manuscripts, tr. J.M. Rogers, Boston 1986, 69, pls. 43, 44).

During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, features of these Mongol paintings—the table loaded with flasks, the kneeling sākī, and drinkers in a more naturalistic pose—are echoed in many subsequent depictions, even those produced for anonymous patrons which illustrate literary texts such as the Škāhimāna of Firdawsi or the Khamsa of Nizāmī and Khusraw Dihlawi (ibid., 89, pl. 56; T.W. Lentz and G.D. Lowry, Timur and the princely vision, Los Angeles 1989, cat. no. 21, p. 66, 110-11). Timūr’s grandson Bāysunghur b. Shāh Rukh is even shown with a wine cup in hand and attended by a sākī, one of whom kneels, while on horseback at a hunt (ibid., 132, fig. 132).

The most detailed presentation of the sākī’s role in Timūrid court life comes in the frontispiece of a Būstān of Sa’dī, now in Cairo, made for Sultan Husayn Bāykalār and dated to 893/1488. This double-page painting executed by Bihzād shows a drinking party in progress. Even though several participants have already succumbed to the effects of alcohol, five sākīs on the right page prepare another round of drinks.
Two decant wine from an unglazed jug into flasks while another pair pours an unidentified liquid from holding a spouted ewer, stands waiting, perhaps to mix water with the wine. Below them, a building containing a large earthenware vessel which may be a wine-cellar. In the upper right, above the five sākis, is a building presenting a large festival scene it is the shah, not the sākī, whom Hafiz compares to the moon, and his appearance becomes a signal for the serving of wine to celebrate the end of Ramadan. As a sākī hands the prince a golden wine-cup, a veritable parade of attendants carrying golden flasks on silver trays prepare to serve his guests, and two of them distribute bottles among the celebrants. Another painting from this manuscript explores the metaphor of intoxication as path to salvation and divine union. Even the "angel of mercy" shown on the building's roof offers other angels a cup of wine. In the building and its surroundings, several sākis ply their trade. One reaches deep into a large jar to fill the flask of a celebrant who brandishes a book in one hand as if trying to exchange it for wine, while others hold wine cups or wine jugs. The link between intoxication and poetic inspiration is alluded to by a white-bearded man, who tries in an inebriated state (S.C. Welch, Persian painting, New York 1976, 66-9, pls. 17, 18; Priscilla Soucek, Sultan Muhammad Tabrizi: painter at the Delhi court. New York 1989, nos. 58-9, 74-7, nos. 24, 32-3). Few paintings rival these in the subtlety and complexity of their interplay of visual and verbal conventions, but it is in the later 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries that the sākī or sākīya emerges as an independent artistic theme in drawings or paintings designed to be mounted in albums. These sākis or sākīyān stand in coquettish poses or project a languorous and often androgynous sensuality, attributes of the cup-bearer long stressed in the literary tradition (A. Welch, Shah 'Abbas and the arts of Isfahan, New York 1973, 32, 65, 72, 82, nos. 11, 50; I. Schoukine, Les peintures des manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas I, Paris 1954, 189, 193, pls. XXV-XXVI, XXX-XXXIII, LXXV, LXXVII-LXXIX; Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Sussan Babaie, Persian drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1989, pls. 58, 74-7, nos. 24, 32-3).

Remnants of similar paintings have been uncovered on the walls of Safavid palaces such as the Čahīl Sūtīn and ʿAli Kapu and particularly in their private inner chambers (Babaie, Safavid palaces at Isfahan: continuity and change (1590-1666), Ph.D. diss. New York University 1993, unpubl., 171-4, 183, 188-9, figs. 160-2, 169-72, 175-7).

The pairing of youthful sākis with bearded men was evidently considered particularly appropriate to the poetry of Hafiz. Two mid-11th/17th-century Hafiz manuscripts, one in Dublin, Chester Beatty, ms. P. 299, the other in Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, H. 1010, are virtual albums (A. J. Arberry, B. W. Robinson et alii, The Chester Beatty Library: a catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures, Dublin 1962, 68; F. E. Karatay, Pansa yazmalar katalogu, Istanbul 1962, 221, no. 645). The Dublin manuscript has 450 tinted drawings on 500 folios, and the Istanbul one 555 on 578 folios. Most of them juxtapose a youthful sākī and an older man.

Depiction of the sākī and sākīya in Islamic art have strong parallels with the descriptions of these figures in the literary tradition. Despite their initial role as servants, some came to embody an ideal of beauty which inspired poets and painters alike. This evolution, apparent in literature as early as in the 4th-5th/9th-10th centuries, became prominent in painting only later, especially under the Safawids.

Bibliography: Given in the footnote (PRISCILLA P. SOUCEK)

AL-ŠAKĪFA, SAKĪFAT BANĪ SĀVIDA. The word sakīfa (L'A, s.v.), an approximate synonym of sūfā (L'A, s.v.: bahw, mawqūf muqātalāt), denotes in Arabic a covered communal place appropriate for conversation and discussion. While the word sakīfa seems rather to be applied to the space covered with palm foliage which constituted the primitive mosque (see Massjīd, i, 2), sakīfa appears to denote any type of forum or public courtyard, covered in accordance with the same traditional procedures.

In historical texts, the term is applied virtually exclusively to the prolonged and acerbic negotiations which preceded the nomination of Abū Bakr as successor to the Prophet Muhammad in the leadership of the nascent community. These took place at Medina in the summer of 11/632, on the territory of the Banū Sāʾida, a Khazradji clan of the Ansār (q.v.). The expression sakīfah Banī Sāʾida, usually shortened to al-sakīfa or yasum al-sakīfa in the texts, is furthermore invariably applied to this specific historical episode.

The texture of the narrative, which figures in practically all accounts of the beginnings of the community, presented in the earliest times not as a continuous narration but in the form of hadīth, as a result of which it has become an article of faith in Sunni Islam, generally composed of the following elements:

(1) Respective merits of Abū Bakr and of ʿUmar. The Prophet had always shown a certain preference for his two original Companions, but possibly with a bias in favour of ʿUmar. The influence of ʿAbī Ḥishā (q.v.), who openly admired the latter, is perhaps not irrelevant in this context. The Prophet's explicit appointment of Abū Bakr to lead the prayer in his place, which is often evoked, remains inconclusive in that it does not relate formally to the political leadership of the community. Always present in this narrative, ʿUmar was furthermore to play the role of elder statesman to Abū Bakr, himself a somewhat colourless personality, until his own accession to the caliphate.

(2) Account of the sakīfa proper, with the following significant features:

The resistance of the Ansār to the appointment of a Muhāṣīr (see al-muḥāṣīrōn) is first shown by the reluctance of one of their chieftains, named Baghir b. Saʾīd b. Thālabā (q.v.), who nevertheless was soon to pledge allegiance. But he was replaced by another, the rather more formidable Saʾīd b. ʿUbdā (q.v.), who remained defiant until his death. The adherence of the Ansār was ultimately obtained—by force where cer-
tain elements among them were concerned. The Banū Umayya, for their part, would yield only to the decisions of Abu Ubayda b. al-Djarrāh [q.v.], successively obtained. The list of these groups, and the chronology of their adherence, suggest the more or less deliberate appropriation of an undoubtably authentic historical basis. Thus it is possible to observe successively the adherence of the Banū Umayya, of the Banū Umayya Uqba and of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, of the Banū Zubrah, of al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām, and finally of ‘Ali [q.v.].

In the account of Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845), which is one of the most ancient known, the figures of ‘Ali, of Fāṭima, and subordinately, of al-‘Abbās, are totally absent. They feature strongly, however, in that of al-Tabari (d. 310/923), where ‘Ali is highlighted in his role of an opponent, supported by a faction of the Anṣār. Following on this, a special chapter is very often devoted to the oppositional attitude of ‘Ali and of his entourage, where all the evidence suggests that Fāṭima plays the central role. Being advised of the lukewarm opinions of the Anṣār, she is said then to have persuaded her husband to undertake a campaign of inducement aimed at them. Some weeks after the death of the Prophet she rather conveniently died, while ‘Ali remained apparently the last opponent. He was to come round in his turn bringing with him the “Banū Ḥādhim”. Al-‘Abbās, who sometimes appears as an adviser of ‘Ali on behalf of the ahl al-bayt [q.v.], and who maintained strong reservations regarding Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, withdrew from the game, no doubt with an eye to the future.

A final chapter comprises the “khudba of Abū Bakr”, a fragment of pious anthology of no great importance retained in the same terms by historians as well as by authors of adab.

The account of the sakīna is followed by that of the ridda [q.v. in Suppl.] and of the incomparable support which Abū Bakr received from ‘Umar in these circumstances.

The evolution of the form of the account, worthy of the ancient theatre, is very revealing. ‘Abbāsīd propaganda, after the wavering of the Mu’tazilī era, was obliged to rename the divisions of the ‘Umayyad of Sa’d and of the first two caliphs, whose postercity never represented a political danger, in contradistinction to that of their two successors who, in various guises, remained the symbols of two oppositional dynastic tendencies.

It is no less important to show how the ‘Umayyads, initially outsiders, were among the first to return to the fold, without a blow being struck. It is known that the tendency which become dominant from the 3rd/9th century onward is aimed at the rehabilitation of the “Umayyad century”, with the object of formulating a common front in opposition to the activities of the Shi‘is.

The account of the oppositional intrigues of Fāṭima, perhaps superimposed, shows incontrovertibly the permanent distrust by Sunnism in regard to ‘Alid dynastic aspirations, claiming descent from the Prophet’s daughter. But it is skillfully tempered by the account of the attitude of ‘Ali, who submitted without a murmur after the demise of his troublesome wife, earning his accession to the caliphate and the respect of future generations.

_Bibliography:_ Ibn Ḥishām, _Sirā_, Cairo 1346, ii, 127-31; Ibn Sa’d, _Tabākāt_, Leiden 1904-40, iii/1, 126-33; _Ps._ Ibn Ḥuyayyab, _K. al-Imāma wa l-iyiya_, Cairo 1377/1957, 197; _Tabari, Taʾrikh_, i, 1815-30; Ṣawtūyī, _Maqāṣid_, Oxford 1966, ii, 725-6, 727-31; Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, _Sharḥ_ Nafḥ al-baltāṣīya, Cairo 1378/1958, i, 128; Ibn al-ʿAṣfir, _Kāmil_, Cairo 1303, ii, 122-9; G. Lecomte, _Sur une relation de la Saqīfah_ attribuée à Ibn Qutayba_, in_, XXI (1971), 171. See also the _Bikb_. of Abū Bakr, as well as articles devoted to the other major protagonists mentioned in the text. (G. Lecomte)

SAKĪNA (A.), a term of the Kur’ān and of Islamic religion. The root _š-k-n_ (Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic) or _š-k-n_ (Arabic) means basically “to go down, rest, be quiescent, inhabit”, and the corresponding Later Hebrew form to Arabic sakīna is _ṣakīn_. The term is primarily used in reference to the Ark of Yahweh. Now, according to G. Lecomte, “the glory (kdbod) “the glory is a step towards abstraction, its presence marked a halt in the march and its disappearance the resumption of the march (Exod. xlv, 36-8).”

The Hebrew usage is generally considered (though not by the native Arabic scholars) as the source of the term sakīna. Derived from the idea of “dwelling within s.th. or s.o.” is Ar. _miskīn_ “possessed by a spirit, demon, _ibilas_, cf. Syr. _ṣakīnā_, pl. _ṣakīnē_, “the demon within a person”. Not in fact connected with this Arabic term, but deriving from a different root in Akkadian, via Hebrew and Aramaic, is Ar. _miskīn_ “destitute, poor, wretched”; for this, see _miskīn_.

The Kur’ān has a large number of words derived from the root _š-k-n_. Apart from the basic meanings of “habitation, residence, hearth, shelter for the night, place where spowers them” (cf. I Sam. vi, 18, xxi, 8), there are also “to subdue (the winds)” (XLII, 33), “to cause the water to settle on the earth” (XXIII, 18), “to halt the shadow” (XXV, 45), etc. What interests us here is the allegorical sense assumed by the term sakīna in six verses of the Kur’ān, beginning with II, 248, where it refers to Biblical history. The Israelis, refusing to acknowledge the sovereignty of Saul, God’s Chosen One, to receive power them (cf. I Sam. xvi, 11 ff.), hear their prophet (nabīyuhum = Samuel) say, “The sign of his kingship will be that the Ark (ṭabāt, which had been carried off by the Philistines, I Sam. v, i ff.) will come to you. [In this Ark] there is sakīna from your Lord and a relic (bakiyya, the heritage of the prophets, sc. Moses’ staff and Aaron’s yellow turban, according to Ibn Ṣidāh, in L’A, ed. Beirut, ii, 174-5) of what was left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, and (sc. the Ark) will be carried by the angels”.

According to Exod. xl, 34-5, in the Ark there was “the glory (kdbod) of Yahweh. Now, according to G. Vajda, the term _ṣakīnā_, absent from the Bible, assumed “in some way a consequential meaning to the Biblical word _kdbod_. It implies something of God, without being taken, in the majority of its attestations, as being identical with God. His translation of “presence” is a step towards abstraction, its spiritualisation, if one wishes to express it thus, without bringing us much knowledge of the object signified (cf. the review of Goldberg [see Bibl.], in REJ, cxxviii [1969, publ. 1970], 280-2). In essence, Goldberg’s opinion, 455, is that, in Vajda’s formulation, the term _ṣakīnā_ was expressly created to denote the act of inhabitation, and then the divinity which “inhabits” it. Originally, and above all, the term thus denoted the divinity present in the sanctuary; it was accordingly first of all limited to the type of _ṣakīnā_ involving a presence and only understood secondarily in the sense of manifestations of the divinity (ibid., 281).

This “presence” of God was equally displayed outside the Ark by a cloud which enveloped it. Its presence marked a halt in the march and its disappearance the resumption of the march (Exod. xl, 36-8).

It is this presence of God which the term sakīna ex-
presses in the other Kur'ānic citations, a presence
shown in the divine aid vouchsafed to the Prophet and
the believers in battle, giving them the victory. Hence at
the encounter of al-Ḥudaybiya [q. v.] in the year 6/679, on the way to Mecca, “God was satisfied with
the believers when they were swearing allegiance to
you under the tree, and He knew what was in their
hearts, and He sent down upon them the sakīna and
He recompensed them with a victory near at hand”
(xlviii, 18). At the time of the conquest of Mecca, “It
is He who sent down the sakīna in the hearts of the
believers, in order that they might add faith to their
(faith) (existing) faith” (xlviii, 4). Confronting the
unbelievers whose hearts were still animated by the
fierceness of the Dhāhiyya, “God sent down His sakīna
upon His messenger and upon the believers, and
caused them to cleave to the word of piety” (xlviii,
26). Already, fleeing from Mecca in the company of
Abū Bakr, “God sent down His sakīna upon him (sc.
in the Cave) and supported him with hosts whom you
did not see” (ix, 10).

We are thus in a context of warfare, as were the
believers in the time of Saul who asked God to give
them a leader capable of leading them to victory (cf.
Kūrān, II, 246).

This divine aid, bestowed on the Prophet at Badr
(III, 123 ff.), is vouchsafed by an innumerable, invis-
ible army, which appears in the shape of a “transparent, waterless cloud” (or in the form of a
mythical bird), called by Tradition sarad, sarad or sar-
rad. Muḥājirūn (sūrat al-Imārāt) relate that “the sakīna
and Gabriel came with Abraham from the north (al-
-Shām)” (cf. his Taṣfīr, ed. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Tāhīr
b. Muhammad al-Sūrātī, Dōba, Kaṭa’ar 1396/1976,
114). Al-Azraqī, Aḥḥār Makka, 27 ff., cf. also L’A.
loc. cit., likewise relates that it was with Abraham (cf.
Goldberg, 300 ff.) that the sakīna came to Mecca. It
had a head like that of a she-cat and two wings (on the
sakīna as a supernatural form in animal form, see
Goldzīher, Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie,
Leiden 1896-9, i, 198, and Scholem [see Bibl.], 53),
and it came down “like a cloud (qamāma) or a mist
(dahāba), having in its centre something like a head
which could talk” (27). Later on (30), “‘Ibrahim came
from Armenia on Burāq [q. v.] with the sakīna, which
had a face which could talk, it whispered like a light
breath.” When Abraham wished to build the Ka‘ba, the
sakīna unfolded itself like a snake on the first foun-
dations and told him, “Build on top of me”, “and so he
built; hence every Bedouin in flight and every
powerful person inevitably circumambulates the san-
tuary under the sakīna’s protection” (31).

All these traditions connect the sakīna with the
sanctuary, as it is in Kūrān, II, 248, and link it with the
Prophet’s battles, with the idea of his being victorious,
as in the other citations involving God’s aid in the
form of an invisible army. In a study on this view of the
Hamīs, in REJ, cxxx (1971), 165-82, J.-Cl. Vade brought forward an argument giving credence to this view of
things. He explains the Kūrānīc āhāsan hāhhāy in, in
III, 146, by the Biblical hapax mā-rimḥānt kādekh
(mostly amended to mārīḥānt kādekh) (Deut. xxxiii, 2, cf.
v. 17, refer to “hosts” of Ephraim), to be translated as “the saintly hosts”. Moses, “the man of God,” blessed the Children of Israel before he died, saying Yahweh has come down from Sinai; He raised himself up for those of Seʿer; He shone forth from the mountain of Pharan; and He came forth from the saintly hosts”. Envisaging his approaching end, Muḥammad asks his devotees what they would do after his death, “Would you go back to your errors?” and he continues, “How many a prophet has there
been who has fought at the head (or: accompanied by)
numerous armies (riḥāṣyūn kāfīrān), and they did not
become discouraged because of what befell them in the
way of God, nor grew weak nor became quiescent
(sitākūnā?)” (Qurān 52:10). God loves those who endure
(III, 146).

Placed in a context like that of Deut. xxxiii, 2, sc.
Moses’ farewell speech to his community, this verse
takes on a quite different meaning. It is thus a case of
innumerable, invisible armies by means of which God
sustains His prophets in the accomplishment of their
missions, i.e. of the sakīna being identified with the
Ark and signifying its Presence, and of riḥāṣyūn sarad
denoting innumerable, invisible armies by means of which God loves those who endure
(III, 146).

Beyond this prophetical context just noted, the sakīna
assumes in Hadith (see Concordance, ii, 494-5), as
in rabbinical tradition (see Goldberg), a spiritual and
moral signification. It “enveloped” the Prophet
(ghabdat-ha) at the moment of revelation (waqāy),
came down (nasalāt) on the Kūrān ("We have
brought down the Kūrān in a discontinuous form
(fasīm) and the sakīna in a continuous one (sabīn)"),
hovered above the Prophet when he left ʿArafā and
above the believers, and spoke with the tongue (lisān)
of ʿUmar (b. al-Ḵaṭṭāb). It is identified with a collect-
ion of moral attitudes and virtues—gravity, bearing,
modesty, dignity, calmness, patience, magnanimity,
clenency and everything which characterises a pious
person. In Islamic mysticism, it becomes an “interior
illumination” (nīr fī l-kabīl), after the manner of
gnosis and the Kabbalah, which make it into a “light
emanating from the primaeval light” (Urlicht) which
is none other than God Himself (cf. Scholem, 78 ff.).

Bibliography: See especially, for the term in its
Rabbinical context, A. M. Goldberg, Untersuchungen
über die Vorstellung von der Schekinah in der frühen rab-
binischen Literatur, Studia Judaica, V, Berlin 1969,
in which, with a little patience, one can find the
origin of the Kūrānīc and Hadith conception from
the collection there of Islamic data. See also
Goldzīher, La notion de la Sakina chez les Mahometans,
in RRH, xxvii (1893), 1-13, and idem, Abhandlungen,
i, 177-212. On the evolution of the
notion of the ghāṭāna, see G. Scholem, Zur Ent-
wicklungsgeschichte der kabbalistischen Konzeption
von der Schechina, in Erano-Jahrbücher, xxii (1953),
45-107.

F. T. FAHD

SAKIZ (the Ottoman Turkish name for Chios, the
Greek name of this island and of its capital; sakiz
means “gum mastic”, a testimony to the product for
which Chios was famous), an island in the eastern
Aegean alongside the Turkish coast, from which only
8 km/5 miles separate it at the narrow point of the
strait of Chios (Sakiz boğazı); the large peninsula of
Karaburun on the mainland, jutting north, separates
the island’s northern half from the gulf and port of
Smyrna [see ISMIK in Suppl.].

With an area of 841 km², it is the fifth largest island
of the Aegean after Crete [see Trakya], Euboea [see Éubois], Lesbos [see MÝDILLI], and Rhodes [see RÖDOS]. Administratively, Chios forms one of
Greece’s 52 nomoi; its nomos also includes two other
important islands: Amorgos and Ægina, the one some
20 km/12 miles to the west, and the Oinousses
islets (Koyun adalari in Turkish, Spalmadori in
Italian; the last-named form is customarily used in
western scholarly literature) between it and the
Karaburun peninsula. The capital and main port city
is situated on the island’s eastern coast near the
strait’s narrowest point opposite the Turkish harbour
of Çeşme [see Çeşme].
The importance of Chios, which it owed to several factors, rose to a peak between the 14th and 16th centuries but continued until the early 19th. The factors were its crossroads position on maritime and continental trading routes, the uniqueness of the much-prized gun mastic produced nowhere else (lentisk shrubs grow in other parts of the Mediterranean too, but only the soil of southern Chios gives to the gum which their bark exudes the desired quality), and the acumen of the Genoese (masters of the island between 1304 and 1566), who used the port, in tandem with Galata, as the hub of their commercial empire; in fact, most of these aspects continued even after the Ottoman conquest of 1566 or re-emerged in other forms (such as the enterprising spirit of its Greek population). The island's role in the Middle Ages must be linked with that of the two Phokaiais from where the Genoese exported alum, and with the port of Çeşme from where goods other than alum brought from or through Anatolia were ferried to Chios for long-distance shipment. The last-named aspect continued well into the Ottoman period until it was definitively eclipsed by the dramatic rise of Smyrna in the 17th century.

No known evidence suggests that Chios would have attracted much attention of the Arabs in the early centuries of Islam, but its proximity to the mainland exposed it progressively to Byzantine raids once the Turks penetrated Anatolia by the end of the 11th century. The maritime principality (1089-92) of the two Phokaiais from where the Genoese exported alum, and with the port of Çeşme from where goods other than alum brought from or through Anatolia were ferried to Chios for long-distance shipment. The last-named aspect continued well into the Ottoman period until it was definitively eclipsed by the dramatic rise of Smyrna in the 17th century.

Some of the contradictions and special features that marked the history of mediaeval Chios continued during its Ottoman period. Until the tragedy of 1822, the island enjoyed a unique status that made it stand out as a prosperous and happy place where all the three main communities—Orthodox Greek, Catalans, Hospitallers of Rhodes, Genoese, or more general leagues of western Christendom, ceaselessly urged on by the Popes. The high price, both spiritual and economic, of western help and presence sometimes made such Byzantine emperors or contenders for the throne as Andronicus III (1329-41) or John Cantacuzenus prefer a Turkish alliance. Chios came by 1304 under the control of the Genoese family of Zacarria; meanwhile, they or their other countrymen also laid hands on the two Phokaiais (Old and New, Eski Foça and Yeni Foça in Turkish) near the northern entrance to the Gulf of Smyrna. Although their hold on Chios was interrupted by Andronicus, who with the help of Umur Beg reclaimed Byzantine control of some of these places (this help, however, could receive a different interpretation in the Turks' eyes: the Ottoman historian El-Faki mentions a raid on the island by Umur, who carried off much mastic as booty and subjected the island to the khāridī [q.v.], thus incorporating Chios into the Dār al-Islām; see Ilačić, in Bibl.).

The Crusade of 1344, which captured Smyrna from the Turks, set in motion a chain of events that indirectly led to a Genoese reconquest of Chios (1346). This time it was not a family but a company of shareholders who acquired control of the island and kept it until the Ottoman conquest of 1566. This company was known as the Maona of Chios, and secondarily, from 1362 when its definitive charter was established, as the Giustinianis; "Maona" is believed to be a term of Arabic origin (maʿāna "help, solidarity"), hence commercial company; see Bibl. and Maʿāna). The Giustinianis were a family whose house in Genoa was acquired by the company as its headquarters there. A podestà sent by the government of Genoa was the titular governor of Chios (as were the two podestàs of Old and New Phokaia respectively), but otherwise, the company was virtually autonomous on the island. Initially, a vague kind of suzerainty was also conceded to the Byzantine emperor, and an annual sum was sent to him; gradually, however, the tribute paid to the Turks became more significant. At first given to those of Aydın (by the Byzantine governor in Andronicus's time), eventually this sum became an important annual tribute sent to the Ottoman sultan, and kept increasing until it reached 14,000 ducats in Süleymān II's [q.v.] time (still bearable, if the reported revenue of 30,000 ducats did not falter). It was the Maona's inability to carry out this obligation during the last three years of their rule that by 1566 contributed to the Ottoman decision to seize the island.

Genoese rule in Chios was remarkable for its long duration in the face of Ottoman expansion, for the economic role the island played as a source of gum mastic, as a transit port in international shipping, and for the co-existence of a Greek Orthodox population with a ruling Latin Catholic elite. Luck (a grain of presents on board the commander's ship, and an essay that the conquerors of Chios did not lose all their privileges forthwith. These last survived even the 1599 attempt by the Florentines to conquer the island, but the Venetian conquest and brief possession in 1694-5 did deal them a serious blow which, however, further strengthened the position of the Orthodox majority governed by an enlightened oligarchy: the Catholic élite, accused of collaborating with the invaders, definitively lost their
privileges to the Greeks. The Venetian attack, undertaken during the Ottoman-Hapsburg war of 1683-99, provoked a naval response from the Turks, whose ultimate victory revealed the successful modernisation of the imperial fleet under the able leadership of Mezmentor Hüseyn Paşa [see HUSAYN PASHA, MEZMORTO]. For the reasons stated above, Turkish victory ushered in what may have been the happiest period in the history of Chios and which lasted until 1822. The island continued to export gum mastic (partly to Istanbul, where the ladies of the Harem were among the principal consumers), but it also participated in the dramatic surge in trade of Ottoman Greek maritime trade and merchant marine during the 18th century. Entering families developed business ties with Europe, and participated in the intellectual and scientific rise of the West, some of which they in turn propagated in Ottoman society where they frequently enjoyed the status of high officials and the sultan's physicians. Alexander Mavrocordato (1637-1719), who had studied medicine in Padua, wrote a Latin treatise on the circulation of the blood, and became prominent as the chief dragoman of the Porte during the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 [see KARLOVITCH].

The waters off Chios were visited by the Russians in the summer of 1770, an operation undertaken in the framework of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. A Russian squadron under Admiral A.G. Orlov and the Ottoman one under Hüsâm ul-Din Paşa ended in a draw, but it was highlighted by the exploits of the kapudan-i hamâyûn Hasan Beg (later Paşa; see GEZİRL İLÎ GEZÎ HASAN PAŞA) against the ship of Admiral G.A. Spiridov. The Turks withdrew to Çeşme, which by then served as a naval base; the result was the notorious destruction of the entire Ottoman fleet by fire ships with which the Russians managed to attack the crowded harbour in the night of 7 July. The subsequent attempt to seize the port of Chios was repulsed by the Turkish garrison, or was given up due to reports of the plague on the island. While the triumph at Çeşme earned Orlov the honorific title "Cesmenski" conferred on him by Catherine II, Hasan Beg's heroism was noticed by Istanbul, which aptly entrusted to him the defence of the island and the rescue of Lemnos from the Russians and eventually raised him to the post of kapudan paşa.

The peace and prosperity of Chios abruptly ended in 1822, when revolutionary Greeks from other places, especially from the island of Samos [see SISSAM], landed on Chios and incited some of its inhabitants to second the uprising which was agitating the mainland. The besieged Turkish garrison in the capital's citadel held out until the imperial fleet brought relief. The subsequent repression carried out on the orders of the governor, Wahid Paşa, against the objections of the fleet's commander, the kapudan paşa Naşûz-zâde 'Ali Paşa, crippled the island (which lost over one-half of its population—estimated at some 80,000 souls—in the slaughter and deportation to the slave market in Smyrna), and may have indirectly spurred Europe to increase its support for Greece's independence. The most conflicts involving Chios, this one too had a markedly naval dimension, and although the Ottoman fleet prevailed, the Greek side scored a well-remembered triumph when on 18 June Konstantin Kanaris sank the Turkish flagship in the harbour of Chios; while the kapudan paşa with most hands perished, the Greek native of Psara thus launched his own career that would propel him to the pinnacle of Greek politics. Both Mezmentor Hüseyn Paşa and Naşûz-zâde 'Ali Paşa are buried in Chios.

Nevertheless, Chios displayed remarkable resilience even after this tragedy, and benefited once more from the benign Ottoman rule which by 1822 allowed the Greek population to re-establish much of its internal autonomy; this was underscored by the respect which the sultan 'Abd al-Meçjid I [q.v.] showed the island's ruling elite during his 1856 visit. On the formal level, the Chioîtes' self-rule ended in 1823/1866 as a result of the restructuring of the Ottoman empire, which replaced the eyalet structure with that of the much more uniform vilayet [q.e.v.] system; the administration and military command of Qızâzâ'r-i Bahâ'i Sâîfîd, usually in Rhodes, sometimes moved to Chios. The governor of the island (called müezeferî in this period) was from 1887 until his death in 1888 the Ottoman writer and reformist Nâmis Kemâl [see KEMĂL, MEHMED NÂMİ]. The recovery of Chios, well under way during this final stage of Ottoman rule, was dealt a serious blow by a devastating earthquake in 1881.

Ottoman rule in Chios ended in the same manner as in Lesbos but slightly later (December 1912/January 1913), and Greek sovereignty was ratified by the same two treaties (London 1913 and Lausanne 1923).
SAKIZ — SAKKAKI

vant Company, Oxford 1935; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Trade and crusade: Venetian Crete and...

In any case, it is clear that the work of Sakkaki is directly related to the

On the other hand, a refusal to supply water to a thirsty person is an act of hadith, to the thirsty and the poor members of the community. An

It was therefore recommended to wealthy Muslims to build water-
fountains (sabil [q. v.] and dig wells for charitable purposes. The habitat of selling water from a well (bi’t) to the people of Medina, after the Hijira of the Prophet Muhammad, led the companion 'Uthmân b. 'Affân to buy the well-known bi’t Rûma for supplying water free of cost to many inhabitants of the oasis town. An engraving on a public fountain in Cairo proclaims the tradition that the offering of drinking water is an act of charity; to quote in this context is a

The virtue of carrying water extolled in an Islamic tradition inspired many pious Muslims to accept this profession. Such were the notable instances of the Arab poet Abû Tammâm (d. 232/846), the Persian

1326), 150-77 (the 1770 events); E.V. Tarle, 

SAKKÁ (A.), lit. water-carrier, was a term denoting manual workers who carried water in a leather-bottle (kirba) or jar (kîz) on their shoulders or on a mule (and even on a camel in rare circumstances) in pre-modern towns and large villages as well as pilgrimage centres throughout the Middle East and North Africa. A leather bottle during the early Islamic period reportedly cost a modest sum of about 3 dinars. The necessity for supplying drinking water to the thirsty and the poor members of the community was regarded, according to a tradition (hadith), as a work of excellent charity (sadaka). On the other hand, refusal to supply water to a thirsty person is an act of great sin (al-Dhahabî, masi,

It may just betray a shade of southern chauvinism here, but

Abd Allah Ibn al-Sakka Mukri (d. 572/1176) is relatively depreciative of Sakkaki’s work by another poet is the quotation

As we can infer from the career of Muhammad b. Affân (d. 110/729) affirmed the favourable status of the water-carrier in his interpretation of dreams. Also, the writers of the hisba manuals insisted on cleanliness and the hygienic condition of the jars, cups and leather bottles of the water-carriers in the interest of public health. The encyclopaedic Arabic biographer al-Safadî (d. 764/1362) noted that al-Sakkâ was an established nisha among his contemporaries, who included some teachers of the hadith


SAKKÂKI, one of the early poets in Câghatay Turkish (‘early’ meaning, before Mîr ‘Ali Shîr Nawâ’î’s [204] time). He lived around 802/1400, presumably in Samarqand, but certainly all his lifetime in Transoxania. As we can infer from the dedications of his kasidas, his patrons included Khâlîl Sultan (ruler of Transoxania), Sîyâhûr b. Nawa, and Hârîn (see bibliography). The following statement by Nawâ’î is well-known: he says that he heard people in Samarqand claim that “all good poems by Lûfî belonged to him (Sakkakî); he (Lûfî) has stolen them and has attached his name to them.” Nawâ’î goes on to comment that “this is the kind of silly boast which is widespread in Transoxania”. The statement is usually wrongly interpreted the other way round by Turkish scholars as meaning that Sakkaki was rumoured to have done the stealing.) Indeed, Nawâ’î may just betray a shade of southern chauvinism here, quite apart from the fact that a certain amount of pride on the part of the Transoxanians may be expected for a time in which the focus of literary activity only just has been shifting southwards to Harât. In any case, it is clear that the work of Sakkâki is directly

workers. The carriers of the essential commodity of water enjoyed probably the highest prestige among pre-industrial workers in Islamic society. Ibn Shiîn (d. 110/729) affirms that the favourable status of the water-carrier

time). He lived around 802/1400, [q.v.]

'Abî Abd Allah Ibn al-Sakkâ (d. 572/1176) regularly earned a livelihood as a water-carrier supplying water manually to the houses of the public. Ibn al-Sakkâ was also a recurrent of Islamic traditions. Many Arab historians and writers of the ’Abbasid epoch quote Dhu ’l-Nûn al-Mi’rî’s (d. 245/869) frequent reference to a case of the virtue (murâa) in the life of a well-dressed Baghdadî itinerant water-carrier (sakkâ), who refused to accept payment of a dînâr as the price of a drink of fresh water from a foreigner.

In spite of their good reputation, however, the water-carriers, according to al-Djâbiz, could never become wealthy and prosperous during the heyday of the ’Abbasid caliphate; their poor economic condition was comparable to that of the brick-layers, potters, ploughmen and groups of other minor craftsmen and
interrelated with Lutfi’s poetry (Eckmann 1959) and that of others (Hofnian 1969).

Both the language and poetics of Sakkak’s highlight the arbitrary nature of his classification as a “Caghatay” poet; at least in the early stage, this designation at one and the same time refers to a person being a Persian-style court poet and to the political context (i.e. he worked at a Timurid court).

But his language has preserved some typical Kh”arazmian Turkish traits, e.g. the rendering of “8 as z ~ y (e.g. azat ~ azaq “foot”); this tendency is probably enhanced by the fact that he was from Transoxiana and may thus have been influenced in solving this problem of the relationship of his poetry with other contemporary poets (most notably: Lutfi). The rules of ‘arād metrics applied by Sakkak also definitely reflect the late Kh”arazmian Turkish stage. It is the same as is found in Kh”arazmi’s Mahabbat-nāma: etymologically long vowels are still frequently metrically long, whereas a first stage of Persification is Mukhtar b. Muhammad al-Zahidi (d. 658/1260) who is said to have studied kaldm with him; Mukhtar is the author of

Characteristic is the variable rendering of the words ‘birka ~ bišla “with” and ertmas ~ emds to fit the ex-
genre of the ghazal

One should be careful when attributing similarities in kind which is usually associated with Sakkak’s near-

closest to his life is quoted by Nawa°i, and one

Bayt designation at one and the same time refers to a person who died in 1030/1621), the gist of which is that al-

Midst of scholarship he was the link between al-

of his teachers in law, among whom Sadld b. Muham-

The Mongol conquest. Very brief notices on him appear in

The Hanafi biographical dictionaries mention a few

He died toward the end of Radjab 626/mid-June 1229 in Karyat al-Kindi near Almāglih in Farghāna. In spite of his fame already during his lifetime, the circumstances of his life are shrouded in obscurity—a fact most likely attributable to the upheavals of the Mongol conquest. Very few notices on him appear in the Hanafi biographical dictionaries (Ibn Kułubbūgha, Tādī al-tarājud, Baghdad 1962, 81-2; Ibn Abi ’I-Wafā’ al-Kurāshi, al-Dawffur al-mudsiyya, Haydarābād 1332, ii, 225-6; and Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawi, al-Fawā’id al-bahsyya, ed. B.A. al-Nasā’i, Cairo 1324/1906, s.n.) as well as in al-Suyūtī’s dictionary of language scholars (Bugbati wa’d, ed. M.A. Ibrahim, Cairo 1384/1965-ii, s. 364), while some legendary and anecdotal accounts have been transmitted in the Eastern tradition (prominently in al-Kh”ansārī, Rawdāt al-dawnd, ed. M.A. al-

Critic of language scholars (Bughyat al-wu^dt, ed. B.A. al-Na

Al-

Arabo-Persian loan words).

These philological, linguistic and literary problems still await thorough treatment; even a critical edition of Sakkak’s poems is lacking. The only version of Sakkak’s dīwān extant is contained in 31 folia of a British Library manuscript, Or. 2079, and even that is incomplete. It contains one munjid, one na’t, 12 kasidas (plus one defective one) and 57 ghazals (ghazals with end rhymes from bi to nun are lacking). Three more ghazals (parallel in Uyghur and Arabic script) were found in a manuscript of the Ayasofya Library, Istanbul, 4757. One bayt is quoted by Nawātī, and one bayt by Yakīnī (ms. B.L. Or. 2079, fol. 319b).


AL-SAKKAKI, ABO YA’KUB YUSUF b. ABO BAKR b. Muhammad al-Kh”arazmi Sirāḏī al-Din, influ-

tential rhetorician writing in Arabic. He was born in Kh”arazm on 3 Dżumāda I, 555/11 May 1160 ac-

cording to most sources, or in the year 554, according to his contemporary Vājt (Irshād, ed. Rižīf, xx, 59).

The only known disciple of al-Sakkak is Mukhtar b. Muhammad al-Zāḥidī (d. 658/1260) who is said to have studied kadim with him; Mukhtar is the author of
The fikh work Kunyat al-munya which has acquired a certain fame for being one of the few sources for the old Kh"azr"azmian language, containing, as it does, phrases in that language that have some legal import (see Ket"arazm, vol. IV, 1062). It is not unlikely that al-Sakk"aki was quadrilingual in Kh"azr"azmian, Kh"arazm Turki, Persian and Arabic.

In spite of a number of loss or doubtful works that have been ascribed to him, al-Sakk"aki is really a man of one book, the Mi'Afah al-'ulum. This "Key to the Sciences" is not, as imprecise formulations in secondary sources can lead one to believe, a work of rhetoric. Rather, the author intended to cover all linguistic disciplines, with the exception of tagha 'lexicon, lexicography'. The work is divided into three main parts dedicated respectively to 'ilm al-sarf 'morphology', 'ilm al-nahw 'syntax', and 'ilm al-ma'ani wa l-bayan 'stylistics and theory of imagery'.

The first part contains at its beginning also a brief section on phonetics (maqhd"rdi al-hurj) and a discussion of root formation and semantic derivation (istidill), while the third part has the following supplements: (1) a brief section on rhetorical figures (wa'da<j> ... li-ka'd tashin al-bal'aman); (2) a tukmila on had' 'definition', and (3) one on istidill 'argumentation'; and (4) and (5) a tatta'mma on poetic dealing with 'ilm al-ar'ad 'metrics' and 'ilm al-k"afya 'rhyme theory'. Finally, in the kh"atima the author wards off attacks on the linguistic correctness of the Kur'\'an. A complete count "lexicon" of al-Sakk"aki's work has not been made, but a brief section on rhetorical figures (wa'da<j> ... li-ka'd tashin al-bal'aman) and a tukmila on had' 'definition', and (3) one on istidill 'argumentation'; and (4) and (5) a tatta'mma on poetic dealing with 'ilm al-ar'ad 'metrics' and 'ilm al-k"afya 'rhyme theory'. Finally, in the kh"atima the author wards off attacks on the linguistic correctness of the Kur'\'an. A complete count "lexicon" of al-Sakk"aki's work has not been made, but a brief section on rhetorical figures (wa'da<j> ... li-ka'd tashin al-bal'aman) and a tukmila on had' 'definition', and (3) one on istidill 'argumentation'; and (4) and (5) a tatta'mma on poetic dealing with 'ilm al-ar'ad 'metrics' and 'ilm al-k"afya 'rhyme theory'. Finally, in the kh"atima the author wards off attacks on the linguistic correctness of the Kur'\'an. A complete count...
SAKKARA — SAKSIN 895

[q.v.], the capital of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, to
which this city of the dead belonged. The modern
Arabic name of the village is derived from
Sokar/Socharis, the coffin one‘, i.e. the King of the
Dead, whose name is supposed to have been in the
vicinity. The famous necropolis of Sakkara which
developed, during the first three dynasties of the Old
Kingdom, from north to south along the mountain
range and then westward into the desert, contains
royal tombs (pyramids, mastabas) of the three first
dynasties (including the famous step pyramid (al-
haram al-mudarra‘) of King Djoser of the Third Dynas-
ty), primarily from the Sixth to the Fourth Dynas-
ties, free-standing chapels from the first in-
termediate period and the Middle Kingdom, and, last
but not least, the burial sites from the Saitic era, when
Memphis re-emerged, after the Assyrian yoke had
been shaken off, as a major centre of the country.
In this late period, the pristine Egyptian cults were con-
sciusly resuscitated, both on religious and economic
grounds. New cemeteries were opened in Sakkara—as
it were, on sacred ground—for all strata of the
population. And it was during this final period of Egyptian
independence (21st Dynasty onwards) that the famous
burial catacombs and mortuary-cult temples for the
Sacred Animals of Memphis, notably the Serapeum
for the Apeel Bulls, were erected within the Sakkara
necropolis. To the mediaeval Muslims the mum-
ificados animals that were found here were particularly
fascinating (not the least because they were so
reprehensible on dogmatic grounds) (cf. e.g. al-
Makrizi’s report on the dead “hoopoe”,
hudud = ibis, Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makritzi’s
“Usifat”, ed. and tr. E. Graefe, Leipzig 1911, Arabic
text 21, 1. 4, German tr. 67).

Sakkara’s importance for Egyptology was further
enhanced by the discovery, in 1824, of the first two
papyri, contained in sealed pottery, in a tomb (or
well) in the funerary precinct.

The Arabic toponym that, during the Islamic Mid-
dle Ages, seems to have customarily denoted the
necropolis of Sakkara with its awe-inspiring and vast
Pharaonic architectural vestiges, was, however, not
Sakkara, but rather, by way of metonymy, “Dayr
(A)b Hurmis”, the monastery of Apa Jeremias
(should one rather read: Dayr Hurmias?), cf. Mardikh.
On the chest of the dead man, the monuments
of the villages surrounding the great pyramids of Djiza, Abū
Dja‘far al-Idrisī (d. 649/1251) omits Sakkara, yet
names, as no. 14 and no. 16, both Bū Hurmis and
Shubra Bū Hurmis (Anwār ‘ulūmiyya fi l-ahdrām fi l-khāb
‘an asrār al-uhm, 50, II. 7 and 8; we also find Bū Sīr
Bū Raṣāf and Bū Sīr al-ahram, 50, II. 8 and 9). Apa Jeremias’
monastery (whose remains were rediscovered only at the beginning of the 20th century and
where excavations continue to take
) was the main place of the Sakkara necropolis.

The historian and traditionist Kadi Muhammad b.
Salāma al-Kudādī (d. in Fustah in 145/1062), reporting
from the well-known Egyptian authority Yahyā b.
‘Uthmān b. Sālih (d. 282/895), relates the story of the
denizen of the Upper Egyptian Kopos/Kifti and how
a corpse was discovered in this monastery when a grave
was dug there; if we take the script of a papyrus scroll from the aegis of the Roman emperor
Diocletian was found, written in “oldest Coptic”
script, which informed of the otherwise inaccessible
anachronistic Egyptian history (cf. Abū Dhja‘far al-
Idrisī, Anwār, 100, 1. 3-102, 1. 4; al-Makritzi, Khatā, in
Pyramidenkapitel, 21, 11. 13 ff., German tr. 67 ff., cites
the same report, probably on al-Idrisī’s authority).

The region of Apa Jeremias, i.e. Sakkara, was cor-
rectly identified as the heartland of the most ancient
Egypt. The Sharif Tād al-Sharaf Muhammad
al-Hasayn al-Ḥalabi, al-Ubayḍali (d. 666/1267), an avid student of Pharaonic architecture
in his time, placed the cradle of the oldest Egyptian
people in this very region (nawāthī Bū Sīr wa-Bū Hurmis, cf. Anwār, 107, 1. 12), and, incidentally, even
considered as conceivable a pre-Adamite (not just
antediluvian) date for their impressive activities.

From the testimony of stones found in St. Jeremias’
monastery that bore hieroglyphic inscriptions not—or
not only—on the visible front side, but also inside,
where they were connected with neighbouring slabs,
he inferred the existence of different historical layers
in the history and architecture of Old Egypt.

The step pyramid in the immediate neighbourhood
of Apa Jeremias’ monastery is portrayed as the tomb
of the legendary Egyptian knight (fāris abī Mīr) Rāyās, who had the valour and strength of one thou-
sand fighters, whereas the huge pyramid to the north
of the monastery, also built in steps, is said to have
become the resting place of Rāyās’ sovereign (cf. Ar-
war, 118, 11. 8 ff.; al-Makritzi, Pyramidenkapitel, 27, 11.
3 ff., German tr. 72). Also, Yākūt speaks, in his
geographical report (s.v. Dayr Hurmīs), of the pyramid by the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
Other authors, such as Abū Sāliḥ al-Armani (Churches and
monasteries, fol. 65a), only summarily refer to the
“sacred and populous” monasteries in the al-
Djiṣīya province.

Like all the spectacular Pharaonic sites, the mastabas of Sakkara have also been identified with
localities of the Muslim kisas al-anbiyā‘ [q.v.]. Whereas
the great pyramids of Djiza were seen, by some authors, as Joseph’s granary, his prison
(tṣmīn Yūsuf), it tended to be localised in Sakkara (see e.g. al-
Kalkashandi, Shubra Bu Hirmis, iii, 317, 11; see also the
reference given by J. Walker in the EP I art.).

Bibliography: A lengthy bibl. of mediaeval
Islamic Pharaonica is to be found in U. Haarmann,
Das Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ga‘far al-Idrisī, Beirut
1991, Arabic 272-83. On the apocryphal tradition
associated with Old Egypt in mediaeval Islam, see
now also U. Sæglin, al-Mas‘ūdī, Ibhrā‘īn b. Wāsīfīāt
and the Kitāb al-A‘lāb. Aigipetica in arabischen Tex-
ten des 10. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., in ZGAW, viii (1993),
1-70.

SAKKIZ, a small town of Persian Kurdistan, now
the chef-lieu of a shahristān or county in the prov-
ince of Kurdistan (lat. 36° 14’ N., long. 46° 15’ E.). It
lies on the western side of the upper Djeqāhu Cay
valley some 77 km/50 miles to the southeast of
Mahābid [q.v.] and on the road southwards to
Sanandaj and Kirmāngāh [q.v.].

The Kurdish population are from the Mekri tribe,
Saḥfī Sunnī and with the Nakhchbandī Sufi order
influential amongst them. In the early 20th century, the
local khan was a relative of the wāliī of Ardalan
and Sanandaj. In ca. 1950 Sakkiz town had a population
of 9,900, but by 1991 this had risen to 99,048
(Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre
of Iran, Population Division). Until recently, it had a
small community of Neo-Aramaic-speaking Jews,
but these have now probably all emigrated to Israel.

Bibliography: Razmārī (ed.), Farghāng-i
djuhrāfisā-yi Iran-zamin, v, 241-2.

SAKSIN, the name of one or more cities in
Western Eurasia.

The location of this city (or cities) is still unclear. It
is unrecorded in the classical Islamic geographies.
Māḥmūd al-Kashghāri (tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly

(C.E. Bosworth)
Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 330), who finished
writing his Dīwdn lughāt al-Turk in ca. 469/1077, notes
it as "a city near the Bulgār. It is Swuwar." The latter
was a tribal name (Sawvis/Sawvispo) of the Latin
and Byzantine sources) of one of the constituent
elements of the Volga Bulgārs. In this regard, Togan (Ibn
Fadlān's Reisebericht, 203-4, cites the theologian
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd with the nsbha al-Suwārī or
al-Saksīn. It seems unlikely that this is the Volga
Bulgarian city of Suwar, which was within the
Bulgār core lands. Rather, it probably points to the
presence of a substantial Swuwar population in Saksīn
which is confirmed by Abū Hāmid al-Gharnātī (see
below). Mustawfī (Nuzhat al-kulub, 259, 252; Togan,
op. cit., 204), pairs Saksīn and Bulghar as "two small
cities of the sixth clime", much land belongs to them
and they export furs. He places them at 32° = 750 far-
(c) below). Mustawfī (Nuzhat al-kulub, 259, 252; Togan,
op. cit., 204), pairs Saksīn and Bulghar as "two small
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below). Mustawfī (Nuzhat al-kulub, 259, 252; Togan,
op. cit., 204), pairs Saksīn and Bull
mosque for the Suwars, who were “also numerous.” The private residences seem to have largely been the tents of the nomads or log cabins made of pine wood. In this respect, Saksin was much like the old Khazar capital and the Volga Bulgar cities; the city was filled with foreign merchants, some, like our source, coming from the western regions of the Islamic world. In Abu Hāmid’s account, the city has a strong Muslim character. Each of its various groups had its own judges, jurists and preachers. With the exception of the Maghribis of the Malikī madhhab, all other foreigners who followed the Shafi’i school, the city was largely Muslim. In addition to the ferocious cold of the region, Abu Hāmid, in discussing the local peculiarities that might be of interest, mentions the enormous size and weight of certain types of fish caught in “the river” that are unique to that region. One such fish could only be caught by a powerful camel. Another type of fish is described as boneless, and it “is like the tail of a lamb” roasted with chicken meat. It is even better than the meat of a plump lamb. Lamp oil can be extracted from this fish as well as isinglass. Its meat could also be cured and became “the best of all the dried meats in the world.” The currency there is made of lead, of which eight Baghdad mān = 1 dinar. Sheep cost 2/3 dinar each, rams 3/4 dinar; there is also much fruit. A tassudj.;...
SAKSIN — SALA

3. Republican Turkey published a series of Türkiye’nin Hikayesi Deolet Sâl-namesi (first 3 vols. 1925-6 to 1927-8 in Arabic script; 1928-9 under the title Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Deolet Vîlihê). There were several attempts to revitalise the provincial almanacs under the name of II yuliklar (1967 and 1973).

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**SAŁA,** dialectically Sla, current French and English form Salé, a town of Morocco on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Búragrág (older Asmır), situated on a flat, sandy stretch of land. Pre-18th century sources often mix up Sâlla, Sale and Rabat. *Sella* would mean “crag, cliff” in Punnic (though not in fact attested in extant Punnic texts) but a Phoenician past for the town is based only on hypothesis.

Ibn H̄awkal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 78, mentions a town and some ribâts on the river of Sâlla, whilst al-Bakrī states that ʿĪsâ, the son of Idrīs II, was the ruler of the town. But this could also refer to Sâlla rather than Sâlī proper. The town was probably founded by the Banū ʿAshâra during the 5th/11th century. At first the Banū ʿAshâra were at Sâlla, but left it for the right bank of the river where they built palaces and held a court which rivalled those of the Spanish Taifas (M. Benguigui, *Anatole Banû ʿAshâra n. Ser. 4, xi [1848]), (Ebuzziya) Tewfik (1913). Ebu '1-Diya does not seem to have harmed Sâlla, whose role continued to be important; the caliphs often stayed there, whose agricultural and commercial prosperity is described by al-Idrīsī. Sâlē’s resistance to the Almohads provoked the destruction of its ramparts and the elimination of the Banû ʿAshâra, whose palace ʿAbd al-Muʿmin requisitioned. The town became a royal encampment, although if the army stopped in the region on its way to al-Andalus, it was, rather, from the Mediterranean ports that it embarked.

The re-foundation of Rabat [see RIBÂT AL-FATH] does not seem to have harmed Sâla, whose role continued to be important; the caliph often stayed there and undertook important building works: the provision of water (sîr al-aqṣaw or wall of the arches), construction or restoration of the Great Mosque, Masjīd al-Târā, which has always occupied the same place. The Marinid conquest was marked by the seizure and sack of the town by the Castilians in 658/1260; goods were pillaged and burnt and a substantial part of the population massacred. Amongst the inhabitants carried off as slaves was the kâdî, who was a descendant of the Banū ʿAshâra. The Marinid Abū Yusuf (656-85/1258-86) came to the help of the town and took part in rebuilding those walls which had not been rebuilt by the Almohads.
SALA — SALAF

Between the 5th/11th and 8th/14th centuries Salé enjoyed real prosperity. The agricultural richness of the region, and commercial and artisanal activity, are attested in the sources, and despite the mediocre standard of the port (al-Idrisi, Magribi, 85), commercial traffic was important. Oil was imported from Seville, and corn, bees' wax, hides, wool and indigo were exported (F. B. Peglotti, La pratica della mercatura, Cambridge, Mass. 1936). Ibn al-Khatib, who spent three years between 1291 and 1293 (ibid., 111), mentions the port of Sale, which was of medium size (a 'capitale per le navi e le merci').
Sala. Court of the Marinid _medersa_.

_Sala_. Court of the Marinid _medersa_.

it must also be such as to allow no advantage (manfa'āt) to accrue to the lender from his loan—but what constitutes "advantage" in what circumstances is, in fact, not a matter on which there is a consensus of juristic opinion (Saleh, 41 ff., 99; see Bibl. below).

For the sake of completeness and, more importantly, to dispel any confusion or misunderstanding that may arise in readers' minds, it should be noted that the kārd is but one of two types of loan recognised by the Shari'a. The other is the 'ārijā (or 'ārijya, the alternative preferred by Udovitch) "a loan for use which transfers the usufruct of property gratis to the borrower" (Udovitch, 106). Here the borrower's free use of the object of the loan, of which the lender retains ownership, lasts until and unless the contract is rescinded at will by either of the two parties to the agreement. To this type of loan the term salāf is, in Islamic law, technically inapplicable.

Bibliography: Lane, loc. cit. above (best consulted in conjunction with the present article and Salam); A.L. Udovitch, Partnership and profit in medieval Islam, 2 vols., Rome 1925-38, will compensate readers for this deficiency. (J.D. Latiham)

al-Salaf wa l-Khalaf (A.), lit. "the predecesors and the successors", names given to the first three generations and to the following generations of the Muslim community respectively.

It was the Sunna (q.v.) rather than the Kurān which instituted one of the most characteristic traits of the Islamic vision of history by imposing the idea a priori that this history was said to have begun with a golden age, which was said to have been inevitably followed by a period of relaxation of standards, deviation and finally of division. A saying of the Prophet—of which there exist various versions transmitted by different authorities—is accordingly very frequently cited in Islamic law as one of the sources of the manner of the Prophet's Sunna, a proof (hadith) which could establish a legal prescription binding the Community in general: this leads back to a consideration of the Companions' sayings as one of the sources quite separate from fiqh (see e.g. Ibn Kayyim al-Jawziyya, Fī 'lām al-muwakkin, Beirut 1991, iv, 90-117).

In a more general fashion, if the conception that the past model for the community is situated at some point beyond the present time is an invariable element within the Islamic conscience, its interpretation has nevertheless varied and has taken shape as two attitudes which are really antithetical to each other. The first may be described as a "confident reliance on the past": a genuine traditionalism which tends to neutralise the evolutionary effects linked with the tension created by the gap between an ideal past and a present always on this side of the ideal past. The second attitude, that of the salafiyya (q.v.), ancient and modern, on the contrary continually endeavours to update the changes—conceived as necessary alterations in relation to deviations and innovations, bid'as—believed to be necessary in view of the restoration in all respects of the ideal past (more or less freely conceived) and the gap between an ideal past and a present always on this side of the ideal past. (E. Chaumont)

Salafiyya, a neo-orthodox brand of Islamic reformism, originating in the late 19th century and centred on Egypt, aiming to regenerate Islam by a return to the tradition represented by the "pious forefathers" (al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ, hence its name) of the Primitive Faith. For definition, background, origins, doctrines and general aspects see Islam; Muhammad 'Abduh; Rashīd Rida.

1. In North Africa.
(a) Tunisia. Tunisia was the first Maghrib country to receive a reformist (though not purely salafi) message from the East. Muhammad 'Abduh visited Tunis (December-January 1885) with a view to establish there a branch of al-'Urus al-Wuhūkh secret society. He was received with some reserve by the older Zaytūna Shaykhs of the Mālikī school, but
found support among the junior Mālikī 'ulamā and the Hanafīs. Ābdūh’s second visit to Tunis (September 1903) did not improve his relations with the Zaytūnī conservatives, although he appeared with the prestige of Chief Mufti of Egypt. Facts that did not endear him to them included his insistence on the need to acquire secular knowledge besides the religious sciences and his condemnation of Sūfī quietism, fatalism and tawakkul [q.v.]; his “Transvaal Fatwa” (which permitted Muslims in a Christian country to wear a European hat and eat meat slaughtered by a kitsbah); his clash with the Zaytūnī ‘ālim Sālih al-Sharīf, with whom he accused Wahhābism (because of his sympathy with the Wahhābī drive against saint-worship); the appearance of the foremost Salafī journal al-Manār [q.v.], which a group of ultras, following Ābdūh’s visit, petitioned the Prime Minister to ban from entry the appearance of the foremost Salafī journal who accused him of Wahhabism (because of his symbiosis with the Zaytūnī and the(Http.); with the Young Men’s Muslim Association (YUMA) and the very popular but shortlived Society for the Preservation and Teaching of the Kur‘ān (for adults). Yet the Tunisian Salafīs, unlike their Algerian counterparts, did not succeed in creating a durable organisation with a recognised leadership and action programme. They showed the people a middle road between the mediaeval synthesis and westernisation, but had no answer for the urgent needs of the social and political life. Whether the current fundamentalist (or “Islamist”) movement (MTI), which traces its roots back to the Kur‘ānic Preservation Society (formed at the Zaytūnī in 1970, cf. S. Waltz, Islamism appeal in Tunisia, in MEJ, xI [1986], 652), should be regarded as an avatar of the Salafīyya has not yet been definitely established.


(b) Algeria. Of all the Maghrib countries, it was Algeria where Salafism reformism found its fullest and most effective expression and response. Perhaps the main reasons of its success, apart from the quality of its leadership, were that it was here that the danger to Algerian national identity, personality and soul, from Islamic religion, ethics and way of life, and to classical Arabic language and culture was felt to be the greatest. This threefold threat was implicit in Algeria’s colonial situation—her ambiguous status of being legally part of France but in fact a colony of massive European settlement which uprooted and
proletarianised its native peasantry, forcing large numbers to emigrate to France, transforming its economy and creating a thin layer of gallicised évolues who were taught "nous ancêtres les Gaulois" and aspired to complete political and cultural (but not religious) identification with France.

The emergence of the Salafiyya in Algeria is usually seen as a consequence of 'Abdul's visit to Algiers (and Constantine), August-September 1903. According to R. Bencheneb, the persons who met him represented three trends of the Algerian élite: the conservatives, the modernists and those of French civil status.

Prominent among the first-named were three professors of official madrasas, 'Abd al-Kâdir al-Madjdjâwî, who taught Arabic and Islamic Law at Algiers, was active in the Algerian nahda and wrote against social ills, superstitions and old customs; 'Abd al-Halîm b. Smâyâ, noted advocate of 'Islamic nationalism' ('kâumiyâa al-Islâmîyya), in close touch with Cairo and Istanbul, host of 'Abdul's visit in Algiers and campaigner in 1911 against conscription into the French army; and Muh. Sa'îd b. Ahmad al-Zawwâî, surnamed "Ibnu Zekrî", a ûziyya-bred Kabyle scholar and imâm of a mosque, who published in 1904 a pamphlet insisting on the need of ûziyya reform in Kabylia and denouncing customary laws that disad-
vantaged the Kabyle woman. To the same trend be-
longed two Constantinian Sîms, Hamdân al-Wantsî, teacher and mentor of Ibn Bâdis [q.v.], and Mawîlî b. Mawîlî al-Ḥâfîzî, real leader of the conservatives, long-time Mufti of Constantine, partisan of progress and reform, open to modern science and European ideas. For Merad (1967, 126), his reformism consisted in improvement of the moral and intellectual condi-
tion of Algerian Muslims without judging them for their beliefs, whether maraboutic or other. The French-assimilated modernists dismissed the conserva-
atives as "old turbans", arrogant bourgeois, great feudals, selfish, lazy and corrupt, whose attachment to tradition impeded progress and merger.

'Abdul's visit, though brief, made a strong and lasting impression. He appeared as an educator and missionary of faith, hope and effort, he showed the Algerian intelligentsia what it was looking for: the possibility of reconciling religion and progress, tradition and renewal, while safeguarding their national identity. Whether he also conveyed a political message has been both suggested (Merad, 1964) and denied (Bencheneb 1981, 131). It took, however, a decade for the fruits of 'Abdul's visit to become visi-
ble. In 1913 there appeared at Algiers two Arabic weeklies, al-Farîq and Dhu 'l-Fakhr, both of expressly 'Abdulhist inspiration and non-political. Their aim was twofold: to publicise 'Abdul's teachings and to criticise the religious situation in Algeria, chiefly the Sûfî orders and marabouts, popular superstitions and vices. A special target was the religious rôle of the local Jews. Both were suspended by 1915, but al-Farîq reappeared in 1921.

A decade later, the diffuse Salafi trends begin to take shape again with the publication of al-Munâshid (July 1923), suspended and replaced shortly after by al-Qâhid (December 1925, first weekly, then monthly). The third and most successful of this founder and editor, the Constantinian Sîmî 'Abd al-
Hamîd Ibn Bâdis [q.v.], and see 184], as well as the qualities of his collaborators, it became in the 1930s the most prestigious tribune of the Maghribi Salafiyah (it was dubbed "the Manâr of the Maghrib"), until its cessation by the end of 1939.

The team assembled by Ibn Bâdis comprised a number of persons, most of whom shared a common "homeground"—the Province of Constantine—a period of study at the Zaytûna and (some of them) a stay of up to 10 years in the East, but they differed greatly in background, skills and temperament (see on these persons, Merad, 1967, 79-118). Six years later, this team became the nucleus of the Association of Algerian Muslim 'ulamâ? (Djam'iyyat al-ulamâ? al-muslimin al-djazîriyyin = AUMA) (1931). Its aims, as stated in the statutes, were to be purely religious, moral and cultural; all political discussion or inter-
ference in political systems or policies were strin-
tely forbidden. There ensued a struggle for dominance be-
 tween the Salafis and marabouts in which the former prevailed, but the latter, led by Hâfîzî, set up a rival anti-reformist organisation which they called Djam'iyyat al-ulamâ? al-sunna al-djazîriyyin = AUSA (1932), the addition of the word sunna implying that their adversaries had become tainted by heresy in co-
 opting to their committee a representative of the Ibâdiyya [q.v.], Ibhrîm Bayîyûd. There followed a year of bitter polemics between the two camps, which exposed the intrinsic weakness of the marabouts, their intellectual poverty, their moral decay and inability to evolve and meet the challenge of the times. They were on the whole unable, in spite of their numbers, well-
knit framework, widespread ramifications, monastic discipline and economic strength, to devise effective long-range counter-measures to withstand the Salafi onslaught, and had to depend on the initiative, sup-
port and guidance of the French Administration, which did not enhance their prestige.

A second target of the Salafi reformists was the class of official ministers of the cult, or Muslim "clergy". In 1934-5 they numbered 385 (22 muftis, 159 imams and 204 others. Merad, 1967, 418). Since political dependability (i.e. loyalty and docility) were often given precedence over professional aptitude and moral integrity, the religious civil service as a whole lost in the course of time most of its credit in the public eye. Both sides, however, refrained as a rule from direct attacks on each other. The two major charges which the official "clergy" proffered against the Salafiyya were separatism (from France) and Wahhâbism.

Apart from the upper hand gained by the Reformists over the marabouts, a number of events facilitated or marked the progress of the former during the 1930s: (a) Muslim resentment over the triumphant centennial celebrations of the French con-
quest of Algiers (1930); (b) the initially benevolent at-
titude of the anti-maraboutic director of Native Af-
fairs, Jean Mirante, towards the Reformists. (c) the AUMA-Administration crisis of 1933-4 following the ban on unlicensed (i.e. Reformist) preaching in the mosques and on Reformist teaching in a number of free schools, further widened popular sup-
port for the Reformists; (d) the paradoxical alliance of the Reformists with the assimilationist Fédération des Élus, led by Dr. Bendjelloul and Farhat 'Abbas, for electoral purposes; (e) the bloody anti-Jewish riots of Constantine (3-5 August 1934); the fact that these riots occurred in the very centre of Salafi reformism and home-town of Imam Bâdis, cast a strong spell on the latter but redounded to his advantage thanks to his rôle as a restorer of intercommunal peace; (f) the first Reformist congress, held at Algiers in September 1935, enabled the AUMA to take stock and appear as a political and national force in Algerian public; (g) the central rôle played by the Reformists in the preparation and conduct of the Islamic Congress of Algiers (June 1936), convened with a view to adopt
and present to the Popular Front Government the combined demands of the three main participants: Elus, Reformists and Communists (Marabouts and the Popular Front = PPA), was not invited, but he attended nevertheless. The demands of the Reformists included: preservation of the Muslim personal status, reorganisation of the judicial systems, separation of Religion and State (i.e. independence of the Muslim cult), restitution of all religious buildings and control of wakf revenues, and abolition of all discrimination regarding the Arabic language.

The congress delegation was well received in Paris, but a telegram disavowing it, sent by the Malikî vice-Grand Mufti of Algiers, Mahmûd Ben Dâli (dubbed Kahbûl) and others to the Premier Léon Blum, had serious consequences: on 2 August the Mufti was murdered and the assassin pointed to the Reformist leader. The principal means of violence and to their bourgeois origin and culture. It could thus be said, as late as 1977, that the regime "completely controlled the religious field" (B. Etienne, L’Algérie, cultures et révolution, Paris 1977, 118-43). Fifteen years later, this statement seems no longer true. The influence of the Islamic revolution in Iran and elsewhere, the ever-deepening economic and social crisis in Algeria, with a one-party army-controlled régime unable to cope with it effectively, and a belated attempt at democratisation made by President Ben-Djedîd—all these factors combined seemed to make the top of nearly seventy years of exposure to Salafî reformism may explain the landslide victory of the fundamentalist Islamic Front of Salvation (FIS) and its allies in the first round of the general elections (January 1992). The refusal of the army to accept the verdict of the polls, and its resolve to use force instead of accommodation, have created a sanguinary confrontation whose outcome still lies in the future.

Apart from the record of Salafî reformism in politics, it achieved quite remarkable results in its proper spheres of activity, sc. religion, culture and ethics, which provided the spiritual foundation of Algerian nationalism. By 1958 the AUMA had an estimated 10,000 active members, and 100,000 (?) sympathetic, divided in 126 sections, 34 cercles and 70 communautés cultuelles. It enjoyed wide support in the representative bodies of Algeria down to village jama’as and even more in the Association of North African Muslim Students (AEMNA), had made converts among the graduates of official madrasas and French schools, even among mukaddams of certain zauyjas, had penetrated the AWRâs massîf, stronghold of maraboutism, the Sûmmâm valley and the Saharan fringes (Laghbouât, Sûf). The principal means of
Salafi-Reformist indoctrination were the free school, the mosque and the press. The number of free schools grew between 1925 and 1933, especially in the provinces of Constantine, the “home-ground” of Ibn Badis and his team. For the year 1934-5 Merad (1967: 338) gives the figure of 70 schools, each consisting of one or two classes, totalling a hundred classes with 30,000 pupils of both sexes. According to a later estimate, there were by 1958 181 schools with 40,000 pupils, of which 123 were Reformist Kur’ânic schools and 58 from madrasas opening a primary education to 11,000 pupils. Classes were held 272 days annually (as against 157 days in French schools). In addition there was the Ben-Bâdis Institute (secondary school level, opened in 1947) with 700 students. Most schools served also as local branches of the AUMA and clubs for Reformist youth. In their curricula the emphasis was heavily on classical Arabic (spoken Arabic and Berber were banned), Kur’ân with relevant commentary, some hadîth, some fiqh, history of the Arabs (chiefly the period of the Prophet and the Rashidun caliphs) and of Algeria, with a view to foster national pride and an aspiration to renew their pristine glories. Important items were Algerian patriotic songs and the formula-creed: Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my fatherland (uwâjâtî).

Next to teaching, the Salafis’salamâ, tried to infuse new life into the preacher’s art, which had become a purely mechanical affair, divorced from reality and the needs of the people. Three of them stand out as orators: Ibn Badis, Ibrahîmi and ʻUkbî, who greatly differed in style, but they all captivated their audiences by their excellent command of classical Arabic, their missionary zeal and the novelty of their message.

As to the press, the Algerian Arabic papers, like their Middle Eastern counterparts [see qâbîsî], suffered from a number of handicaps and shortcomings: they were published by amateurs, their financial resources were precarious, their technical equipment rudimentary, their readership restricted owing to high illiteracy, their very existence in constant danger of suspension. Few had a lifespan of more than 10 years. They were the veteran conservative Nadîkh, the Salafist ʻAbd al-ʻUzb, the ʻAlîwî Balâgh and the neo- ʻAbd al-Rasîdî nadîkh since 1925, especially in the pro-independence days, the Salafist organs could attain their goal, as theirs was a press of opinion, not of information. Apart from Islam, Arabic and Algerian national identity, two themes were of major concern to them: (1) Salafist ethics, or “moral rearmament”; and (2) the “struggle for the past” or their vision of history.

The re-evaluation of Islamic ethics by the Algerian reformists, like that of the eastern Salafists, stemmed from a poignant realisation of the contrast between the present state of subjection to an infidel power and Arab might and glory in the days of the Salaf. The call was therefore for a revival of those vital moral forces that had led the Arabs to greatness but had lain dormant for centuries under the influence of Şûfî ethics, with its emphasis on contempt of the dunyâ, unconcern with the mirror and future, fatalism, quietism and passive acceptance of things as they were. In order for a change to occur, the Muslim must return to a pure, strictly unitarian belief in God and trust in destiny, the fruit of a scrupulous observance of ritual, which in turn foster vitality, energy, willpower, self-reliance, activity, work, movement and speed (value of time), resolve, effort, perseverance and constancy, ambition, quest of fame, hope—all of which become key-words in the Reformist lexicon.

In the domain of social ethics, the Reformist efforts did not extend beyond the fostering of qualities making for social cohesion and the combating of certain vices, such as prostitution, alcoholism and gambling—made doubly hateful because of the Kur’ânic ban and the influence of the Europeans on their spreading. They also campaigned against customs proscribed by Wahhâbi-Salafi puritanism, such as ruinous spending on weddings and other celebrations, noisy funerals and popular bid’as relating to saint-worship. Social reform in the modern acceptance was none of their concern. They preferred to keep it off the agenda, because they did not actually oppose it, as they did in all major questions relating to women’s liberation, such as the veil, polygamy, divorce and inheritance (as did Raqîdî Rîdâ). This cautious stance may be explained by the strong conservatism of Maghribi society, the bourgeois background of Ibn Badis, the conviction that social justice was provided by the Kur’ân and the Share’a, the desire to safeguard the traditional structure of the Algerian family as the last bulwark of Islam against the disruptive influences of the West and last, but perhaps not least, dependence for financial support on the well-to-do classes (as suggested by Merad, 1967, 304).

Reformist history writing (Mîlî, Madañî, Fâsî; see Shinar, 1971) was guided by several basic assumptions: there have existed a polarity and a dichotomy between East and West since the dawn of history; the East is superior to the West in spiritual values, ethics and original culture; the ways of the West, spearheaded by Rome and the Latin heirs of their imperial traditions, are domination, oppression and exploitation; the Mâghrib is part of the Semitic East by origins, spirit and culture; the Berbers, already Semiticised by the Phoenicians, merged with the Arabs into one nation through Islam and the Arabic language, stood up to every conqueror and proved their capacity to establish one of the greatest states in the world; Algeria had and still has her own national identity and history, despite Western efforts to dilute and obliterate them. Her history is illustrated by the following figures and dynasties: Jugurtha the Numidian, Rome’s greatest foe (see M.-Ch. Sahli, Le message de Jugurtha, Algiers 1947); ʻUkba b. Nâîf, Arab conqueror of the Mâghrib for Islam, buried in Algerian soil; the Rustamid (q.v.) imâmât of Tâhât (despite its being heretical Khârijidî); ʻAbd al-Mu’min al-Madînî (q.v.), the real founder of the Almohad caliphate; and the ʻAbd al-Wâdîd (q.v.) dynasty of Tîlîmân (Tiemen). Even the Banû Hilâl (q.v.), whose invasion of the Mâghrib had been described since Ibn Khaldûn as the greatest catastrophe to befall the region in the Middle Ages, is seen by the Reformists as a blessing in disguise, because it permanently fixed its Arab character. The latest hero has been ʻAbd al-Kâdir b. Mûbayî al-Dîn (q.v.), champion of Algerian resistance to the French.

existence of the latter was a historic fact, so they could dedicate themselves to the other major goals of Salafi reformism: the eradication of saint worship, especially the pilgrimages to saints' tombs with their attendant beliefs and practices of the lower Sufi orders, and the reform of the traditional educational system in 'Abduh's spirit. In addition, they campaigned against extravagant and ruinous wedding celebrations. A theme that came last to the fore, but then with dramatic effect, was France's Berber policy. In their drive against maraboutism the Salafis were preceded by two Wahhabî-inspired sultans, Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh and his son Mawlîy Sâlûmân [see 'alâwî]. The latter's anti-maraboutic "pastoral letter" (1811) involved him in a military struggle with the maraboutic establishment that nearly swept away the dynasty (1822). His immediate successors adopted a more cautious policy, but in May 1909 Mawlîy 'Abd al-Ḥâfîz, a strong Salafi sympathiser (he wrote a refutation of Ţîdânî claims) put an end to the zaîrîs, of the Idrîsî sharîf Muhammad al-Kabîr b. 'Abd al-Wâhâb al-Kattânî, chief of the Kattânîyya order and leader of the clerical opposition to the French. Al-Kattânî was suspected of plotting to overthrow the reigning dynasty and restore the Idrîsî one (E. Michaux-Bellaire, in RMM, v [1908], 393-423, and Laroui 1980, 405). The next sultan, Mawlîy Yûsûf, continued the same line. In 1924 the Council of 'Ulamâ', at his behest, decided to burn all writings of the Ţîdânî writer Muhammad al-Nâdîfî. In 1933, his son and successor Sîdî Muhammad b. Yûsûf banned all manifestations of the 'Ishâwî order, and in 1946 he prohibited the founding of new orders or opening of new zaîrîs without prior permission. Even Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Kârim, leader of the Rif War (1921-6) espoused the Salafi ideology and tried to spread it in the Rif [g.a.] in order to bolster Rifî morale and counteract the defeatist propaganda of some Sûfî orders, burning, as a reprisal, two of their zaîrîs (Shinâr 1965, 169 ff.). This attitude of the orders was branded as treason by the Young Moroccans and deepened their enmity towards the entire Sûfî establishment. After the Rif War, their chief maraboutic target became the new head of the Kattânîyya, al-Ḥâḍîj b. 'Abd al-Ḥâfîz al-Kattânî. First signs of an anti-maraboutic trend among Moroccan intellectuals appear in the second half of the 19th century: the historian Ahmad b. Khâlid al-Nâşîrî al-Sâliwî (d. 1897 [g.r.]), who declared himself an enemy of pilgrimages to saints' tombs (mawâsîm) (E. Lévi-Provençal, Hist. des Chorfa, Paris 1922, 568), and 'Abd Allâh b. Idrîs al-Sanûsî, ulamâ'î of the Karâwîyîn and member of the Royal Council under Mawlîy Hasan (1873-1894), who brought back some Salafi ideas from his travels in the East and tried to propagate them in Morocco, but with little success. Far more effective was the action led by Abû Shû'ây b. 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Dukkâlî, dubbed "the Moroccan 'Abduh" (1873-1937). He studied at the Azhar around 1900, became Vizier of Justice, taught 'Abduh's doctrine at the Karâwîyîn and in Rabâţ, left again for the East after 1912, expounded 'Abduh's teachings at Mecca and befriended Rahulî Ǧûdî and the famous drusi Mânaî al-Ǧarî'î ("the true Arabî"), the Druze amîr Ǧûdîbâr Arâlân. After the First World War, he returned to Morocco and toured the country with a group of followers, preaching, falling sacred trees and smashing sacred stones. His eloquence and charisma earned him a wide following. Among his disciples the most militant were (a) Muhammad Ǧâdîzî, a native of Mînkân (Meknès) who
clashed with 'Abd al-Hāy al-Kattānī (see above) in 1920, was expelled from the Karawīyīn in 1923 and founded a "free school" in 1926. He was noted as a nationalist poet and fākīh; and (b) ʿAllāl al-Fāṭī (1907–74 [q.v. in Suppl.]), ʿulīm, of the Karawīyīn, fervent patriot, poet and teacher, became the foremost nationalist leader from 1929 onwards, thus embodying in his person the transition from Salafiyya to nationalism. The philosopher M.ʿA. Lahbabi (Du clos à l’ouvert, Casablanca 1961, 65) calls him the "theorist of the Salafiyya", by virtue of his book, Self-criticism (Al-Abdalīl, Casablanca 1952).

Similar groups to those of Rabat and Fās were formed at Marrākūsh, Tiṭṭāwīn and Tānjādīn. In the two latter towns, Salafi activity centred around Muhammad Dāwūd, historian of Tiṭṭāwīn, and the Benūnī family, whose head, Āl-Hādżīdī ʿAbd al-Sālam, ex-Vizier of Justice, was dubbed "Father of Moroccan nationalism".

Finally, there must be mentioned the Islamic activist Muhammad Makkī al-Nāṣirīn, scholar of a noted Rabātī family (b. 1904). He studied in Cairo, returned to Morocco in 1927, was expelled in 1930 following his campaign against the Berber Dāhir and presented an indictment sheet against France’s Berber policy to the pan-Islamic congress of Jerusalem (December 1931). In 1937 he founded and led the Moroccan Unity Party (PUM). For his early reformist thinking we owe to him Tābir al-hakīma wa-l-iblaḏī al-Qur’ānī, which called for a reform of Muslim society by a return to true ʿUṣūlīm based on practical ethics (see L. Massignon, in REI, i [1927], 33).

The other major field of Salafi activity was the reform of the educational system, more especially the establishment of "free schools" (madārīs hurra), also called "renovated Kur’ānī schools". The Salafīs were neither the first nor the only ones to create them. J. Damis distinguishes four categories among the "founding fathers" and patronage committees: merchants, Salafīs, ʿulamāʾ fiṣḥakāh and members of some Sūfī orders. They shared an awareness of the backwardness of the traditional Kur’ānī school (mīṣīd), the example of reformed schools in the East (Egypt and Syria), a cultural nationalism and a moral reservation with regards to the public school with its emphasis on French and modern subjects and its secularism. By the 1930s, at the expense of Arabic, Kur’ānī and Islam. Yet they were influenced by the public school in matters of organisation, management, methodology and equipment. The first free schools opened in 1919 in Rabāt, Fās and Tiṭṭāwīn. By the late 1940s there were 121 free schools with 14 annexes and 26,800 students. The teaching staff came mostly from the Karawīyīn and the pupils from the urban middle class. Their curricula varied. Thus the Bū-Hlāl school (Rabāt 1918) claimed to offer courses in modern sciences, history, geography, French and gymnastics, while the Marrākūsh school (1952) taught mainly Kur’ān, Arabic grammar, some fīḥk, arithmetic and French. The overall effect of the free school in Morocco was that it served as a retractor against French culture, a vehicle of modern Arabic culture, a precursor and (later) auxiliary of Moroccan nationalism, and a promoter of, and (later) brake on, secularisation and modernisation.

The importance of the Salafiyya in Morocco has been variously assessed. E. Derrmenghem, a keen and sympathetic observer of Maǧribī Islam, marvelled in 1933 at the speed with which the Salafiyya had succeeded in drastically reducing the influence of the marabouts (al-Fāsi, 1948, 155). ʿA. Laroui, the Moroccan cultural historian, holds that from 1912 to 1925, Salafīm had become the common ideology of the sultan, the central mağhīrīm, the Fāsi ʿulamāʾ and the bourgeoisie, had rendered exclusive the sultan’s religious authority, had inspired Bin ʿAbd al-Kārīm’s reform drive against local Berber custom (yet failed to win the support of the marabouts), with its methodology serving all schools of thought and all interest groups (Laroui 1980, 428-9). The Moroccan philosopher M.ʿA. Lahbabi (al-Habbābī), on the other hand, finds that despite all its efforts and successes, the results of Salafī action were disappointing, owing to the upward trend engendered by the industrialisation of the modern Moroccan cities (Du clos à l’ouvert, Casablanca 1961, 65).


The early history of the Salafiyya in both Egypt and Syria (in the sense of Bīlād al-Šam, Greater Syria) is closely connected. Muhammad ʿAbdūh’s [q.v.] stay in Beirut (1882-8, with lengthy interruptions) gave him the opportunity to make some of the ʿulamāʾ; civil servants and intellectuals there familiar with his own and with al-Afghānī’s [q.v.] ideas about the necessity and the contents of a reform of Islam [see ISLĀM, and also Delanouë, in Bibl.].

Some years later, a considerable number of Syrian adherents and spokesmen of the Salafiyya, among them Tāhir al-Dījaʿātīrī and Dīḥām al-Dīn al-Kāsīmī (see below), travelled to Egypt. Some of them stayed there for a considerable length of time, some even taking up domicile in Egypt permanently and influencing, by their activities as publicists and in other ways, the discussion of Islamic reform, even far beyond Syria and Egypt.

Notwithstanding this mutual influence between Syrian and Egyptian Salafīs, manifesting itself, among other things, by lively correspondence, reciprocal visits, lecture tours, letters to the editor and book reviews, encounters at Pan-Islamic congresses [see MUṭTAMAR etc.], the Salafiyya attained in each
region a certain degree of distinct and independent development. This was the case e.g. regarding some particular phases of Islamic history, and also with regard to the historical role of the muḥājirūn. With individual authors, these differences might reach from nuances to clear divergences. But the basic positions of the Salafiyya in Egypt and in Syria are to a large extent the same [see ISLĀM, esp. C. The principal doctrinal positions].

(a) EGYPT. The origin and early development of the Salafiyya in Egypt is often connected with the names of Abū Qurān, `Abd al-Qarīn, the Kawakiblī and Rashīd Rida [q.v.]. With al-Manār [q.v.], the last mentioned created in Cairo in 1898 the most influential organ of the Salafiyya. From 1926 onwards, al-Manār was joined by al-Fath (Cairo), a periodical of the Salafiyya, and al-Djundi (Cairo 1977). In the discussion about the authenticity of hadīth literature, which had flared up because of the link of orientalist writings, the authors of the Salafiyya also took sides fervently (see G.H.A. Juynboll, The authenticity of the Tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt, Leiden 1969).

In principle, the Salafiyya in Egypt was and has remained oriented towards Pan-Islamism [q.v.]. On the other hand, some of its authors showed already in the 1920s, and even more so during the following two decades, a tendency towards blending Islam and Arab nationalism [see JAWMĀ]. In 1936, for instance, the “Arab socialism”, were very narrowly prescribed. The government reacted very harshly indeed at alleged or real conspiracies, as was clearly shown by the execution of Sayyid Kujbā [q.v.].

During the first two years after the “Free Officers” had seized power in 1952, the Salafiyya in Egypt had relatively favourable possibilities to develop. However, already at that time internal differences of opinion about specific questions became visible, for instance in the appraisal of hereditary monarchy and its role in the history of Islam (Ende, 99-103). After the Muslim Brotherhood had been banned in 1954, the public influence of the Salafiyya became in the 1960s, and its followers left the country (mainly to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait). However, individual Salafis such as Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazālī and Mahmūd Muhammad Shākir occasionally found the opportunity to express themselves in books or journals (e.g. in al-Risālā), for instance, in connection with the repeated campaigns of the government against the Marxist Left. Many writings of earlier or contemporary Salafiyya authors also appeared to be appropriate for providing a religious-legal justification for “Arab socialism” which was propagated by the State [see ISLĀM]. For this reason, a description of Islamic socialism by the leader of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, Muṣṭafā al-Sibā‘ī (d. 1964) could also be published in Cairo (Iṣrā‘iṣrā‘īlīyāt al-islām, 1Damascus 1939, 2Damascus and Cairo 1960, 3Cairo and Kuwait d. in this direction). However, this is only an apparent case of “Arab socialism” often presented in works of literature on the tradition of the Salafiyya, as was the case with Sami A. Hanna and G.H. Gardner, Arab socialism, Leiden 1969, esp. 149-71).

Some authors made it their aim to attack incessantly certain writers whom they considered as particularly dangerous representatives of secularisation and westernisation. A favourite target of their criticism was Tāhā Ḥusayn [q.v.], and they regard the term as a man of letters, literary critic, historian of early Islam and cultural policy-maker (see e.g. Muṣṭafā Sa‘dīl al-Raṣīfī, Tahtā rāyat al-Kurān, ‘Cairo 1962, 1974; An-war al-Djundī, Tāhā Ḥusayn, hāyātuhu wa-fikrīruh fi masān al-islām, ‘Cairo 1977). In the discussion about the authenticity of hadīth literature, which had flared up because of the link of orientalist writings, the authors of the Salafiyya also took sides fervently (see G.H.A. Juynboll, The authenticity of the Tradition literature. Discussions in modern Egypt, Leiden 1969).

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After the war of June 1967, and even more so after the death of Djamal cAbd al-Nasir in 1970, the ideas of the Salafiyya or of the Neo-Salafiyya (see above) saw a new boost in connection with the revival of the ancient militant organisations and the emergence of new ones (see the studies by Carré, Jensen and Kepel, mentioned in the Bibli.).

(b) Syria. The origins of the Salafiyya in Syria are connected with the names of Tahir al-Djaza‘iri and Djamal al-Din al-Kasimi in the first place. The circle of friends and disciples which formed around al-Djaza‘iri directly or indirectly influenced almost all the Syrian Salafiyya authors who after the First World War became prominent in Syria. Having sought the support of the Ottoman Turkish reformers and, from 1908 onwards, of the Young Turks in particular, most of the Syrian Salafiyya, already from 1909-10 onwards turned to Arab nationalism (see Commins, 124 ff.). Many of them played a role in the Arab clubs and movements of the time (including the secession into a rival movement, and in agreement with the sympathies of the Sunni Muslim intellectuals who after the First World War saw a new boost in connection with the revival of the militant Neo-Salafiyya of Syria and their disciples to glorify the empire of the Ottomans, with whom Tahir was in close contact, especially in the years 1906-7, proceeded from 1880 onwards, engaged in building up a modern educational system in Syria (between 1879-83 as general supervisor for the elementary schools). From 1880 onwards, the above-mentioned circle of friends and disciples (halqa) began to form around him. Between 1907-19 Shaykh Tahir lived in exile in Egypt. He died in Damascus in January 1920. Among his achievements are counted, among other things, the foundation (or new arrangement) of the Zahiriyah library in Damascus and of the Khalidiyya library in Jerusalem.

Shaykh Tahir's publications consist mainly of textbooks for the state schools. They reflect his religious-reformist ideas only indirectly. He preferred to express and discuss his thoughts in his halqa. Djamal al-Din al-Kasimi (1866-1914), with whom Tahir was in close contact, especially in the years 1906-7, proceeded differently. In most of his works (several of them have been published only posthumously) we meet al-Kasimi as a resolute reformer (see the list of his writings, with commentary, in Zahir al-Kasimi, 632-88). His repeated criticism of lailat and of the rigid adherence to the four Sunni schools of law (al-tasweq li ‘l-madhhab) laid him open to the accusation that he wished to found his own madhhab. The discussion he triggered on the advantages or dangers of l-madhabiyya is going on in Syria until the present day (Wild, ‘l-madhab und Madhab: cf. Muhammad Sa‘id Rama‘dan al-Bu‘fi, al-Salafiyya, marhala zamaniyya mubakara, ‘l-madhab, idem, 1990).

From its beginning, the Syrian Salafiyya has never formed an ideologically homogeneous bloc. Rather, one recognises in individual representatives of the movement quite different positions about particular questions. However, their criticism of many forms of tasawwuf, as well as of many popular religious customs and notions, inspired by Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) and his school, is more or less uniform. Examples are ‘Abd al-Hamid al-Zahravi’s al-Fihh wa ‘l-tasawwuf (Cairo 1901) and al-Kasimi’s l-Saba‘i al-madhab was sa‘add wa ‘l-tasaww‘ad (Cairo 1923, Beirut 1970). Likewise in the tradition of Ibn Taymiyya and the neo-Hanbali school and in agreement with the sympathies of the Salafiyya for the Wahhabiyya is the generally critical appraisal of the Shafi‘ and its role in Islamic history, though not all Syrian Salafis are uniformly severe in their judgment (Laoust, Isisai, index, 729; Ende, 1975, 58-75; Commins, 84-95). In the same context belongs the endeavour of some Syrian Salafiyya authors to defend it against accusations by many historians and other authors of the past (Ende, esp. 64-75, 91 ff.). It was above all Muhammad Kurd ‘Ali (see KURD ‘ALI) who distinguished himself in this respect and who made it possible that this and other positions of the Salafiyya could be represented in their publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus, founded and directed by him for many years (see MADJMA ‘ULAM‘A. 2a. Syria) (Hermann, esp. 207 ff.).

The ‘Arabisation of Islam’, which can be observed later in the Egyptian Salafiyya (see above), is in part characterised by arguments which, already before the First World War, were discussed by members of the Syrian Salafiyya and have been propagated in Egypt by such authors as Mustapha al-Din al-Khalil, a disciple of Tahir al-Djaza‘iri.

As in Egypt, the ideas of the Salafiyya have been taken up and converted into political action by radical Muslim organisations also in Syria. This holds true in the first place for the Muslim Brotherhood which in the middle of the 1940s emerged from the fusion of several Islamic societies. The leaders of the Brotherhood, above all Mustafâ al-Siba’si, Ma‘rûf al-Dawâ‘elî and Muhammad al-Mubarak, found over several years the opportunity to make their ideas public in journals such as al-Muslimîn and al-Tamadûdan ‘l-islami. Having been banned for the first time in 1952, the Muslim Brotherhood and similar organisations of the militant Neo-Salafiyya of Syria have been suppressed in various degrees and at times persecuted with great harshness. Many of their members have had to travel to such countries as Jordan and Saudi Arabia (see Reissner, Carré-Michaud and Abdallah).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article):

Salafiyya — Salah Abd al-Sabur


2. On Salafiyya in Syria, H. Laoust, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taha al-Din Ahmad b. Taimiya, Cairo 1939; Zafir al-Kasimi, Djamal al-Din al-Kasimi wa-'tsasruhu, Damascus 1965; ‘Adnan al-Khafif, al-Shaykh Tahir al-Qazzarri, raf‘ al-nahda al-'ilmiyya fi bilad al-Sum wa-al-dam min khirritid madrasati, Cairo 1971; G. Delanoue, Endocriminalité religieuse et idéologie ottomane: l’adresse de Taha al-Din et l’appel aux réalisations (al-Nas, 55-8). This is because he was aware of the importance of using enjambement (tatimin) between the verses, a poetic technique which was considered a fault (‘qib) in classical poetry. However, there are also clear influences in the motives and images, and even in wording, from Eliot’s “The wasteland,” “The hollow men,” and “The love song of J. Alfred Prufrock,” upon Salah’s poetry, which was published in several other anthologies.

In drama, Salah was among the leading Arab writers of plays in blank verse. He was acquainted with dramatic literature through reading the plays of Tawfik al-Hakim and ‘Ali Ahmad Bakkar in Arabic, and of Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw and Greek drama in English, though he did not see any play performed on stage till he came to Cairo at the age of twenty.

His dramas deal with the tyranny and oppression exercised by the authorities and the responsibility of art and literature towards social institutions. His characters are engaged tragic heroes or cowardly conspirators who betray their values and join forces with the authorities. However, being a talented poet, his poetic style and images save him from direct and prosaic expression. His first drama, Ma‘amat al-Halalad (“The tragedy of al-Hallad”) (1964), bears the influence of Greek tragedy. The play deals with the engagement of the intellectual in a historical frame, putting forward the view that al-Hallad [q.v.] was crucified in consequence of what were considered revolutionary action, blasphemous ideas and utterances, as in the cases of Socrates and Jesus. There are clear influences from Eliot’s “Murder in the Cathedral” upon this play, especially in the motives of martyrdom, justice, and the struggle between the state and the religious authorities.

The second play by Salah ‘Abd al-Sabur is Musafir layl (“Traveller at night”) (1969), in which he depicted the role of social and political institutions in destroying the individual. In his third play, al-Amira tanazir (“The Princess is waiting”) (1969), he dealt with the idolising of leaders; while in his fourth play, Layla wa l-maghar (“Layla and the madman”) (1970), he was concerned with poverty, the oppression of women and the spiritual emptiness and impotency of intellectuals in Egypt before the revolution of 1952, which was crucified in consequence of what were considered revolutionary action, blasphemous ideas and utterances, as in the cases of Socrates and Jesus. There are clear influences from Eliot’s “Murder in the Cathedral” upon this play, especially in the motives of martyrdom, justice, and the struggle between the state and the religious authorities.

In his youth, Salah was influenced by the poets of the Mahdjjar [q.v.]. In his spiritual autobiography Haydaj fi Tafir (“My life in poetry”) he revealed his theory of poems which was developed under the influence of Plato, Aristotle and Nietzsche, giving his own interpretation; thus he claimed that Aristotle’s catharsis takes place at the time of the creative process and that it does not only purify the soul from fear and pity but also from the emotion of revenge.

Salah ‘Abd al-Sabur wrote, beside his four translations of books by Ihsen, Eliot and Lorca, several collections of articles in which he discussed his ideas and theories on literature, politics, society and arts, as well as European and American theatre and literature, all presented in a clear and elegant style, in such collections as ‘Awqal al-Qar (“The voices of the age”) (1961) (on European and American literature and theatre); Maghda yakhda minhum li-l-tarik (“Which memory will they leave after their death?”) (1962) (studies on the achievements of Taha Husayn, al-Akkad, Tawfik al-Hakim and al-Mazini); and several others.

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SAHĒL AL-DIN, AL-AIMI-L AL-NĀSIR ABU 'ALI, YUSUF B. AYYŪB (SALADIN), the founder of the dynasty of the Ayūbīds [q. e.], and the champion of the djihād against the Crusaders (born 532/1138, died 589/1193).


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SALAH AL-DIN

Ismā‘īl, Saladin gained a victory over the Zangid forces at the Horns of Hamāt in Ramadan 570/April 1175, after which a peace was made, and Saladin also received permission from the new treaty granting him delegated authority over Egypt and Syria, except for Aleppo and its dependencies. In Shawwāl 571/April 1176 the combined Zangid armies, having taken the offensive despite the treaty of the previous year, were defeated for the second time at Tall al-Sülṭān, near Aleppo, but Saladin was still unable to force the city’s surrender. Saladin’s gains, including some north of Aleppo, were confirmed in a new treaty in Muharram 572/July 1176. However, the ruling junta along al-Šā‘īl Ismā‘īl in Aleppo, and the other Zangid princes, remained impervious to Saladin’s propaganda and suspicious of his aims.

During these campaigns Saladin suffered two attacks by Raḥīd al-Dīn Sinān’s [q.v.] Ismā‘īlí Assassins, prompted by his Aleppo enemies, but subsequently, after some show of force in Assassin territory, he seems to have established a modus vivendi with them (see B. Lewis, Saladin and the Assassins, in BSOAS, xv [1953], 239–45).

His campaigning against the Franks was limited at this time and included the overconfident raid into Palestine that ended in defeat between Ašcalon and Ramla at the unidentified ‘Mons Gisardi’ in Dhu‘ al-edly 573/November 1177. This lesson was taken, but it was an auspicious beginning to any plan of making good his claim to be Nūr al-Dīn’s successor in the prosecution of the djāhīd. Better success followed in Muḥarram 575/June 1179 with the defeat of King Baldwin at Mardj ‘Uyyūn and the destruction of Bayt al-Ahzān or Jacob’s Castle in Rāb‘ī I/August of that year.

During the next five or six years, Saladin was mostly involved in Mesopotamian affairs, which were of great complexity and are too complicated to be treated exhaustively here. On several occasions Saladin was able to make gains on being invited to intervene in disputes or appeals for assistance. In 576/1180 the Artukid ruler of Hisn Kayfā, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥam-mād b. Kāra Aslān, appealed to him for help in a dispute with Kīlīgī Aslān [q.v.], the Rūm Sağlāqīkīd, whose influence against Ra‘bān had been checked the year before by Saladin’s nephew, Taq ī I-Dīn Ūmar. Saladin subordinated himself to the caliph and confirmed his authority, into the territory of the Rum Saldjukid, and so Saladin’s overlordship was finally recognised. It ended in an annihilating defeat for the Crusaders. It provided troops for the djāhīd, and so Saladin’s overlordship was finally recognised.

After a year of recuperation and internal reorganisation, the long-awaited campaign was launched at the beginning of 583/spring 1187. Saladin’s allies were summoned from all quarters, and the full forces of the Crusader states (except for Antioch with which a truce had been made) were brought to battle at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, on the heights to the west of Lake Tīberias, on Saturday, 24 Rab′ū I 583/4 July 1187. It ended in an annihilating defeat for the Crusaders. Demoralised and with reduced garrisons, many towns and strongplaces surrendered or fell quickly. Acre surrendered on 1 Dhu‘ al-edly 583/I 1187. Saladin sent out his forces in various directions. By the middle of Dhu‘ al-edly early September, all the coast from Gaza to Ḉubayl was in Saladin’s hands, apart from Tyre. At this point Saladin moved to Jerusalem, the sym-
bolic goal of the *djihad*. The city surrendered, after nearly two weeks of siege and some spirited resistance, on 27 Ramdān/2 October and Saladin solemnly installed in the Açkk Mosque the minār that Nur al-Dīn had prepared for this moment.

Saladin has been criticised for his failure to give high priority to the capture of Tyre. This and the other ports would clearly be crucial for any eventual rescue expedition from Europe, but Saladin was not to know that Conrad de Montferrat would arrive just when he did to stiffen its defence. It was also strategically important to reduce the points d'appui represented by the inland castles, and the terms that Saladin offered, backed by the confidence that people had in his word, accelerated the surrender of many places. Although Saladin has been described as only a moderately good strategist and tactician, there is also a more positive judgement on his strategy at this stage in his operations, understood in the light of its possible relationship with the theoretical work of al-Ḥarawi, al-Taqlīdar al-bararqiyiyī, fi 'l-hijāl al-barhānīyyī (see W. Long, Saladin and Muslim military theory, in The Horns of Hātin, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Jerusalem 1992, 228-38). Many refugees from the interior assembled in Tyre. A siege of the city that began in Ramdān 583/November 1187 proved fruitless, and the majority of the Muslim armies disbanded in Dhu 'l-Kā'ūda 583/January 1188.

When campaigning began again during 584/1188, Saladin made further conquests in northern Syria, taking Tartūs, Dijbala, Latekhkhiyak, Sabḥūn and Balāṭunus but not attempting Tripolī. He also took the outlying fortresses of the principality of Antioch, but then made a truce without any attack on Antioch itself. In Shawawīl 584/December 1188, having moved south via Damascus, Saladin forced the surrender of Safād [q.v.], and Kawkbaw (Belvoir) fell in Dhu 'l-Kā'ūda 584/January 1189. Further south, al-Karak finally succumbed to al- Ḥādī's [q.v.] siege, and Shawbak [q.v.] followed several months later.

The regular arrival of the forces of the Third Crusade led to their investment of Acre and the besieging of the besiegers for a period of almost two years. Saladin looked far and wide for assistance, fostering relations with the Byzantines (see C.M. Brand, The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: opponents of the Third Crusade, in Speculum, xxxvii [1962], 167-81), and coordinating unsuccessful attempts by different principalities in North Africa for naval help (see M. Gaudeguy-Demombynes, Une lettre de Saladin au Calife almahade, in Mèlanges René Basset, Paris 1925, ii, 279-304). Acre fell to the Franks in 587/July 1191. For a little more than a year after this military operation on the Palestine plain, led by Richard I of England, continued indecisively, and a Frankish attempt to march inland against Jerusalem had to be abandoned. See W.L. J. and involved negotiations ended in Shaba' 588/September 1192 with the agreement to a general peace for three years and eight months and a recognition of Frankish coastal gains from Acre to Jaffa.

Saladin made various visits of inspection and organisation in the reconquered lands, again put off a proposed journey to the Hijāz to perform the *Hajj*, and returned to Damascus, where he fell ill. After about two weeks of steady decline, moving about his house and garden, he died on Wednesday, 27 Safar 589/3 March 1193. He was buried initially within the Damascus citadel, but during Muḥarram 592/December 1195 his body was transferred to a newly-built tomb (turba) north of the Umayyad Mosque (Abū Shāma, al-Dhikr al-hāl il-Raṣūlatayn, ed. al-Kawīhārī, Damascus 1947, 8, and Ibn Khallīkān, ed. 'Abbās, vii, 206).

Saladin’s death occurred only a few months after the peace had been made. Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād claimed that Saladin had earlier contemplated the rejection of any peace proposals and wished to carry on the fight until every last Frank had been driven out of the Levant. The fact that the peace had been signed and a period of respite guaranteed was subsequently seen as a blessing, as his death while hostilities were still continuing would have produced a situation full of danger.

The cohesion of Saladin’s empire was tested to the full by the events of the Third Crusade. The hardships and expense of this long campaigning, the reverses and the slow decline in morale, meant that some northern allies, also faced by their own local problems and rivalries, failed to send their troops. Saladin’s nephew, Tašīr al-Dīn, also withdrew to follow his own ambitions at Māyyāfārinjī and added to that region’s complications. However, the point has been fairly fairly made by Gibb that many of Saladin’s vassals, including the Zangids of Mawsīl and Sindjār, although initially constrained to accept his suzerainty, continued to rally to his standard with their contingents throughout this period. Had they refused, it would have been difficult indeed to spare troops to force them. This suggests that by this stage Saladin’s cause had to some extent been accepted as the cause of Islam and of the *djihad*.

Saladin’s desire to win the wider acceptance and cooperation of ruling and religious circles are themes that informed his propaganda addressed to Baghdād and elsewhere. The ways in which the ideals of the *djihad* were fostered and the message spread throughout society under Saladin have been studied exhaustively by E. Sivan (L’Islam et la Croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades, Paris 1968, ch. 4). Saladin’s public statements maintained that the ultimate aims of *djihad*, the duty of Muslim princes to participate, and also the delegated authority he had been given by the caliph, justified his compulsion of those unwilling to join the common cause. How much weight the pronouncements of the caliph and his granting of supporting diplomas had in the battle for men’s minds and allegiance over against considerations of temporal interest it is difficult to say. Saladin clearly thought it wise while to keep up a barrage of letters to Baghdad seeking further widening of his widening authority and sanction for his politics and military moves. It is doubtful, however, whether the rhetoric in letters written by such persons as al-Kāfī al-Fāḍil really amounted to the expression on Saladin’s part of a desire to restore the caliphate as the active centre of a renewed Islamic political entity, as Gibb has suggested. Even he has admitted that “propaganda points may be difficult to disentangle from religious zeal.” Indeed, it seems that the nearer the frontiers of Saladin’s empire came to Baghdād, the more trouble were his relations with the caliphate which itself was attempting to expand its temporal influence and areas of control. Symptomatic was the brawl over precedence between ‘Irākī and Syrian pilgrims during the *Hajj* of 583/February 1188, which ended in the death of Saladin’s long-time supporter, the emīr Ibn al-Mukaddam.

Saladin’s life in Syria, and Damascus was always his preferred place of residence. Egypt and her resources supplied the means for his expansionist policy and his victories. For long periods he entrusted his government to his brother al-Ṣādir, and to his chief civilian administrator, al-Kāfī al-Fāḍil. There are signs that the economic strain of the constant campaigning affected Egypt and Syria too, and that social unrest was growing. Serious financial
problems arose, partly because of the exhaustion of the Upper Egyptian gold-mines but mainly from the Fatimid currency had known (A. Ehrenkreutz, *The crisis of the dinar in the Egypt of Saladin*, in JAOS, lxvi [1956], 178-84). It is interesting to note that the addition of Yemen to the empire, which had been conquered for the Ayyubids by Saladin's brother Turan-shah, and later ruled by another brother, Tughtakin, clearly created hopes that it would be a source of treasure, and that Saladin's complaints, when that was not satisfactorily forthcoming, mirror Nūr al-Dīn's earlier complaints about the insufficient aid he had received from Egypt.

Saladin's lands were administered by a decentralised bureaucracy, the details of which will probably always remain obscure. As for Egypt itself, we possess a work on the land tax, in an imperfect version, revised about 581/1185 (see *Alī b. Uthmān al-Makhrūqī, Kitāb al-mishrāf, fi 'ilm al-kharāj*, ed. Cl. Cahen and Y. Ragheb, Cairo 1983, and also Cahen, *Maghāmīyyāt. Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Egypte médievale*, Leiden 1977), and there is also extant a wider examination of the bureaucracy by Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) entitled Kitāb Kawsānin al-dawdwin (ed. A.S. Aitya, Cairo 1943). At various times during his life he delegated the control of parts of his empire to the growing number of family members and to trusted officers of the army, relying on family and personal loyalties and on a balance of interests to preserve the whole. The last arrangement he made for the division of power in his empire did not, however, endure long after his death. Saladin may or may not have been personally indifferent to wealth and possessions. In general, however, he recognised and forwarded the interests of his family and was eager to protect their dynastic future, although at times the wishes and ambitions of members of his family, especially his brothers Tūrānshāh and Tughtakin, caused him difficulties. He was nevertheless capable of arguing against claims of hereditary expectations on the occasions when the Zangids advanced them. Ultimately, the dominant role passed to a collateral branch of the Ayyūbid family, which he fostered. He left his territory, like his predecessors, to his direct descendants, and for most of the dynasty's history Saladin's direct descendents ruled only in Aleppo.

Fundamentally his position depended on the army, the core of which was his personal guard, the kalka [q.v.]. Apart from the dominant contribution of Egypt, each urban centre in greater Syria and the Maghrib maintained an 'askar commensurate with its resources. The whole army, which was paid by ḥiṣā [q.v.] or by monthly salary (dānāmakha) was still largely free-born, although the sultan, princes and amirs had their personal mamlika contingents (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in J. Shaw and W.R. Polk (eds.), *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1962, 74-90). Because of the domination of the Mediterranean by the Italian states both for trade and for the movement of troops, Saladin made attempts to revive the Fatimid naval power, and his ships made some useful participation in his operations, but ultimately he lost control of the sea during the Third Crusade (see Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages*, in JAOS, lxv-v [1955], 100-16).

Unlike his mentor, Nūr al-Dīn, who was a Ḥanāfī, Saladin adhered to the Shāfī madrasa, in which he was followed by practically all the members of his dynasty. In his theology he was of the Aṣḥā'ī persua-
sion. In the reported wording of the *waṣīfiya* for the Shāhānshāh which he founded in Cairo (see al-Mabrūzī, *Kitāb*, ii, 415-16), the residual beneficiaries of the *waṣīf* income are "poor Shāfīs" or Mālikī *ṣalāhād*, who are of the Aṣḥā'ī creed. In the construction inscription for the madrasa which he founded at the tomb of al-Shāhīfī, in which unusually Saladin's name and titles have no mention but only the initiative of the shahāb al-Shāhānshāh is stressed, the Aṣḥā'ī anti-Hāshimiyya nature of the foundation is made explicit. In many respects, in the public image at least, his regime followed that of Nūr al-Dīn in striving to suppress non-Islamic elements in society and administration and in promoting Shāfīa norms. There is little evidence of specifically anti-Ismā'īli activity. Once the Fatimid court and the ruling establishment had been scattered and the infernal attempts at counter-coups dealt with, the underlying Sunni nature of Egyptian society could assert itself. As for intellectual pursuits, he studied Hadith and was fond of poetry, 'Usāma b. Munkīd b. Uthman al-Makhzumiyya being an especial favourite.

As regards his building activity, he was responsible for much military work throughout his lands. The grand design to enclose Cairo and Fustāṭ with a defensive wall was begun on his behalf by Bahlūl al-Dīn Karkūsh [q.v.] but never completed. The Citadel of Cairo was also conceived by Saladin and started in 572/1176-7, but finished after his reign and subjected to many later changes. Adjacent to the Imam al-Shāhīfī's tomb he constructed a madrasa for the Shāhīfīs (see above) and near the mosque of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ a madrasa for the Mālikis, which came to be known as al-Kumbhiyya. The latter was begun in Muḥarram 566/September 1170. In Cairo proper he converted the former residence (dār) of the Fatimid vizier al-Ma'mūn into a madrasa for the Ḥanafis (waṣīfiya dated Shābīn 572/March 1177) and built a Shāhānshāh (waṣīfiya dated 569/1173-4). These were the earliest examples of such institutions to be founded in Egypt. He also converted part of the Fatimid palace into a hospital (bimarstān) during 577/1182. After the reconquest, Jerusalem received much of his attention, in the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque to make them fit for Muslim worship, and also in the conversion of the Latin Patriarch's residence into a hospital. In Ḥamā he converted the church of St Anne into the Madrasa for the Shāhīfīs (also endowed in 585/1189), and in the provision of a hospital (begun 588/1192).

Saladin's personality is somewhat hidden behind the image-making of his admirers. One thing beyond doubt is that he could inspire devotion in his followers. His generosity, fidelity and compassion are vividly portrayed, but he could also be ruthless. He was impatient of details of administration. The generally pro-Zangīd Ibn al-Aṣḥīr [q.v.], who frequently skews his historical account to Saladin's disadvantage, in his final summary of Saladin's life and career nevertheless gives a more positive assessment, when he writes, "He was a man of religious knowledge and culture, a Hadīth scholar. In short he was a man of rare qualities in his time, much given to generosity and fine deeds, a mighty warrior of the multi-


**Salâlâ al-Dîn Salam**

*Cf. Part 2 of this article*.
merchandise constituting the subject-matter of the contract) to be delivered to him by the vendor (al-
*musāllam ilayhs*) on a date at the end of a specified period. In such a transaction, the consideration (i.e.
the price, be it in cash or in kind) agreed upon at the contracting parties’ meeting (madā'īs al-’akd) for
delivery of the merchandise is termed ra’ā’s al-‘ālīn. In
asmuch as the latter was, as it still is, the normal
Arabic term for “capital” in the financial sense of the
word, it is not difficult to infer from it the essentially
economic purpose that the salām was intended to serve, namely that of affording small traders and
merchants an immediate transaction and not
salam—of capital loan or investment), but also—and very much
more importantly in the context of salām—of ḡfarar
(“chance”, i.e. risk, uncertainty, speculation). Be
that as it may, the early mediaeval jurists, once
conscious of the need to recognise the validity of a prac-
tice that was in effect an economic necessity meeting
the legitimate needs of the public, deemed it both ap-
propriate and expedient to accommodate salām within
the ideal framework of the Ḥanafī law and found
themselves able to invoke in support of it, inter alia, the
authority of a Tradition attributed to the Prophet
himself.

To incorporate the principle of salām in Islamic law
was one thing; to implement it was another. On cer-
tain basic matters (e.g. that the price and object of a
salām sale cannot both be currencies; that the objects
of sale must be fungible (mūghīṭ, i.e. replaceable by
others answering to the same definition), weighable
(maṣālīṭ, etc.) and concerning the main Sunnī schools of law were broadly in agreement,
but on many points of detail important differences
of opinion took shape and prevailed in the doctrine of
particular schools. And so it is that we find, for exa-
mple, that in Ḥanafī law living animals are not held to
be proper objects of a salām sale, whereas in Mālikī law
the contrary is the case. Again, in Ḥanafī law the
object of a salām sale must be in existence at the time
of the contract and from the time the latter is conclud-
ed until the time it is delivered, whereas in Mālikī law
the requirement is only that the object be available at the
time when delivery falls due. Exceptional and
peculiar to the Shāfi’ī law is the surprising doctrine that
salām can be an immediate transaction and not
necessarily one providing for future delivery of the ob-
ject of sale. Similarly exceptional and hardly less sur-
prising is the Mālikī doctrine that the price for the ob-
ject of sale need not be paid at the madā’īs al-’akd, but
may, by mutual understanding, be postponed for up
to three days or, in certain circumstances, for even
longer than that. And so on.

Since by its very nature a salām transaction denies the purchaser what is known as “option after inspec-
tion” (ḥiṣār al-ru’ya) of the object of sale, a descrip-
tion of the latter is the only possible means of avoiding
ignorance (jaḥl) of it and of safeguarding the salām contract against the intrusion of a material element of
risk or uncertainty (ḡharar). According to Ibn Kudāmā
(541/1147–1223 [g.n.]), the well-known luminary
of the Hanbali school, knowledge of the subject-
matter—designated ʿilm in his terminology—is essen-
tial to the validity of a salām contract and should be
imparted by a description stating the genus and species of whatever is in question and declaring the
condition of the latter, be it good or bad. According
to the same jurist, both Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik re-
quired the description, and accordingly supply such
details as was, in their view, sufficient to enable one to identify the object of sale, while Ibn Hanbal and al-Shāfī’ī
required the detail to extend to such matters as colour,
country of origin and other characteristics influencing
price and use.

For obvious reasons, it is beyond the scope of this
article to identify all the respects, or even all the most
important respects, in which the doctrines of the four
Sunnī schools of law can differ. From what has been
said hitherto it will be quite clear that important par-
ticulars of salām sale are matters on which the different
schools do not always speak with one voice. Accord-
ingly, in one’s utilisation of sources identification
of the schools to which data relate is a sine qua non.

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200 (Bāb al-salam [in Arabic], Introd., 41-2). Partic-
ularly useful in some respects for Mālikī law is O.
Pesele, *La vente dans la doctrine mālikite*, Rabat 1940 (see esp. 175-96), which may be consulted along
with D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano
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phies of Saleh, Uдович, Wakin and San-
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bibliography).

**SALAM (A.),** verbal noun from *salma,* “to be safe, unimpaired, unscathed”, only substantive in the sense of
“safety, salvation”, thence “peace” (in the sense of
“quietness”), thence “salutation, greeting” (cf. Fr.
salu); on the statements of the older Arab lex-
icographers, see L’Aï, xv, 181-3, passim.

The word is of frequent occurrence in the Kurān,
especially in the sûras which are attributed to the
second and third Meccan periods. The oldest passage
that contains salām is XVII, 5, where it is said of the
Laylat al-Kadr, “It is salvation or diversification on the
night of Ḥaḍr”. Salām is also to be taken in this meaning in L,
34; XV, 46; XXI, 69; XI, 48. Salām means salvation in
this world as well as in the next. In the latter mean-
ing we find it used in the expression *Dar al-Salam* “the
abode of salvation” for Paradise (X, 26; VI, 127). In
the Medinan verse, V, 16, which is addressed to the
Ahl al-Kisā’, we find the expression *subul al-salām,* the
paths of salām (cf. Isa. LIX, 8; ḏarūr al-ḥidūl).

But salām is most frequently paid at the Bab al-salam, i.e. as a form of salutation. Thus in LVI, 91 (first Meccan
period), the people of the right hand are greeted by their
companions in bliss with salām laka “Peace be upon thee” (according to al-Bayḍawī; for other ex-
planations see L’Aï, xviii, 184, 8 ff.; and Allāh, salām
(XXXVI, 58; XIV, 23; X, 10; XXXIII, 44) or salām
 al-lakum (XVI, 32; XXXIX, 73; XIII, 24) is the
greeting which is given the blessed in Paradise or on entering Paradise (cf. also XXV, 73); salāmān salāmam in LVI, 26 (other reading salāmēn salāmān; cf. XIX, 62) is presumably also intended as an auspicious exclamation (other interpretations in al-Baydawi). Those on the Aʿrāf [q.e.v.] call to the dwellers in Paradise salām ʿalaykum (VII, 46). Salām is also the greeting of the guests of Ibrāhīm and his reply (LI, 25; XI, 69; cf. XV, 52). Ibrāhīm takes leave with salām ʿalaika (XIX, 48) from his father, who threatens him. In XX, 47, Mūsā in his address to Fīrʿawwân is made to use the exclamation al-salām ʿalāka (67-9) “peace be upon you” to follow the right guidance. According to the first explanation in al-Baydawi, al-salām here means the greeting of the angels and guardians of Paradise; but as these words are not at the beginning of the speech, an other interpretation prefers to consider it as an affirmative sentence and to take salām as “security from God’s wrath and punishment” (cf. al-Baydawi on the passage and LÂ‘I, xv, 183). Salām ʿalāka, “peace upon you,” is also used repeatedly in XXVII, where at the end of the mention of each prophet a salām is uttered over him (verses 79, 109, 120, 130, 181; cf. also XIX, 15, 33). Salām may be used in an ironical sense in XLI, 89, at parting from the unbelievers and salām ʿalaykum in XXVIII, 55 (other interpretations in al-Baydawi). This might perhaps hold of salāmān, XXV, 63, also, with which the servants of the Merciful reply to the ignorant (džøštîn), but the commentators take it in the sense of tasalumān or barâzatam. In LIX, 23 (Medinan al-salām occurs as one of the names of God, which al-Baydawi interprets as mašar ṭam as yāf in the meaning of the Faultless (for other explanation, see LÂ‘I, xv, 182, 7 ff., 20 ff.). Al-salām in the expressions dâr al-salām and subul al-salām is therefore also interpreted as a name of God (cf. al-Baydawi on VI, 127; X, 25; V, 16; LÂ‘I, xv, 182, 2-3, and the notice at the end of this article). The word has even been taken to mean God in the formula, as he considered it the word has even been taken to mean in LÂ‘I, xv, 183, 5 from below, were genuine and really by Umayya b. Abī l-Salt [q.e.v.], one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory usage of the salām formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia. Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lutzbarski’s suggestion (in ZS, i, 85 ff.) that salām reproduces the idea expressed by ñow pia need not be discussed here, but his explanation of ʿĪsâm as the infinitive of a denominative verb aslama formed from salām-ṣowriqa (“to enter into the state … of salām”), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Kurʿân as aslama wâdh-hâ liʿlāh, aslama li-Rabb al-ʿālamâin, etc.

Muhammad must have placed a high religious value on the salām formula, as he considered it the greeting given by the angels to the blessed and used it as an auspicious salutation on the prophets who had preceded him. A salām, like that in the tasâhhudd (see below) or like the salutation of peace which closes the salāt and has its parallel in the Jewish ephîthut (cf. E. Mittwoch, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islam. Gebets. Göts u. Kultur, in AKH PAKW, phil.-hist. Kl. [1913], no. 2, p. 18), may have been present from the first beginning of the ritual of divine service. According to a tradition (al-Bukhârî, al-İstidhdâm, 148, al-Adhan, 52; cf. also Dalman, Gramm. d. jud.-phil. und Aramaic expressions greeting before Islam. The corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic expressions šâlôm kî, šâlôm lāyî [q.e.v.], as well as old Testament usage (cf. Judges xix, 20, 2 Sam. xviii, 28, Dan. x, 19, 1 Chron. xii, 19), were also in use as greetings among the Jews and Christians (cf. Dalman, Gramm. d. jüd.-phil.-hist. Kl. [1913], no. 288 ff., twice repeated in nos. 244, 339, thrice repeated in no. 302) and the Arabic l-t-l-f frequently occurs in the Sāfātîc inscriptions as a benedictory term. C. E. Littmann, Zur Ent- zifferung der Safât-Inschriften, in Leipzig 1901, 47, 52-3, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70, Semitische inscriptions, New York: Scribner’s, 1905, Safātîc inscrips., nos. 5, 8, 12, 15, 69, 128, 134.

If the line salāmâka raḥâbanâ fâ kûlî šâriqam quoted in LÂ‘I, xv, 183, 5 from below, were genuine and really by Umayya b. Abī l-Salt [q.e.v.], one might perhaps conclude from it that there was a benedictory usage of the salām formula in the morning service in certain monotheistic circles of North Arabia. Presumably the usage, influenced by Christian and Jewish views, had given the word a special significance in the region of Aramaic culture. Lutzbarski’s suggestion (in ZS, i, 85 ff.) that salām reproduces the idea expressed by ñow pia need not be discussed here, but his explanation of ʿĪsâm as the infinitive of a denominative verb aslama formed from salām-ṣowriqa (“to enter into the state … of salām”), cannot be reconciled with such expressions frequent in the Kurʿân as aslama wâdh-hâ liʿlāh, aslama li-Rabb al-ʿālamâin, etc.

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In the ritual of the salāt as legally prescribed, the benediction on God and the salām on the Prophet, on the worshipper and those present and on God’s pious servants, preceded the confession of faith in the tasâhhudd (al-salām ʿalayka, āyyahk ʿalayka, wa-rabbamū lātuṭuṭn; al-salām ʿalayka, wa-raḥmatu lāthâ, šālôm wa-slâlôm ibâdi lāthâ l-salātîn). Among the compulsory ceremonies of the salāt, there is also at the end of it the taslimat al-ʿâlî, the fuller form of which consists in the worshipper in a sitting position turning his head to right and left and saying each time al-salām ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu lāthâ. See al-Bajjuri, Ḥādiyya al-salâr sharh Ibn
SALAM

Kasim al-Ghazzi called Abi Shudja, Cairo 1321, i, 168, 170.

The preference of the Kur'an for the salâm formula and its liturgical use may have contributed considerably to the fact that it soon became considered an exclusively Muslim greeting (tahiyat al-salâm). As already mentioned above, the Kur'an prescribes the salâm on the Prophet to follow the tasliya. Tradition reports that the latter endeavoured to introduce it. When 'Umayr b. Wahb was brought before him and gave him the pagan greeting (an'ima sabda), the Prophet was indignant and exclaimed: 'Shall I give you a better greeting than thine, namely al-salâm, the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise? (Ibn Highám, 472, below, ff.; al-Tabari, i, 1353, 10-11). Those around him are said to have been eager to introduce this greeting. Al-Wâkidî relates that 'Urwa b. Mas'ûd, who immediately after his conversion wanted to convert his own townsman in Tâ'if to Islam, called the attention of Thâ'âfik, who saluted in the heathen fashion, to the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise, al-salâm (Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabakât, v, 369; Sprenger, Das Leben ..., des Mohammad, iii, 482; Goldziher, Muh. Stud., i, 482; cf. Lane, Manners and customs, i, 229, note), the threefold formula was very common as a return greeting in Egypt; cf. also Nallino, L'Arabo parlato in Egitto, Milan 1913, 121. In Mecca, it is comparatively rarely used, the reply usual is wa-salâm (âl-salâm) wa-rahma (we-rahmatu 'llâhi), which, according to the strictly orthodox opinion, like the tasliya, should only follow the names of Prophets, but already mentioned above, the Kur'an prescribes the salâm formula to use the greeting of the dwellers in Paradise (Ibn Highâm, 472, below, ff.; al-Tabari, i, 1290, 9 ff.; Sprenger, op. cit., i, 485; Goldziher, L'AstPâhdn, bdb 38; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekkanische Sprichwörter u. Redemanner, The Hague 1886, 118. Landberg (Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabe méridionale, ii, 788, note) thought that the longer form recalls the priest's blessing in Num. vi, 24-6. The application of 'âl-salâm' to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i.e. the person; Fakhî al-Dîn al-Tabârî, i, 501, 19 ff., cf. iii, 515, 17 ff.).

At the conclusion of a letter, the expression wa-l-salâm ('ala-salâm, 'al-salm') is used, e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 27, 17, 27, 28, 2, 5, 23, 29, 13, 21. Al-Hârîrî (Durrât al-gauwâs, ed. Thorbecke, 108, 9 ff.) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (salâm), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used in the beginning. Wa-l-salâm has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, op. cit., 92).

In keeping with Kur'an, XX, 47, it became usual to use the form al-salâm 'alâ man itabâ'a 'l-huda to non-Muslims when necessary (cf. Fakhî al-Dîn al-Tabârî, ii, 501, 26 ff., iv, 706, 19-20). It is found, for example, in letters ascribed to Muhammad (al-Bukhârî, al-İstiqlân, bbd 22; Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 28, 10-11; cf. line 6 there at the beginning of the letter, to a single person is explained by saying that the plural suffix includes the two accompanying angels or the spirits attached to him (i.e. the person; Fakhî al-Dîn al-Tabârî, i, 501, 19 ff., cf. iii, 515, 17 ff.). At the conclusion of a letter, the expression wa-l-salâm ('ala-salâm, 'al-salm') is used, e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 27, 17, 27, 28, 2, 5, 23, 29, 13, 21. Al-Hârîrî (Durrât al-gauwâs, ed. Thorbecke, 108, 9 ff.) disapproves of the use here of the indefinite form (salâm), which, according to the more correct use, should only be used in the beginning. Wa-l-salâm has occasionally the meaning of "and that is the end of it" (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, op. cit., 92).

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was more freely used in the earlier literature (cf. also al-Bukhārī, al-Iṣtīḥād, bdb ... L. Cheikho.
Bibliography: In addition to references in the ar-
ticle, see The Mufaddaliyya, ed. C.J. Lyall, i, Arabic[18x405]Leipzig 1845, i, 43-4; O. Co-
zulmihi). Paris 1988, 204-5],
Les noms divins en Islam,
damently, two interpretations. God is (1)
in no degree, here, taken into consideration. See D. and (2) inasmuch as created beings are preserved
in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (Dīfār Sharīf-Herklots. Islam in India or the Qū nisi-A İuslim, new ed. W. Crooke, London 1921, 186-7).
On coins, salam (sometimes abbreviated to s) means “of full weight, complete” (cf. J.G. Stickel, Das grossherz. Orient. Münzenabente zu jena (Handl. d. Morgenl. Münzkunde), Leipzig 1845, i, 43-4; O. Co-
Drington, A manual of Muslim numismatics, London 1904, 10).
[Employed as a name of God, al-Salam is under-
stood by the commentators as a masdar used metonymically in the sense of dhu ‘l-salam, salam being in this context an equivalent of salama “the state of being preserved from ...”. Whence there arise, fund-
amely, two interpretations. God is al-Salam (1) inasmuch as He is preserved from all imperfection and infirmity (dhu ‘l-salama min kull naks wa-dfd), and (2) inasmuch as created beings are preserved from all injustice on His part (salam ‘l-khalk min zulmih). Contrary to the commentary given by L. Gardet (in al-Asma’ al-Husna), the idea of “peace” is in no degree, here, taken into consideration. See D. Gimiraret, Les noms divins en Islam, Paris 1898, 264-5].
(Onan ABEKOON/D. GIMARET)]

SALAMA b. DJANDAL, a poet of pre-Islamic time, was a member of the clan al-Harīḥ, which belonged to the large division of Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt of the tribe Tamīm. Ibn Sallām al-Djmālī places him in the 7th class of poets (Tabākā al-‘awāṣa; ed. Hell, Leipzig 1916, 36). He is recorded among the earliest poets of the Dāhilīyya (q. v. of whom only a few poems are preserved (al-makālīn). According to two events mentioned in his verses, he must have flourished during the second half of the 6th century of our era. The Nādīd of Djarīr and al-Farazdak (q. v. i) give two poems of Salama, not included in his diwān, where he celebrates the victory of Djadūd, a battle, in which the
clan of Mīnṣār, a division of Zayd Manāt, defeated the Banū Shāyba of the tribe Bakr b. Wā’il. It must have taken place about the middle of the 6th century. In his longest poem (Dīwān, no. 3, v. 38), also included in the Amīrādpā (no. 42, v. 38), he refers to the end of the king al-Nu’mān III (q. v. of Hira, who was trampled to death by elephants at the order of the Per-
sian ruler Khūraw Parwīz in 602, which provides a terminus post quem for Salama’s death. There is no evidence that he lived to the time of Islam, and none of his descendants appear to be named in the biographies of early Muslims.

Another work in honor of his diwān has caused some confusion among scholars. There is a monothematic poem of four lines (no. 7) addressed to Saṣa’a b. Maḥmūd of the clan of Marjad, who had taken the poet’s brother Ahmar (sometimes misspelled Ahmad) prisoner and released him without ransom on account of Salama’s intercession (cf. also al-Dīhāz, al-Bayān wa ‘l-‘iyān, ed. A.S. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948-50, iii, 318). A different report has it that al-Ahmar had been taken prisoner in a raid led by Amr b. Kühtham (q. v.) (Dīwān ‘Amr, introduction to poem no. 2, ed. F. Krenkow, in Maṣḥīkh, xx [1922], 591-611, cf. 592, and also Ibn Kūtayba, Shi’r, 147; Aḥfānī, i, 183). Whether the two reports are mixed up, or whether Ahmar b. Djandal had been taken prisoner on two different occasions, cannot be established. If the latter is true, we have corroborative evidence for the life span of Salama, since it makes him a contemporary of ‘Amr b. Kühtham.
Salama’s diwān has come down to us in the recens-
ions of al-‘Asma’t (q. v.) and of Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, the representatives of the Basran and the Kūfan schools respectively. The two recensions were united by Muhammad b. al-Hashan al-Aḥwāl (d. after 259/873), who pointed out occasional differences between the Basran and the Kūfan tradition. The text is preserved in four manuscripts. They form the basis of Fākh al-Dīn al-Kāwba’s edition (Aleppo 1387/1968), which superseded the earlier editions of Cl. Huart (A, 10e série, xv [1919], 71-105, with French translation) and L. Cheikho (Beirut 1920). The diwān contains 8 poems, 136 verses in all. In addition, the editor collected 27 poems and fragments from other sources, amounting to 120 verses.
Salama is reputed to have excelled in the descrip-
tion of horses (cf. Ibn Kūtayba, loc. cit.), and, indeed, his most famous ode, included in the Mufaddaliyya (q. v.) (no. XXII), contains a magnificent passage about the tribe’s horses for battle (no. 1, vv. 5-15), in place of the conventional camel theme. The poem begins with a complaint of old age (vv. 1-3) and ends with tribal fakhr. There are two other polythematic odes in the diwān, a tripartite form (no. 2) and a bipar-
tite poem (no. 3), both ending with a combination of fakhr and haḍa’q (q. v.), which is also the prevailing topic of Salama’s monothematic poems. His verses appear ancient in wording and imagery, and give the impres-
sion of authenticity. He refers to swords of Buṣra and al-Madā’īn, which are seldom mentioned in verses of later times, as swords were no longer obtained from
that. He mentions writing or even inkstands in water and drink it in the hope that they may enjoy peace and happiness (Dīfār Sharīf-Herklots. Islam in India or the Qū nisi-A İuslim, new ed. W. Crooke, London 1921, 186-7).

On coins, salam (sometimes abbreviated to s) means “of full weight, complete” (cf. J.G. Stickel, Das grossherz. Orient. Münzenabente zu jena (Handl. d. Morgenl. Münzkunde), Leipzig 1845, i, 43-4; O. Co-
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zulmihi). Paris 1988, 204-5],
Les noms divins en Islam,
SALAMA MUSA, Egyptian journalist, encyclopaedist, socialist, political campaigner, enthusiastic moderniser and "westerniser". Born ca. 1887 to a well-to-do Coptic family near Zagazig, he died on 5 August 1958. He attended both Christian and Muslim kutabs, a school of the Coptic Charitable Society, and then the "national" school. From there he went to the Tawfiqyia (where he taught briefly in 1915), and the Khedivial College in Cairo. As a youngster he read avidly the Arab dailies and reviews, that spread the new ideas from Europe and made accessible European literature; to al-Muktatafhe he owed his scientific leanings and his simple, telegraphic style of writing that made his ideas accessible to a broad audience.

In 1907 he went to Paris. In Europe he was to develop his ideas about the emancipation of women; his book al-Mar'a layast la'bat al-raajul (Beirut 1956) voices his opinions on this subject. He went to London in 1908, joining Lincoln's Inn where he studied law, and following courses in Egyptology, geology, and economics. There he became acquainted with the works of many of the authors (Darwin, Spencer, Shaw, H.G. Wells, Elliot Smith, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gorki, Sartre, Goethe, Nietzsche, Marx, Freud, Gandhi, etc.), who influenced him profoundly, discussed in Hādāt al-‘izzāmān (Cairo 1953).

In Paris L’Humanité had introduced him to socialist ideas; in London he was to join the Fabian Society, where he met Shaw. From Shaw he derived much of his humanistic socialist ideas; he analyses his life and works in Bernard Shaw (Cairo 1957).

Throughout most of his life he wrote for the Egyptian press, his book al-Saḥaṭa ... ḥayda wa-risida (Cairo 1961), al-Asma’iyydt, ed. A.A. Bevan, i-iii, Leiden 1905-12, i, 144 ff. See also Blachere, HLA, i, 257; Sezgin, GĀS, i, 192. Verses of Salama are cited in most books dealing with ancient Arabic poetry, e.g. in the Lisān al-‘Arab 40 times.

A pioneer in the creation of the Arab socialist movement, in 1920 he helped form the short-lived Egyptian Socialist Party. He was to acknowledge late in life that the ideas of Darwin had had the most profound influence on him. He published al-‘Ilārākīyya (Cairo 1913), a short treatise on socialism (tr. in G. Haupt and M. Reberioux, La Deuxième Internationale et l’Orient, Paris 1967, 423-38, and in S.A. Hanna and G.H. Gardner, Arab socialism, Leiden 1969, 275-88). His al-Dunyā ba’d thalāthīn ‘am (1930) is on the prospects for socialism in Egypt. A collection of articles, Maqā’tal al-rājul (Cairo 1926), and M. Reberioux, al-‘Arabīyya (Cairo 1929) to guide the young on the revolutionary road. His Mukaddimat al-subīrmdn (Cairo 1910) on socialism, evolution, and egugens, advocates the application of selective reproduction and sterilisation to produce a Superman. The second edition, al-Ya‘um wa ‘l-‘iqād (Cairo 1927) discusses the ideas of Darwin, Nietzsche, and Shaw, and the emancipation of women. Dabt al-tanāsūl wa-man‘ al-haml (Cairo 1930), written with Dr Kāmil Labīb, returns to the necessity of improving the species and tackles birth control.

On his return to Egypt, he had publicised the theory of evolution; he discusses Darwin’s On the origin of the species in his most popular work Naẓāriyyat al-ta‘atūwur wa-asr al-insān (Cairo 1925), developed in al-Insān kimmat al-ta‘atūwur (Cairo 1961). He was to question the "commonly accepted mysteries" and turn to a belief in the "social value of religion." His book Nushū ḥikrat Allāh (Cairo 1912) is a summary of the ideas of Grant Allen on The evolution of the idea of God.

Under the influence of Gandhi, he founded the league al-Misrī li ‘l-Misrī, encouraging Egyptians to buy local products and to boycott foreign goods, arguing his case in Dīyāubah wa-ṣayyub al-adāb (Cairo 1930). His Ghandī wa-‘l-ḥarakā al-hindīyya (Cairo 1934) describes the struggle of Gandhi against British imperialism. Mūsā’s two principal facets in his writings were to be the British imperialists and Egyptian reactionaries; he was to wage a life-long battle in defence of democracy in Egypt. He was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions for alleged propaganda for a republican form of government and for writing on socialism and communism. Finding abhorrent the conduct of the palace and its supporters, he was amongst those intellectuals who welcomed the revolution of 1952. His Insdn kimmat al-tatawwur (Cairo 1953) deals with the lack of freedom of Egyptian intellectuals, and Kitāb al-Thawrdt (Beirut 1954) examines the French and Bolshevik Revolutions, and the two Egyptian revolutions of 1919 and 1952.

Altogether he wrote about 40 books, many of his writings first appearing in the periodical press. Amongst his collections of articles are Mukhtārāt Salama Mūsā (Cairo 1928); Fi ‘l-hayāt wa ‘l-‘adāb (Cairo 1930); Tarīkh naḥw il-a‘lah (Cairo 1949); Abjadiyat il-‘uqāb (Cairo 1957) and Makkālāt mamnūn’s (Beirut 1959) a collection of censored and banned articles. In his al-Balāgha al-‘azīriyya wa ‘l-‘lughā al-‘arabiyya (Cairo 1945) he criticises traditional Arabic eloquence for being unable to reflect the ideas of his age; at one stage, he had advocated replacing the Arabic script by the Latin, since he felt that the Arabic characters obstructed scientific progress. On literature, his al-Adāb li ‘l-‘akāb (Cairo 1956) applies social realism to contemporary Egyptian and classical Arabic literature; whilst al-Ta‘jid fi ‘l-‘adāb al-indīlīlī ‘al-adāb (Cairo 1934) examines the development of modern English literary trends. He published several collections of stories: Kiṣās muhkālīfa (Cairo 1930) a selection of stories, particularly from Russian literature; Men ṣūjī al-salām, kiṣās suyāfiyya (Cairo 1956) with ‘Abd al-Mun‘īm Ṣubbī); Rūdā dālaya ḥayāt, maqāma’s
Salāmān and Absāl

Salāmān and Absāl, two characters who figure prominently in a series of pre-modern philosophical and mystical allegories written in Arabic and Persian. The characters are first mentioned by Ibn Sīnā (q.v.), in the ninth chapter of his philosophical composition in its own right. Through his father's patient guidance, he is eventually freed of his ties to Absāl and assumes his rightful place on the throne. (A text of this version is included in Tūrī's rašādī, 112-19.) The next major use of the characters appears in the Treatise of Hayy b. Yakzān, written by the Andalusi philosopher Ibn Tufayl (q.v.). Ibn Tufayl states in his introduction that he composed the narrative to clarify what Ibn Sīnā referred to as the "oriental philosophy" (al-hikma al-mashrikiyya), and he refers to passages from the final chapters of al-IṣĀrāt wa 'l-tanbīḥāt to support his interpretation of the latter's work. Nevertheless, Ibn Tufayl's use of the characters is original, and his treatment of them is a significant philosophical composition in its own right.

In this narrative, Salāmān and Absāl appear toward the end of the story, after the main character, and that Absāl is a similitude coined for your degree in gnosia ("ycfyn"). If you be one of its folk. So decipher the symbolism (al-nama), if you are able (iv, 48-57). Ibn Sīnā also mentions the name of Absāl in his "Treatise on Destiny" (Risāla fi 'l-kadar) (Mehren, Traité mystiques, fasc. iii/5-6), but the story is not in the list of his compositions provided by Abū Ubayd al-Dūjzdānī (q.v.), the philosopher's companion, student, and biographer (despite al-Tūsī's assertion that it is), nor does it appear in any of the other traditional biographies of the Shaykh. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Kīṭīfī, Ibn Abī Uṣayḥībī, or Ibn Khallīkān (q.v.) makes no manuscript of the narrative has so far appeared.

In his commentary on al-Iṣārāt wa 'l-tanbīḥāt, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.) suggests etymologies for the two names and states that there existed a story "among the Arabs" about the two characters, but he acknowledges that this version appears to have little connection with Ibn Sīnā's intent.

Our only source for the possible contents of the story is Nasrī al-Dīn al-Tūsī's (q.v.) commentary on al-Iṣārāt wa 'l-tanbīḥāt (iv, 49-57). Al-Tūsī first recapitulates al-Rāzī's remarks. Then he summarizes the contents of two versions of the story that he came across in the twenty years after he finished his commentary (for translations and full discussions of both versions, see Corbin, Ascenzi, 204-41; cf. Heath, Alchemy, 94-6). The allegorical decoding provided in the summaries below is al-Tūsī's.

The first version, which al-Tūsī believes "one of the common philosophers devised to fit the Shaykh's [i.e. Ibn Sīnā's] discussion," was purportedly of Greek origin and translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Ishāk (q.v.) (iv, 52). In this narrative, Salāmān is a young prince of the rational soul who falls desperately in love with his mother's (the active intellect) engendered without recourse to a woman (matter) through the ingenuity of his minister (divine emanation). Salāmān is nursed by a young and beautiful woman, Absāl (the corporeal faculties), with whom he falls desperately in love. When his father, the king, disapproves of this attachment, Salāmān flees with Absāl to the lands of the far west (the material realm). Through his father's patient guidance, he is eventually freed of his ties to Absāl and assumes the role of the theoretical faculty of the rational soul. Learning this, Absāl repeats his words to his wife and retires to solitary meditation of God. (A text of this version is included in Tūrī's rašādī, 112-19.)

Al-Tūsī ascribes the second version to Ibn Sīnā, and justifiably so since it contains a scene referred to by the philosopher in his "Treatise on Destiny" (mentioned above). In this rendition, Salāmān is a king (the rational soul) and Absāl is his younger brother (the theoretical faculty of the rational soul advanced to the level of the acquired intellect) who aids his older sibling while resisting the sexual advances of the latter's wife (the bodily faculties). After conquering the East and the West, Absāl is poisoned by his brother's wife. Learning this, Salāmān executes his wife and retires to solitary meditation of God.

The next major use of the characters appears in the Treatise of Hayy b. Yakzān, written by the Andalusi philosopher Ibn Tufayl (q.v.). Ibn Tufayl states in his introduction that he composed the narrative to clarify what Ibn Sīnā referred to as the "oriental philosophy" (al-hikma al-mashrikiyya), and he refers to passages from the final chapters of al-Iṣārāt wa 'l-tanbīḥāt. Nevertheless, Ibn Tufayl's use of the characters is original, and his Hayy b. Yakzān is a significant philosophical composition in its own right.

In this narrative, Salāmān and Absāl appear toward the end of the story, after the main character,
Hayy b. Yakzan, has perfected himself and achieved a state of union with the Divine. Absal, who represents the inner dimension of religious spirituality, appears on Hayy's island seeking a place to engage in solitary spiritual contemplation. When the two meet, Absal learns of Hayy's spiritual attainments and becomes his disciple. When Hayy discovers from Absal of the existence of revealed religion among the latter's people, he decides to visit their island to inform them of the inner truths that their revelation contains. On the island, the two encounter Absal's friend, Salaman, who represents upright and sincere adherents to the external Assalam, the main rituals of the religion. Hayy finds that he cannot convey his spiritual and intellectual truths because the islanders are spiritually and mentally incapable of receiving them. So he and Absal return to their island to pursue their pursuit of truth away from society.

The last major version of a story using the characters of Salamán and Absál occurs in a narrative of the same name by the Persian poet, Džamí, which is included as one of several medallions in the poet's Haft awrang. Džamí's version (translated into English by the 19th-century poet Edward Fitzgerald) follows fairly closely the plot line of the Greek story summarised above (see Arberry, Fitzgerald's Salaman and Absal, which supplies two versions by Fitzgerald as well as a literal English translation of Džamí's Persian text). Džamí explains the allegorical symbols of his story at its conclusion.

Bibliography:


Salamanca [see Shalamanka]

Salamiyya, a town in central Syria in the district of DronJean (Nahr al-Asf), about 25 miles south-east of Hamá and 35 miles north-east of Hims (for the town's exact situation, see Kiepert's map in M. von Oppenheim, Vom Mitselmen zum Persischen Golf, Berlin 1899, 124 ff., and, 401; G.E. Geography Atlas of the World, 5th ed., Washington D.C. 1984, 178-9). Salamiyya lies in a fertile plain 1,500 feet above sea level, south of the Djabal al-Aská and on the margin of the Syrian steppe. The older and more correct pronunciation of this town's name was Salamyá (al-Ishákí, 61; Ibn al-Fakí, 110), but the form Salamiyya is also found very early (al-Mukaddasí, 190; Ibn Khurramaddáhi, 76, 98) and is now the form almost universally in use (cf. also Yákót, Mu'qam, iii, 123; Littmann, Semitic inscriptions, 169 ff.). The naša from the name is Salami.

The town seems to be the ancient Salamia or Salaminias, which flourished in the Christian period, but the references of the classical authors to this place are uncertain. Yákót, loc. cit., gives a popular etymology. The town, he says, was originally called Salam-mi'ta, after the hundred surviving inhabitants of the destroyed town of al-Mu'tafíka; the survivors then settled in Salamiyya and rebuilt it.

The situation of the town was important as an outpost of Syria, where main routes from the steppe (Palmyra) and Tójak joined; but it was never of any great military importance. Salamiyya was conquered by the Arabs in the year 15/636, and became one of the towns of the Qudn of Hims; it was only after 906/1500 in the Mamluk period that it was placed in the district of Hamát for administrative purposes.

During the 2nd/8th century, soon after the victory of the Abbásids, the Abbási Salíh b. Allí b. Abd Alláh b. Abí Abábs, and later some of his descendants, settled down in Salamiyya. In 141/758, Salíh b. Allí b. Abd Alláh had been appointed as the governor of southern and central Syria, and he paid some attention to reconstructing Salamiyya. The town is said to have been most indebted to Salíh's son 'Abd Alláh, who rebuilt it and developed the irrigation system of the locality and its environs (al-Ya'kıbí, Buldán, 324). This 'Abd Alláh was held in high esteem by his cousins, the first two 'Abbási caliphs. On his way to Jerusalem in 163/779-80, the caliph al-Mahdí stayed with 'Abd Alláh in Salamiyya and admired his house (al-Tabarí, iii, 500, tr. H. Kennedy, The History of al-Tabarí, xxiv, Al-Manjúr and al-Mahdí, Albany 1990, 215). In this same year, 'Abd Alláh, who had meanwhile married al-Mahdí's sister, was appointed as the governor of the al-Djazíra. There are more scattered references to the fact that many 'Abbási Hâshímids lived in Salamiyya from early 'Abbási times (see, for instance, al-Nisabúrí, Tútar al-imán, 115 ff., 125-5, tr. Ivanow in his Isma'íli tradition, 160 ff., 171-3; Ibn Hazm, Djamahar al-anasib al-'Arab, ed. 'Abd al-Salâm M. Hârûn, Cairo 1391/1971, 20; Idrís 'Imad al-Dín, 'Usân al-ábâbí, iv, 365, 402).

Almost nothing has survived in Salamiyya from this early 'Abbási period. There is the foundation inscription of a mosque on a stone (not in situ) at the entrance to the citadel. Although this inscription is dated 150/767-8 and it belonged to a mosque founded by those 'Abbási, which may have been destroyed later (about 290/903) by the Karmaítas who invaded the town. Still another inscription stemming from an 'Abbási has been found in the citadel; according to Littmann's plausible suggestion, it belongs with two other inscriptions to the period from 280/893-4. For another view, see Hartmann, Die arabischen Inschriften, 35).

The fact that Salamiyya was the centre of an important branch of the Hâshímids and the isolated position of the town perhaps account for its important role in the early history of the Ismá'ílí movement as the secret headquarters of the pre-Fátimí Ismá'ílí da'wá. According to the later Ismá'ílíis, the early Ismá'ílí da'wá was organised and led by a number of hidden imámns (al-Imám al-masturin), who were descendants of the Shi'í imám Da'far al-Sálih. It was 'Abd Alláh, a great-grandson of al-Sálih and one of these hidden imámns, who, after living in different localities in Khuzístán and Tójak, fled to Syria and eventually settled down in Salamiyya at an unknown date around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At the time, Salamiyya was held by the 'Abbási Muhamád b. 'Abd Alláh b. Salíh, who had transformed the
town into a flourishing commercial centre. The ʿAlid ʿAbd Allāh, the Ismāʿīlī leader who then posed as an ordinary Hashimid and a merchant, was granted permission by the ʿAbbāsīd lord of the town to settle there; later, he built a sumptuous palace for himself in Salamiyya which evidently continued to be used by his descendants and successors as the central leaders of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwā (see al-Nisābūrī, 116 ff., tr. Ivanov, 161 ff.; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, iv, 357-66). Salamiyya served as the headquarters of the Ismāʿīlī movement until the year 289/902; it was from there that daʿwa were repeatedly dispatched for propagating the Ismāʿīlī teachings and initiating the daʿwā in different regions. These activities were greatly intensified around the middle of the 3rd/9th century.

ʿUbayd Allāh (ʿAbd Allāh), the last of these hidden imāms and the future Fāṭimīd caliph al-Mahdī, was born in Salamiyya in 259 or 260/873-4. In 286/899, he manifested his own rebellious intentions and led the Karmātī revolts of 3rd/9th century. ʿUbayd Allāh, soon initially remained loyal to ʿUbayd Allāh, had already left the town; according to van Berchem, it belongs to an emirate. Thus it passed to Ridwan, son of Tutuṣ, in 496/1102-3. In 532/1137-8, the Atabeg Zanīk b. Aḥ ṣunkūr, who was then besieging Hims, set out from Salamiyya on his campaign against the Greeks at Shāyzar (Ibn al-A ḥīrī, xi, 36 ff.), and in 570/1174-5 Salāh al-Dīn obtained the town together with Hims and Hamāt from the amīr Ṣafār al-Dīn al-Zafarānī (ibid., xii, 276). In 626/1229, we find the Ayyūbīd al-Malik al-Kāmil I in Salamiyya as a staging-post for ʿIrāk; the lord of Hamāt came there to submit to him. Two years later, al-Kāmil gave the town to Asad al-Dīn Shirkuh, who rebuilt the fortress of Shumaymīs north of it on one of the peaks of the Diĝabal al-ʾAṭā (ibid., xii, 318, 329; van Berchem and Fatio, Voyage en Syrie, i, 171, 329) which had been destroyed by the earthquake of 552/1157 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubdāt al-halab min taʿkīh Halab, i, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1934, 306, tr. E. Blochet, Histoire d’Alep, Paris 1900, 21). In 698/1299, the Egyptian army defeated at Salamiyya by the Mongols under the leadership of Ẓahāzān; thus the town lost its role as the brief Mongol occupation of the city of Damascus.

In the 8th/14th century, Salamiyya was part of the important frontier lands (called al-Sharkiyyya) of the mamluk of Damascus. Abu ʾl-Fidaʿ, in whose territory as lord of Hamāt the town lay during the Mamluk period, mentions an aqueduct between Salamiyya and Hamāt. In 726/1326, he went with his troops to clear out this channel (autobiography of Abu ʾl-Fidaʿ in RHC. Historiens Orientaux, i, 168, 185; tr. P. M. Bolt, The memoirs of a Syrian Prince, Abu ʾl-Fidaʿ, sultan of Hamah, Wiesbaden 1983, 18, 8S). This aqueduct no longer exists. Perhaps it is the same as mentioned by al-Dimāḫṣī (207) as in existence between Hamāt and Salamiyya and built by the ʿAbbāsīd ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣalīḥ. At this time Yākūt (Muʿjam, iii, 123) speaks of seven prayer-niches near Salamiyya below which some ēbīṣīn or Successors were buried; he also mentions the tomb of al-Nuʿmān b. Bāshīr al-Ansāri, the companion of the Prophet.

Under Ottoman rule, the town gradually ceased to be of importance. By the early decades of the 13th/19th century, Salamiyya was entirely deserted and lying in ruins, probably on account of the lack of adequate protection against the Bedouins (see C. L. Meryon’s Travels of Lady Hester Stanhope, London 1846, ii, 93, 211-12, and L. de Laborde’s Voyage en
Orient, Paris 1838, ii, 13, who visited Salamiyya in 1813 and 1827 respectively). A new phase in the history of Salamiyya began in the middle of the 13th/19th century. It was at that time that Imam Muhammad, the Ismai'ili amir of Kadmus who had succeeded in establishing his authority over a large section of the Ismai'ili community in Syria and who had been outlawed earlier for his rebellious activities, was permitted by the Ottoman authorities to settle permanently with his people in an area east of the Orontes river. The Ismai'ili settlers were also exempted from military conscription and taxation. These arrangements were evidently confirmed by a fermân of Sultan 'Abd al-Medjid, dated Sha'ban 1265/July 1849. Ismai'îl b. Muhammad chose the ruins of Salamiyya as the site of his new Ismai'ili settlement. An increasing number of Isma'ili's from the western mountains gradually joined the original settlers in Salamiyya, attracted by the prospect of receiving free land in a district where they would furthermore be neither taxed nor conscripted (for details, see N.N. Lewis, The Isma'illis of Syria today, in Royal Central Asian Society Journal, xxxiv [1952], 69 ff.; M. Ghâlib, The Isma'illis of Syria, Beirut 1970, 156 ff.).

By 1861, Salamiyya had become a large village with numerous dwellings in its restored fort (J.H. Skene, Rambles in the deserts of Syria, London 1864, 158). Soon the Ismai'ili settlers, whose numbers increased continuously by new arrivals, established villages around Salamiyya, expanding the cultivable land of the district and improving its irrigation. By 1878, Circassians also began to migrate to Salamiyya. However, the bulk of the land of Salamiyya and its villages remained in the hands of the Isma'ili's. In time, the growth and prosperity of Salamiyya was officially recognised by the Ottoman authorities who, in 1884, created a special administrative district (kâda') centred on Salamiyya within the sandîq of Hamâr; a few years later, troops were stationed there, conscription was initiated, normal taxes were levied, and Salamiyya began to appear regularly in the annual Sâlâmâ-yi Şûrîye vilâyeti of the Ottomans. By the end of the 13th/19th century, Salamiyya reportedly had more than 6,000 inhabitants, with a good irrigation system (V. Cujinet, Syrie, Liban et Palestine, Paris 1896, 436, 453 ff.). The last major migration of the Syrian Ismai'lis to Salamiyya occurred in 1919; these settlers of the New Teaching (Djahriyya) and that of the Old Ch'ing source in the middle of the 18th century. The latter organised the Ismai'lis of Salamiyya and built their houses in a new quarter of the town known as the 'quarter of the Kadmusis'. In the present century, Salamiyya has become an important agricultural centre in Syria, where a variety of crops, including wheat and legumes, are cultivated.

In 1304/1887, the Ismai'illis of Salamiyya, who, like the bulk of the Syriani Ismai'lis, had hitherto belonged to the Muhammad Shahi branch of Nizârî Ismai'îlism, transferred their allegiance to the Kâsim Shahi line of Nizârî imâms, then represented by Agha Khân III. The latter organised the Ismai'illis of Salamiyya and also built several schools and an agricultural institution there. With a population of 95,000 in 1993, the great majority of whom are Nizârî Ismai'illis, Salamiyya now accounts for the largest concentration of Ismai'îlîs in Syria as well as in the Near East. In recent years, the Ismai'îli community of Salamiyya has benefited from the communal and religious activities of Agha Khân IV, the 49th and present imâm of the Kâsim Shahi Nizârîs, whose father Prince 'Ali Khân is buried in Salamiyya in a special mausoleum adjacent to the town's newly-constructed Ismai'îli centre (djâmâ at-ţâhâna).


SALAMIYYA — SALAR

SALAR, a Muslim and Turkic-speaking minority in Northwestern China. They are otherwise called Sa-la in Chinese. Their total population in the P.R.C. is about 69,000 and the greater part of them live in the Sala Autonomous Prefecture of Hsün-hua, Ch'ing-hai province; the population here was ca. 49,000 in 1984. The Salar oral traditions and religious practices were originally assimilated into those of the Turkmen nation distributed in the Samarkand region. The latter organised the Ismai'îli community of Salamiyya from the early 18th century. In 1781, this community broke out against the Salar, who had been divided into two sects, that of the New Teaching (Djahriyya) and that of the Old Teaching, but adherents of the New Sect were severely militarily repressed by the Ch'ing authorities. There were several rebellions of the Salar New Sect against the local authorities down to the late 19th century. The Salar at Hsün-hua consisted of eight kung (communities); the original (the Djahriyya community) with their base at Hsün-hua. They were engaged in farming, cattle-breeding, fishing, etc. In the Salar region, there were nine large, core mosques, each of which administered subordinate mosques.

Religious leaders of Salar mosques, on the lines of ahhhân, imâm, mulût, kâdhî and kâtib, were known: festivals, such as the 'id al-fitr, kurbân and barât were observed, and the Salar had tombs called šabbas
(generally called kumpei). The Salars are now officially recognised as one of the 55 minority peoples of the P.R.C., and they coexist with the Han Chinese.

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In the mediaeval Islamic Persian word and in those lands culturally affected by it, such as the central Arab lands of Trāk and Syria, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Muslim India, saddr̄ was essentially a military term, as e.g. in sipaḥ-sarddr̄ "supreme army commander", the equivalent in Persian of the Arabic amīr al-umara't, hādīd̄ al-hujd̄jd̄ar̄ or al-hajd̄jd̄ dar̄ al-kahār found amongst dynasties like the Sāmānids, Būyids, Ghaznawids and Great Saljd̄uj̄s [see Saldr̄s].

But saddr̄ by itself was often used for the commander of a town cheshmeh ('A city cheshmeh, 'A city chief of the Muslim ghāzis or fighters for the faith centred on Lahore in the Ghaznavid period and organised for raiding into the Hindu dār al-khuf (see Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 114). Certainly in the 5th/11th century, various in the towns and districts of Khurāsān seem to have had sādr̄s leading local forces either for defence or for ghazw. The Sādr̄ of the district between Bādghis and Kubān̄ān̄ called Bāzgan was an active figure there in the events spanning the transition from Ghaznavid to Saljd̄uj̄ rule in Khurāsān during the 1030s (see ibid., 254, 261, 262-4), and some sources describe this Abu 1-kāṣim ʿAbd al-Ṣāmad al-Būzjānī as becoming the Sald̄uj̄ Toghr̄il Beg's first vizier (see H. Bowen, Notes on some early Sel-jukid viziers, in BSOAS, xx (1957), 105-7). Likewise, in Nīshāpūr at this time, a sādr̄ of what was perhaps a local militia is mentioned, and this command may have been based on the old nā ṣar̄̄d or nā r̄s [see R. W. Bulliett, The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 68-9]); he should be considered as a key figure in 429/1030 when it was a question of the establishing the authority of the dead sultan Māḥmūd of Ghazāna's son Masʿūd in Nīshāpūr rather than that of his brother Muhammad (see Ibn Fundūk, Taḥāfi-se-Bayhāk, ed. Bahmaniār, 267-8). There was a prominent family in Bayhāk, the Sālārīyān, the descendants of one Sālār Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Muḥṣin al-Muttawwī, who had been head of the ghāzis and had fought at Tarūs (ibid., 124).

In administrative documents from mid-6th/12th century eastern Persia and Transoxania, sādr̄, together with such terms as mukaddam and sarhang, appears as a rank for commanders just below the supreme commander (H. Horst, Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosstürkhen und Hūnarmāhs (1038-1231), Wiesbaden 1964, 42, 47, 120, 160).

In general mediaeval Islamic usage, sādr̄ is also found—as far west as Mamlūk Egypt and Syria—in such compounds as ʿākhir-sādr̄ "head of the stables" and ḥāṣir-sādr̄ "steward", given that these high royal household offices were usually allotted to high-ranking Turkish military commanders.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(V. F. Bächner-[C. E. Bosworth])

**SALAR DJANG** (Sir), the title by which Mir Turāb ʿAlī, a Sayyid of Persian descent and one of the greatest of modern Indian statesmen, was best known.

He was born at Haydārbād, Deccan, on 2 January, 1829, and, his father having died not long after his birth, was educated by his uncle, Nawwāb Sirād̄ al-Mulk, Minister of the Haydārbād State. He received an administrative appointment in 1848, at the age of 19, and on his uncle's death in 1853 succeeded him as Minister of the State. He was engaged in reforming the administration until 1857, the year of the Sepoy Mutiny, when the Nīzām, Nāṣir al-Dawla, died and was succeeded by his son Afḍāl al-Dawla. The news of the seizure of Dilli by the mutineers greatly excited the populace, and the British Residency was attacked by a turbulent mob, aided by some irregular troops, but throughout the darkest days of the rebellion Sālār Djang not only remained true to the British connection, but strengthened the hands of his master and suppressed disorder. The services of the State were recognised by the rendition of three of the districts assigned in 1853 on account of debts due to the Company, and by the cession of the territory of the rebellious Rād̄jā of Shorāpur. In 1860 and again in 1867 plots to estrange the great Minister from his master and to ensure his dismissal were frustrated by two successive British Residents, and Sālār Djang remained in office. In 1868 an attempt was made to assasinate him but the assassin was arrested and executed, despite Sālār Djang's efforts to obtain a commutation of the sentence. On the death of Afḍāl al-Dawla in 1869, Sālār Djang became one of the two co-regents of the State during the minority of his son and successor, Mir Mahbūb ʿAlī Khan, and on 5 January 1871, he was invested at Calcutta with the insignia of the G.C.S.I. In November 1875, he and other nobles represented the young Nīzām at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and in April 1876, he visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria. He received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford and the Freedom of the City of London. In January 1883, he was engaged in making preparations for the contemplation of the young Nizām to Europe, but on 7 February, after entertaining Duke John of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who was visiting Haydarbād, on the Mir ʿĀlam Lake, he was attacked by cholera and died on the following morning. Though always known by his first title, Sālār Djang, he bore the higher titles Shūdw̄ d̄ al-Dawla and Mulk̄ t̄ al-Mulk.

**Bibliography:** Syed Hossain Bilgrami, Memoir of
The fact remains, however, that the word ‘salāt most often denotes this ritual prayer, the forms and rhythms of which evolved gradually, but which became at a very early stage a constitutive and distinctive element of Islam.

B. Importance of ritual prayer. There exist 65 instances of al-salāt in the singular with the definite article. These usages always seem to indicate a ritual prayer, this being a cultic act comprising certain prescribed gestures and words, which is considered the form of prayer most closely associated with the religion. Its importance is not determined only by the frequent occurrence of the root in the word. The Kur’ān opens with the ‘Fātiha, sūra I, and this is recited at every rak‘a. With its sober and full tenor, as with its wording in the first person plural, it is so well adapted to liturgical use that its composition for this very purpose can scarcely be doubted. Consequently, its location at the opening of the Kūrān gives a particular emphasis to salāt. The outstanding worth of the latter is again underlined in II, 3, and the remainder of the Kūrānic text corroborates this status.

Furthermore, the Book places the origin of ritual prayer, under divine guidance, at the outset of humanity. All the prophets practised ritual prayer (cf. XIX, 58-9, and 55; XXI, 73). Abraham appealed to his Lord to grant to him and his descendents, the privilege of performing salāt (XXIV, 37, 40). The obligation of ritual prayer was intimated to Moses in a particularly solemn manner (X, 87; XX, 14), and to Jesus in a quite different atmosphere (XIX, 31).

Thus ritual prayer belonged at all times to the correct and immutable religion which is professed as a hanīf [q.v.] (XXX, 30-1; XCVIII, 5). It is often said that the revealed Laws change with the Messengers of God, while the latter maintain the same proclamation of the Unique One (tawḥīd). This view of things needs to be extended. In the Kūrānic, ritual prayer is presented as the immediate and constant corollary of belief in God. Whatever variations may exist in the practical prescriptions, a salāt forms part of Hanīfism.

C. Salāt in the evolution of the Kur’ānic message. To the above-mentioned uses of the word in the singular with the definite article, there should be added two instances (both in XXIV, 58) of the singular in the genitive construction. Hence, in the technical sense of Muslim ritual prayer, there is a total of 67 uses in the singular without affix. None of them belong to the prae-masulār sūras, i.e. to the most ancient sūras of that which Blachère calls the first Meccan period (the verse LXXIII, 20 is, by general agreement, much later than the remainder of the sūra). It is possible that the word in question does not appear before the period which, on both sides of the Hidjra, extends approximately from 620 to 624. It is significant that there is a single example in the ḥaḍīthān sūras (in XXII, 38, in the context of moral advice).

On the other hand, II, IV, V, IX and XXIV, all of them Medinan and contemporary with or later than the changing of the kibla, contain 33 uses: half of the total in a text which covers no more than 20% of the length of the Kūrān. In other words, in the five sūras mentioned above, salāt is presented proportionally four times more than in the remainder of the book. This is no accident. The sūras cited correspond to the establishment of Islam as an institutional religion. Ritual prayer is a fundamental element of this, which accounts for the frequency with which it is mentioned.

This analysis is corroborated by the close link between salāt and zakāt, "purification" of riches through giving. These two practices are prescribed or approved of together at least 25 times: wa-aḵīma 'l-salāt wa-aḏāti

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Sir Salar Jang, Shujjad ud-Daula, Mukhtar ul-Mulk, G.C.S.I. Bombay 1883; see also—H.H. the Nizam's dominions, (T.W. Hanc)
\textbf{926 ŠALĀT
'l-zakdt (IV, 77, etc.). Now it is known that the notion of alms is also expressed in the Kurgan by the word \textit{sadakta} (\textit{[a]}\textit{ča}) and by the verb \textit{anfaka} (to give of one's goods), and that the concept underlying the three Arabic terms has experienced an evolution: first, free giving from person to person, then religious obligation in the context of Islam. Ultimately the zakdt, enjoined especially in the five suras already mentioned, takes on the precise meaning of a communal tax. “Purification” is accomplished by contributing to the treasury of the community, and the distribution of these resources to the poor is also codified under eight headings in IX, 60. Mention of this obligatory tax alongside ritual prayer is further evidence of the communal importance and finality of the latter.

D. The times of \textit{salāt}. In sketching the general line of an evolution which ends in the establishment of prayer as a pillar for the religion of God and of His Messenger, a thorny problem has been left aside: which are, according to the Book of Islam, the hours and the times of official prayer? Was there in the lifetime of the Prophet a progressive organisation, the signs of which would be perceptible in the Kurān? To answer this question, it is not enough to base conclusions on the verses where the word \textit{salāt} is mentioned. It is necessary to take into account all the passages which mention a communal prayer of the disciples of Muhammad or present as a model his habits of prayer.

Muslim prayer is born from the personal prayer of Muḥammad. The most ancient Kurānic passages which give temporal indications are addressed to the Prophet. They all enjoin upon him nocturnal prayer (LXXIII, 2-7, etc.), and to this, one adds prayer at the setting of the stars (LII, 48-9), another, invocation of the name of His Lord at the dawning and at the declining of the day (LXXXVI, 25-6), the last, praise before the rising of the sun and before its setting (L, 39-40). No doubt from the same period is the reference to the gardens in the Garden of Paradise who previously prayed on the earth, keeping vigil into the last hours of the night (\textit{bi 'l-ashār}; LI, 16-18).

With different words, the same rhythms, still at Mecca but frequently maintained (XX, 130; XVII, 78-80; XL, 55), but it is soon observed that a prayer group is formed around Muhammad: “Enjoin \textit{salāt} upon your people” (XX, 132), “Stay with those who invoke their Lord” (XVIII, 28; cf. XXV, 64-5; XXXIX, 9).

In the years 620-4, the communal nature of prayer first becomes manifest. The most ancient prescription first addressing the community of disciples seems to be VII, 204-6 (cf. XI, 112-4). In XXX, 17-18, the commandment given them is to pray to God evening and morning, then comes this phrase: “To Him be praise in the heavens and on the earth, at the declining of the day (\textit{fādār}); and when you are at midday (\textit{wa-khīna tushhrān})”. To give here to the word \textit{ashhrā} a sense other than that which it habitually expresses in the Kurān (cf. XVII, 28 and XL, 55, parallels to XX, 130 or XLVIII, 9, etc.), would be arbitrary. On the other hand, the last section of the phrase does indeed seem to designate an additional time of prayer, the novelty of which is perceptible in II, 238: “Be steadfast in your prayers, in the median prayer as well (\textit{wa 'l-salāt 'l-ushār});…”.

The years following the changing of the \textit{kibla} see the consolidation of the institutional nature of prayer. Then, as noted above, the link between ritual prayer and the communal tax becomes a great deal tighter (LXXIII, 20, etc.). In IV, 103, a degree of organisational emergence: “Ritual prayer is enjoined upon believers at fixed times”. Finally, in XXIV, 58, on both sides of the middle of the day (cf. II, 238, quoted above), there are named incidentally “the prayer of the dawn (\textit{fādār})” and the \textit{salāt al-'Ashr}.

In the Kurān as a whole, the times of prayer are accompanied by a richness of vocabulary which shows a practice still at the evolutionary stage. There are, it seems, three essential times (to which the median prayer is added somewhat later).

(a) At one of the “two extremities of the day” (XI, 114; cf. XX, 29), the dawn prayer, \textit{fādār}, also called, with slight nuances, by a number of names: \textit{bukra}, \textit{ibkar}, \textit{ghfaddaww} and \textit{ghfadd}, as well as “before the rising of the sun” and “when you are in the morning”.

(b) At the other extremity, is the decline of the day, \textit{zahrij}, in other words the second part of the afternoon, in particular its final phase, \textit{aṣr}, \textit{fād}, to which apparently corresponds the \textit{salāt al-ashr} of XVII, 76, as well as “before the setting of the sun” and “when you are in the evening”.

(c) The nocturnal prayer is denoted by the verb \textit{tahdżid} (hapax in XVII, 79) and by expressions such as \textit{and} al-\textit{layl} or \textit{zulaf min al-\textit{layl}}. LXXIII, 20, recommends moderation in long vigils of prayer, and the explicit inauguration of the \textit{salāt al-'Ashr} could be ascribed to the same purpose. Alongside this daily division, prayer is subject to another temporal determination, this time in the weekly context. This is the Friday prayer, mentioned in a single passage of the Kurān: “O you who believe! When you are called to ritual prayer on the day of assembly, come quickly to the remembrance of God, leave your business” (LXII, 9; see \textit{DJUM} 114; cf. XX, 130), is the dawn prayer, \textit{fāy}, mentioned twice (V, 58; LXII, 9). The necessity of ritual purification before prayer is indicated in a detailed fashion in IV, 43, and V, 6, which both authorise \textit{tayammum}, this being the use of fine sand instead of water in the absence of the latter. Ritual prayer must be performed facing in a precise and constant direction. This direction is that of \textit{al-maqsid al-harām}, i.e. the Ka‘bah of Mecca. This is stated three times, more emphatically, in II, 142-50. This outstanding passage, which can be dated with certainty in the year 2/624 (probably in the middle of the month of \textit{Sha‘bān}, corresponding to mid-February, or possibly a month earlier, in \textit{Radjab}), does not confine itself to instituting the \textit{kibla}. It enjoins upon the believers the abandonment of a former \textit{kibla}, which according to all extra-Kurānic evidence was the direction of Jerusalem (almost the opposite in fact, for Muslims then living in Medina). A problem remains: what was the \textit{kibla} before the \textit{Hijdra}? It was definitely the direction of Jerusalem, but: (1) the Prophet had probably approved it for the \textit{Anṣār} of \textit{Yaḥrib} two years before emigrating to there (cf. al-\textit{Tabari}, \textit{Qāmāt}, ii, 4, 5, 12); but he did not adopt it himself until later, if the account of al-Barā‘ī b. Mā‘ūrū is to be believed (cf. Ibn \textit{Hādīm}, 294; al-\textit{Tabari}, i, 1218-19), (2) the former \textit{kibla} of Muhammad in the city of his birth remains uncertain. On these questions, see \textit{KIBLA}.

Whatever the case may be, ritual prayer is animated in its entirety by two internal movements, glorification (\textit{tasbih}) and praise (cf. \textit{hamdula}; and see XX, 130; XXXIII, 42; XL, 55; L, 39-40, etc.). Appeal for pardon is sometimes included here (XL, 55; cf. III, 17; VII, 204). These sentiments are inseparable from contrasting physical attitudes: stand-
ing upright and prostration (cf. II, 238; IV, 102; L, 39-40, etc.; in addition, for nocturnal prayer, XXV, 64; XXXIX, 9). The technical term rak'a is absent from the Qur'an, but bowing is often expressed by the corresponding verb, normally in association with prostration (V, 55; IX, 112; XLVIII, 29); however, it is not clear that these prostrations form part of salāt (cf., in addition, II, 43; III, 43; XXII, 26 and 77). On the other hand, public reading of the Kur'ān is a manifest and vital element of it (VII, 204-6; XVII, 78; XVIII, 27-8; XXXIX, 45; XXXV, 29; LXXIII, 20, etc.).

II. In hadith and legal elaborations.

The two principal Sunni canonical collections of prophetic traditions both begin with hadīths on the five pillars of Islam. After the affirmation of faith, they therefore deal with ritual prayer. Among the ‘ihdād, it is this which occupies by far the greatest amount of space in their work: 200 pages in the work of al-Bukhārī, and more than double this in Muslim's. This vast quantity of material is organised by both in a series of ‘books' (kittab), which form three major blocks. First is the sine qua non condition of ritual prayer, this being legal purity (tahāra): to which correspond in al-Bukhārī's case books of ablation (see wudu?), of general washing (see ghusl), of menstruation (see haway), of washing with fine sand (see ta'ammum). Then come traditions which determine general aspects and elements of salāt. Finally, numerous books examine particular cases, such as the prayer of major festivals or that of funerals. This general organisation is not peculiar to the two Sakhis but also belongs, with minor variations, to the other four canonical collections.

In the 3rd/9th century, when all these works were compiled, the time-table and conduct of prayers were fixed. Their detailed rules will be presented below in section III. They were liable to vary all the less in that judicial consideration of these fundamental matters had also, by this stage, been basically concluded. It was, in fact, the 2nd/8th century which saw the activity of the scholars who gave their names to the four schools of law. The obligation to participate in communal prayer is clearly the mosque: see masjd, ut-

9. Tidjar. In Kur'an XVII, 110, the text reads “Do not raise your voice in your prayer, and do not pray in a whisper, but seek a way between the two.” On the basis of a khabar of Ibn 'Abbās, the commentators see in this a measure of caution in the face of Meccan unbelievers (e.g. al-Rāzī, xxi, 70; al-

1. General principles of prayer.

1. Prefixed institutionalisation. The salāt of the traditions is entirely ritual, and linked to five times of the day. This divine determination is presented in two different manners. On the one hand, hadīths related by Anas b. Mālik (sometimes quoting Abu Dharr, sometimes Mālik b. Ša'ā’u) describe an ascension of the Prophet into the heavens, where he ultimately receives from God Himself, after some haggling, the prescription of five daily prayers for his community (al-Bukhārī, salāt, bāb 1 and Manāqib al-Ansār, bāb 42; Muslim, Iman, nos. 259, 263, 264). On the other hand, Ibn Šihab al-Zuhār records a hadīth related by Abū Mas'ūd al-Ansārī according to which Gabriel descends five times to Muhammad to induce him to pray, implicitly at the prescribed times (al-Bukhārī, Manāqib, bāb 1; Muslim, Masājid, nos. 111-13; Muslim, Salāt, nos. 72-6), as by the invocation “To you be praise, our Lord!” said in response to the imām's utterance “God hears him who praises Him” (see below, section III, B, third element of the rak'a), and, furthermore, by the final salutations of the imām and of the other faithful. The obligation to participate in collective prayer is more strongly asserted by the Mālikīs (al-Malākūtī, 166-7) than by the Hanafīs (al-Qāwūdī, 132 ff.). The participation of women is permitted, but not recommended. The favoured place for communal prayer is clearly the mosque: see masjid, i, C, 2.

8. The imām. For communal prayer to take place, two adults must be present, one of whom is the imām of the other. The imām is the sine qua non condition of congregational prayer. Numerous prophetic traditions determine his function. They are conveniently listed by Muslim, Salāt, nos. 77-101, and by al-Bukhārī, Salāt, bāb 43 ff. The imām must be male, of good reputation, educated. As a general rule, the faithful place themselves in ranks (yufjuf [see sāff]) behind the imām, perform the ritual gestures with him, and repeat his words. If there is only one man with the imām, he places himself to his right; if there are two or more, they place themselves behind him. Women are allowed to place themselves behind the men; if there is only one woman with the imām, she places herself behind him.

9. The djuhr. In Kur'ān XVII, 110, the text reads “Do not raise your voice in your prayer, and do not pray in a whisper, but seek a way between the two.” On the basis of a khabar of Ibn 'Abbās, the commentators see in this a measure of caution in the face of Meccan unbelievers (e.g. al-Rāzī, xxi, 70; al-
Kurtubi, x, 343). But traditions show that Muhammad, at Medina, said certain prayers in a loud voice (dāhhr) and others in a whisper (cf. al-Bukhārī, Adhān, bāb 96, 97, 99, 100, 105, 108, etc.). From this it has been concluded that the Qur'ānic verse was calling not for a happy medium, but for an alternation of the two styles. As a result, the imām is obliged to declaim in a loud voice the first two rakās of specific prayers, and in a whisper the other contingent rakās of these prayers and all the rakās of the other prayers (cf. al-Ghāwadī, 128-9; al-Malātāwī, 136-7).

10. *The tawāmūn.* Prayer must be performed soberly and calmly, with close attention to the rhythm and to the intonations. The Prophet making a worshipper who had neglected this principle start again three times (al-Bukhārī, Adhān, bāb 95, 122; Muslim, Salāt, no. 45). All the authors make this one of the fundamental requirements of ritual prayer (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahāb, 31, 36; al-Ghāwadī, 127-8; al-Malātāwī, 135).

B. Various aspects. Anyone who has inadvertently omitted or misplaced one of the elements of the prayer and becomes aware of this before the end of the latter is obliged to perform or recast this element and furthermore, at the end of his prayer, to add immediately the "prayer of negligence" (salāt al-sahā). This consists of performing two prostrations of the prayer and becomes aware of this before the end of the fundamental requirements of ritual prayer (cf. al-Bukhārī, Adhān, bāb 95; Muslim, Salāt, no. 45). All the authors make this one of the fundamental requirements of ritual prayer (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahāb, 31, 36; al-Ghāwadī, 127-8; al-Malātāwī, 135).

1. The prayer of the morning (subh) or of the dawn (fadjr) is of two rakās. Here the Fāṭiha and the Kurān are recited in a loud voice (dāhhr). Its time begins with "the true dawn" (al-fadjr al-jāhil), when faces can still not yet be recognised, and extends until the day-break as such, before the sun appears.

2. The prayer of midday (zuhr) is of four rakās. Here the Fāṭiha and the Kurān are recited in a whisper (isrār). Its time begins when the sun, passing the zenith, commences its decline. It normally continues until the time when the shadow of objects is equal to their height.

3. The prayer of ʿasr (middle and late afternoon) is of four rakās. Here the Fāṭiha and the Kurān are recited in a whisper (isrār). Its time begins when the shadow of objects is equal to their height, and it normally continues until the time when the light of the sun turns yellow; but this prayer may still be performed until the end of the day, before the setting of the sun.

4. The prayer of maghrib (after the setting of the sun) is of three rakās. Here the Fāṭiha and the Kurān are recited in a loud voice. Its time begins when the sun has disappeared beneath the horizon, and normally continues until the disappearance of the twilight radiance or ṣafak [v. o.]. (Concerning the ancient Judaising deviation of Abu ʿ1-Khattāb, for whom the time of this prayer would begin only when the stars shine brightly, see Wasserstrom's article, in Bibl.).

5. The prayer of ṣūrūt (evening or beginning of the night), sometimes called ʿutamā (black night), is of four rakās. Here the Fāṭiha and the Kurān are recited in a loud voice. Numerous traditions clearly fix the commencement of its time (e.g. al-Bukhārī, Musāfīr, bāb 24, 1; repeated in Adhān, bāb 102, 1; al-Bukhārī, ʿUrma, bāb 20, 1, parallel to Dīghāt, bāb 136, 2; and to Muslim, Musāfīrīn, no. 43; Muslim, Musāfīrīn, no. 48): it is the disappearance of the ṣafak, that redness of the sky which follows the setting of the sun (cf. L'Α, x, 180a; the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa, who interpreted this ʿṣafak as the whiteness of the twilight coming after the redness of the sunset, seems to be isolated). It should be recalled that, in the Kurān, the word only occurs once, without connection with prayer and in an oath (LXXXIV, 89). Concerning the whereabouts of the ṣafak, cf. other commentators of the Tabārī, xxx, 119, and al-Rāzī, xxxi, 108-9). As for the symmetrically converse phenomenon in the circadian cycle, i.e. the column of zodiacal light called in Arabic al-fadjr al-kāfīb "the false dawn" (or ṣanāna al-sūrūt "the wolf's tail": cf. L'Α, s.v. fj-dj-r, at v, 45a),
the Muslims astronomers have made a detailed study of it which is of no relevance to this article. The normal time of the prayer of *ṣalāt* extends until the end of the first third of the night.

For more details concerning the times of prayer, with references to *ḥadīth* and Muslim law.

B. Conditions and development of prayer. The conditions (*ṣuhrūt*) of prayer are nine in number according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab (al-*Usul*, 26-30): 1. Being a Muslim; 2. Mental health; 3. Discernment, i.e. the age of reason (seven years); 4. and 5. Ritual purity (see ʿTāḥāra and this article, above, section II). This is attained on the one hand by *wudūʾ* or by *ghaṣi*, which respectively annul the minor *ḥadāth* and the major *ḥadāth*.

On the other hand purity demands the elimination of any blemish (*khiyāt*) from the body, the clothing and the place: this is the *ṭāḥāra ḥakikīyya*, "real". It is impossible to emphasise too much the considerable importance and the minute precision of the corresponding requirements; see also *Najūṣ* (*im-ṣadkhāṇa*).

6. The worshipper prays to himself a second time, saying *Allāhā akbar*, then he says three times *Subhāna rabbiya* "Glory to my Lord, the Most High!" The body should then rest on the forehead (and the nose), the palms of both hands, both knees and both feet.

5. The worshipper raises his head to say *Allāhā akbar*, then he sits on his heels (*qulūs* or *kuṣūd*), knees on the ground, hands placed on the thighs. Then he says *Rabbī gīfīr lii ʿO My Lord, pardon me*.

6. The worshipper stands in itself a practice which is now widespread among the Mālikis.

He then stands upright for the second *rakʿa*, identical to the first.

At the end of this second *rakʿa*, instead of standing upright, the worshipper raises his head to say *Allāhā akbar*, then he sits on his heels, knees on the ground, hands placed on the thighs. The *taʿthahhūd* "affirmation of faith", is then said, as follows: *al-ṭayyīḥāt li- ʿLāh, ʿl-ṣalāwa sīwā ʿl-ḥayāyāt. Al-ṣalāmu ʿalayka, ayyuḥā ʿl-naḥī, ʿwā-rahmatu Lāhī ʿwā-haqqāţu. Al-ṣalāmu ʿalayna ʿalā ᵃl-bādi Lāhī ʿl-sāliḥīn. Aḥhadū an lā lāhā illā Lāhī wadallahu lā shirkaka lāhu ʿwā-ṣṣāhādu anna Mūhammadan ʿabdhuha wā-rassāluha ʿl-ʾaṣlāmu* "To God be salutations, prayers and fine words. Peace be upon you, O Prophet, also the mercy and blessings of God. Peace be upon us and upon the good servants of God. I affirm that there is no god other than God, He alone, who has no partner; and I affirm that Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger*. At the beginning of this last phrase, the index finger of the right hand is raised to underline the declaration of Uniqueness.

The *taṣaḥḥud* above is the version given in al-*Bukhrā*, *Adḥān*, bāb 48, 150 (cf. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, no. 55). The beginning of the formula differs slightly among the Mālikis (cf. al-Malātāwī, 147).

After the *taṣaḥḥud*, the worshipper stands up to say, as above, the third and the fourth *rakʿas*.

At the end of the latter, the *taṣaḥḥud* is recited again, with the following addition: *Allāhāmuta sīwā ʿl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan wā-ṣalā ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan wa-*ṣalā ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan wā-ṣalā ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan wā-ṣalā ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan wā-ṣalā ᵃl-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu ambī Muhammadan kamā bāka ʾal-ʾaṣlāmu* "O God, bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham, and bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad as You blessed Abraham and the family of Abraham in the worlds. You are worthy of praise and of glory!" This formula (called *al-ṣalāwa al-ʾaṣlāmīyya*) is inspired in part by Kurṭān, XXXIII, 56, and XI, 73, and is found in this form in al-*Bukhrā*, *Anbiyya*, bāb 10, 5; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, nos 65-6 (cf. also al-Malātāwī, 148-9; Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab, 38-9; al-Ghawīdī, 142).
Finally, still sitting, the worshipper turns to the right, saying al-saldmu ^alaykum wa-rahmatu Lldhi ... to overtake the unbelievers. May the blessings and the peace of God be upon our master Muhammad, and upon his Fami-

C. Actual practice. Having just described the performance of this ritual prayer, having earlier outlined the other rules regulating it, it would now be appropriate to examine how it is practised in reality. Countries, the first back in, is the only observance in this regard than others, as is easily ascertained. But precise studies seem to be lacking on this subject. Such studies could, according to countries or regions, identify the practice of salât by men and women, individually or communally, for the daily prayers and for the Friday prayer, and enquire, naturally, into the contingent effects of urbanisation, of change of social class, of emigration to a country with a non-Muslim majority.

IV. The other ritual prayers.

These are, like the preceding, prayers codified by fiqh and comprising the performance of a fixed number of rak'as. Numerous and varied, they are generally classified by the jurists according to their degree of obligation, which can vary according to the schools (farâd, wâjdîb, sunna). Principal aspects will be presented here in the following order: (1) The major community prayers which mark the week and the year (A and B); (2) The daily prayers which are not strictly obligatory, i.e. which do not form part of the farâdî (C, D, E); (3) Prayers which are performed in particular (F) or exceptional (G, H, I) circumstances; and (4) Finally, the prayer over a deceased person (J).

A. The Friday prayer (salât al-djum'a). The second Arabic word, which now denotes the above-named prayer, is the Sunday. The first to have given the name of djum'a, was nothing other than a market-day. It was usually known by another name, yaum al-saldt or, without the article, yaum 'arâba or, according to the text, yaum 'arâba (see L'A, s.v. 'arâb, 1, 593; al-Zamâkhi, Kashshîf, on LXII, 9, and al-Kurûbî, xviii, 97: according to a khabîr of these two commen-
tators, the first to have given the name of djum'a, was allegedly Ka'b b. Lu'ayy, an ancestor of Muhammad, who lived some 150 years before him).

The Friday prayer is performed at the time of the midday prayer, which it replaces. It must take place in a mosque. It is only obligatory in substantial localities, and with the participation of a minimum number of men who are permanent residents, this number being (including the imâm) four according to the Hanafis, three according to the Shafi'i, and two according to the Malikis. Women may participate, but it is not compulsory for them, and they are not included in the required number.


It is customary that the Muslim arriving at the mosque for this communal prayer first performs individually a prayer of two rak'as. After the call to prayer, the preacher, standing upright on the mustâqîm [q.v.], delivers a double sermon [see kwâ'ima]. Both praise God and call for His blessings on the Prophet, before exhorting the believers. The two sermons are separated by a short pause, during which the orator sits. Subsequently, he normally leads personally an obligatory prayer of two rak'as, in a loud voice.

B. The prayer of the two feasts (salât al-îdâ'ayn). See 59. The two feasts are that of the breaking of fasts and that of sacrifices. The special prayer, in a very festive ambience, is of two rak'as, in a loud voice. Its time begins approximately half an hour after the rising of the sun, and concludes when it is at the middle of its course. There is neither adâh nor ikâmâ. But numerous takâbît are added, their number and place varying slightly according to the judicial schools. At the first rak'a, the sâra al-îdî (LXXVII) is usually read. The prayer is not preceded, but followed by a double kwâ'ima. The performance of the special prayer, and relating to the cultic duties of the feast being celebrated, as well as their religious significance. Although women are not obliged to do so, they are strongly advised to attend, even in a state of ritual impurity (in which case they are present for the prayer without performing it), in order to share in the communal joy and edification; cf. e.g. al-Bukhârî, ìdayn, bbd 15, 21; Muslim, ìdayn, nos. 10-12. In Joumier, 45-50, a detailed description is found of the prayer of the feast of sacrifices performed in Cairo in 1379/1960.

C. The salât al-û'îrî. According to the Hanafîs, it is a duty (wâjdîb) without being an obligation (farâdî) in the sense which they give to this word. But for the other schools, it is only a custom (sunna), albeit a particularly strong one (ma'âkkâda). The salât al-û'îrî should be performed between the evening prayer and the dawn prayer (preferably towards the end of the night). For its history, see witr. The term signifies "uneven" and denotes a special rak'a which is performed in isolation or which is added to one or more pairs (shaf'î) of rak'as. It is forbidden to perform other rak'as between this latter rak'a and the canonical prayer of the dawn. The prayer of û'îrî is generally of three rak'as; there are read, respectively, after the Fûthus, the prayer is a particularly strong one. The Malikis, al-Malâkàwî, 196, or LXXVII (al-îsâ'), CIX (al-Kâfûnî) and CXII (al-âhîlâs) according to the Hanafîs al-Ghawîdî, 188. With the prayer of û'îrî the question of kunît is associated. In the article kunût the various senses of this word in the Kur'âûn and in tradition are set forth. The Mâlikîs deny that there is a kunût in the prayer of û'îrî (al-Malattâwî, 196). The Shâ'îs use a formula transmitted by al-Tirmîdî, the translation of which is to be found above, vol. V, 795. The Hanafîs (al-Ghawîdî, 188-9) consider as a duty, after the performance of the third rak'a, a duo'â al-kunût which begins with Allâhumma, inna nasta'mina wa-nastâ'ahdika. The translation is as follows: "O God! we ask for Your aid and Your guidance. We implore Your pardon and return to You. We believe in You, we submit ourselves to You, we praise You for all Your goodness. We are grateful for Your favours and not ungrateful, we exhort and who are unfaithful to You. O God! it is You that we worship, to You that our prayers and our prostrations go, towards You that we return with promptitude. We hope for Your mercy and fear Your anger: for Your goodness. We are grateful for Your favours. We implore your aid and your guidance. We ask for Your protection and your help, for Your宠爱 and Your might. We are thankful for Your kindness and Your mercy. We are grateful for Your protection and Your help. We ask for your protection, O God!"
ly and his Companions!" This text, in a slightly shorter form, is found in Abū Dāwūd (Marāṣīl, htb mā du`a fi-lam nāma `an al-ṣalāt, 12-13), according to whom it was formulated for Abū Mūhammad by Ḏiqrībī himself. As for the Imāmīs, on the contrary, for them the ḳunāʿ is a personal prayer of intercession (du`āʾ), optional and meritorious, which is definitely said during the witr, but which is also said in each of the five daily prayers, while standing, between the Kurʿānic reading of the second rakʿa and the inclination which follows. This Ḡfīr ḳunāʿ is of free content, but certain formulas are frequently used, in particular, the prayer mentioned in Kūr̄ān, ii, 201.

The nocturnal prayer. See ʿahdīqīṣun and, for the prayers specific to the nights of Ramāḍān, ʿaṣāwīṣun.

E. Other supererogatory prayers (naʿṣāfīl).

These are in particular groups of two or four rakʿās, the performance of which is recommended, according to the circumstances, before or after one or other of the five obligatory prayers (cf. al-Ḡawdiḍī, 204 ff.; al-Malāṭwī, 157-8). But it is also possible, for example, to perform the prayer of the morning (ṣalāt al-dūḥā), of two rakʿās at least, its time begins approximately half an hour after the sunrise, and continues until midday (like the prayer of the two feasts).

F. Prayer on a journey (ṣalāt al-musdfīr). The text reads in Kūr̄ān, iv, 101, "And when you are travelling through the land, it is no sin for you to shorten your prayer if you fear lest the unbelievers put you to the test; the unbelievers are for you a declared enemy" (cf. al-Rāzī, xi, 16-23; al-Kūrtūbī, v, 351-62). This verse has been clarified, and its import extended to all journeys, by prophetic traditions, two in particular (Muslim, Musafīrīn, nos. 4, 8). The outcome of later elaborations is that the canonical prayers of zuhr, ʿṣr and ṣaḥr are reduced to two rakʿās (instead of four) during every lawful journey of more than approximately 80 km/50 miles (sixteen parasangs for the Mālikīs and ʿṢāḥīfīs, three days' walking for the Hanafīs). The journey is regarded as continuous unless it is broken by a halt of 15 days, according to the Hanafīs (al-Ḡawdiḍī, 27), or four full days according to the other schools (al-Kūrtūbī, v, 357; al-Malāṭwī, 179-80). The distance alone is taken into consideration, whatever the means of transport, and the duration of the effective displacement. Unlike the other schools, the Hanafīs regard the above-mentioned abridgement, not as something permitted but as a duty (wa`ādīb), as a result of this, in the case of error on the part of the believer in the course of the prayer, or if he performs it behind an imām who is not himself travelling, precise judicial consequences ensue. The prayers of ṣuḥb and of maghābī remain unchanged.

G. The prayer of the eclipse. See ʿALAM KAW." The prayer appealing for rain (ṣalāt al-ʿistisassītā'). This is a communal prayer, the time of which is the same as for the two feasts (above, B). But it takes place in an atmosphere of penitence and of supplication, in ordinary clothing and in the open air. Two rakʿās are performed. At the beginning of each, the imām appeals at length for the pardon of God. He then delivers a double ḡwākī (as in B above), exhorting the congregation to practise good deeds. At the end, facing the kḥīla, he turns his cloak inside out (a symbolic gesture, magical in origin), members of the congregation do the same, and he begs at length for the coming of rain. This ritual is based on the example of Mūḥammad who, in his supplication, raised his hands high towards the sky (cf. the little "books" on istisassītā' which are located in the two ʿṢāḥīfīs, between the prayer of the two feasts and that of the eclipse. See also al-Malāṭwī, 200-1; al-Kūrtūbī, i, 418, xviii, 302, respectively on Kūr̄ān, ii, 60 and LXXI, 10-11). On rogatory rites in pre-Islamic Arabia, see ʾBIST."
Muslims, even those guilty of serious sins, except for “heretics” and declared rebels (ahl al-bida' wa 'l-baghdāti). Although suicide is denounced by Islam, the practice of reciting prayers is performed over those guilty of this, according to al-Ghāwūdji, 180, and al-Malātāwī, 211, 1, 8. For mortuary ablutions and the burial itself, see DIAZĀZA.

V. Ṣalāt and Islam.

A. The position of ṣalāt in relation to other religions. When Islam came into existence, and spread rapidly to the Near and Middle East, it came into contact with, besides traditional cults and gnostic sects, with four organised religions. Rabbinical Judaism, within a liturgical system which was essentially synagogal, already included three daily prayers which the believer is required to recite, even in isolation: at dawn (shaharit), in the afternoon (minḥa) and the evening (arvit). These tefillin have a communal nature which is demonstrated by the use of the plural in their formulas. Syriac (or Byzantine) Christianity, although admittedly less actively manifest than the others, was far from being dead; it was to show itself unexpectedly active in the first two centuries of the caliphal empire. It is known that the Manichaean “hearers (auditores)” (as distinct from the “electi”, to whom they were subordinate) were under an individual obligation to perform four prayers every day at fixed times (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, ed. Taqīddud, 396-7, tr. Bayard Dodge, The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, 790-1; al-Shahrastānī, al-Miṣl al-wa'īl, ed. Badrān, 629, tr. G. Monnot, Livre des religions et des sectes, i, 661). These ritual prayers were a sequence of prostrations, accompanied by praises to higher beings, and punctuated by return to the upright position. The formulas of adoration seem to have been impersonal, but with reference to Mani as “our Guide”, in the plural (ḥādīn in the text of the Fihrist). Mazdeanism, finally, imposed on each Zoroastrian the ritual of five daily prayers, to be said individually at prescribed times (cf. Mary Boyce, Zoroastrians. Their religious beliefs and practices, London 1979, 32-3; eadem, Ṣardshān, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1992, 138-9; J. Duchesne-Guillaum, La religion de l'Iran ancien, Paris 1962, 76, 2).

Five daily prayers: this is the rhythm of ṣalāt. It is known that Ignaz Goldziher saw here, not the simple chronology, but the result of a “Persian” influence (Islamisme et païsisme, in RHR, xxii [1901], 15, repr. in Gesammelte Schriften, Hildesheim 1970, iv, 246). It seems, indeed, inappropriate to attach too much importance to the number of prayers, the result of a collective evolution rather than of deliberate organisation. A comparison between religions would more justly serve as a model of correct practice. Without intermediary or intercession on the earth, the believer acts spiritually only on his own account (cf. Kurān, II, 48; VI, 164; etc.; R. Arnaldez, L'Islam, Paris 1988, 22, 28). This general flavour was to be further accentuated by the Šūfīs. As far as ritual prayer is concerned, even when it is practised communally, the Muslim is alone before God, and unbelief, there is only the abandonment of ritual prayer” (Muslim, Imdān, no. 134); and “He who performs our
ritual prayer, and turns towards our kibla, and eats animals slaughtered according to our manner, he is the Muslim" (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, bāb 28). It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the kibla. By turning from all quarters towards the symbolic place given by God to their Prophet, the Muslims converge, and their prayer thereby acquires, much more than by virtue of the contiguous public performance of this individual rite, a communal nature. It is therefore not surprising that the simple words ahi al-kibla, meaning the people who maintain that prayer must be performed in the direction of the Ka'ba, have often been used to describe the members of the community (cf. Ibn Mājah, Dāna'īx, 31, one of the earliest instances of this usage).

On the other hand, salāt maintains incessantly the link between the Muslim and his Prophet. The latter is mentioned twice in the tasbih, of which the second phrase is addressed directly to him. As for the prayers known as 'Abrahamic' (cf. above, section III. B), they could be called Muhammadan, since the prayer and its sacrificial offering, the performer and the rules governing the ablusion or the combination of daily prayers as well as the performance of other ritual prayers, are based on the personal authority of the Prophet, in other words on the exemplary and inspired practice of the one of whom it is written, "In the Messenger of God, you surely have a fine model" (Kūr'ān, XXXIII, 21; cf. al-Bukhārī, Wūr, bāb 5; Muslim, Mustafirrīn, no. 36). Irrespective of the fact that the Prophet has reported, the rule of the prayer is expressed in the words "I have seen the Prophet do thus" (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, bāb 50; cf. Adānān, bāb 95-6 etc.). In point of fact, salāt is an imitation of Muhammad.

However, the essence of salāt is elsewhere. It is towards God that the Muslim turns his face (cf. Kūr'ān, VI, 79). Hence the value of prayer. It may be asked if prayer and its sacrificial offering, the prayer and the sacrifice of the community, bear the mark of the Prophet. The Kurgan, as has been seen, firmly lays down the principle of salāt and its major characteristics. But almost all the details of its ritual, the temporal limits of its performance, and the rules governing the ablusion or the combination of daily prayers as well as the performance of other ritual prayers, are based on the personal authority of the Prophet, in other words on the exemplary and inspired practice of the one of whom it is written, "In the Messenger of God, you surely have a fine model" (Kūr'ān, XXXIII, 21; cf. al-Bukhārī, Wūr, bāb 5; Muslim, Mustafirrīn, no. 36). Irrespective of the fact that the Prophet has reported, the rule of the prayer is expressed in the words "I have seen the Prophet do thus" (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, bāb 50; cf. Adānān, bāb 95-6 etc.). In point of fact, salāt is an imitation of Muhammad.

The faithful of Islam were directed towards this spiritualisation by baḥīfūn such as the following, recounted by Abū Hurayra: "It is when he is in prostration that the man is closest to his Lord" (Muslim, Salāt, no. 215). Another form of the same tradition, this time recounted by Ibn Maṣṣūd, is mentioned by al-'Tabarsī/Talibīsī, Mofdīna al-bayān, in his commentary on a striking commandment of God to his Messenger, "Prostrate yourself and draw near!" (XCVI, 19). Mystics have specifically applied to ritual prayer the definition of isba by the tashāhhdūf of Gabriel, "Good conduct is to worship God as if you saw Him: for He hears not the words of the heart, but He sees them" (al-Bukhārī, Ḥanīf, bāb 37; Muslim, Ḥanīf, no. 1). Al-Qazālī devoted to ritual prayer the fourth volume of his interpretation of the 'ibādāt in the Iḥyā. Here he insists on humility as the basis of a true prayer, and on the "presence of the heart" which must accompany it throughout. These are the same central perceptions as those shown by al-Rāzī in his commentary on Kūr'ān, XXIX, 45: "Recite that which has been revealed to you of the Book and imitate the ritual prayer, for ritual prayer banishes lewdness and that which is denounced...". The author of the Maṣāfīth al-ṣna'uh poses an analogy: "If a sweeper wore a garment of gold brocade, it would become impossible for him to concern himself with filth. Similarly, the man who performs prayer has put on the garment of religious fear (tashnā), for he stands in the presence of God, the right hand placed over the left hand, in the attitude of one who looks upon a majesty king. The garment of religious fear is the finest of garments: it is more noble for the heart than is gold brocade for the body. Also, the man who wears it cannot concern himself at all with the filth of turpitude" (xviii, 72-3). This king, quite evidently, is the King of the Day of Judgment. This conviction gives meaning to the salāt which numerous Muslims have sought to perform immediately before their death (cf. for example al-Maṣṣūdī, Murujī, §§ 1774, 3361).

The Sūfis were to do nothing in this context other than to develop, sometimes magnificently, the common spirituality of Islam. The central idea being always that of the presence, two lines emerge (cf. ḥalqal and ḥamrah): on the one hand, the presence of God makes it possible to speak to Him in confidence (muṣaddah); on the other the presence before God as on the Day of Judgment. This is the prayer of istikharah. But almost all the details of its ritual, the temporal limits of its performance, and the rules governing the ablusion or the combination of daily prayers as well as the performance of other ritual prayers, are based on the personal authority of the Prophet, in other words on the exemplary and inspired practice of the one of whom it is written, "In the Messenger of God, you surely have a fine model" (Kūr'ān, XXXIII, 21; cf. al-Bukhārī, Wūr, bāb 5; Muslim, Mustafirrīn, no. 36). Irrespective of the fact that the Prophet has reported, the rule of the prayer is expressed in the words "I have seen the Prophet do thus" (al-Bukhārī, Salāt, bāb 50; cf. Adānān, bāb 95-6 etc.). In point of fact, salāt is an imitation of Muhammad.

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In a context of warfare "in the way of God", the text reads in Kur'ān (Abu Dawud, no. 1240; al-Nasa'i, 143-4). The place is mentioned in Nadjd, one hand, the encounter at Dhat al-Rika during the expedition against the Ghatafan, in 4/626, is especially posed, historically, for the prayers of fear. The central question, which includes several gradations, is thus formulated: how many rak'as are there for the prayer of fear as for the prayer of maghrib? It being thus accepted that the imām performs the number of rak'as as the number of groups, the questions remain, how is the whole of the rite organized, and when does each of those praying perform the takbīr of desacralization? The successive rak'as will be designated by the following symbols: A = performed by group A only; B = performed by group B only; MA = performed by group A with Muhammad (or at a later stage with the imām); MB = performed by group B with Muhammad. Theoretically, a dozen or so solutions are possible. In fact, the canonical hadiths present three (appropriate references are given in each case):

MA, MB, B, A: tradition of Ibn 'Umar via his son Sālim (al-Bukhārī, bāb 1; Muslim, no. 305; al-Nasā‘ī, 139-40; al-Tirmīdī, no. 564), followed by certain Mālikī teachers (al-Kurtubī, v, 366-7; Ibn Mas‘ūd (ibid.).


MA, A, MB: a well-known tradition of Sahīh b. Abī Ḥāṣim via Sālih b. Khaqwāt, which comprises two versions:  

— Version transmitted by Yazid b. Rūmān: Muhammad performs the taslim with group B at the very end (Muslim, no. 310; al-Nasā‘ī, 139): this is the doctrine of al-Shāfi‘i and of Ibn Hānbal, according to al-Kurtubī, v, 366.

— Version transmitted by al-Kāsim b. Muhammad: Muhammad performs the taslim after the end of rak'a "MB" (Abū Dāwūd, no. 1239; cf. Muslim, no. 309, and Ibn Mālik, no. 1239); this is the doctrine of Mālik (according to al-Kurtubī) and of al-Malātāwī.

The community of traditionists and jurists acknowledge that these hadiths cannot be harmonized. They record various measures taken by Muhammad in different circumstances, where the requirements of security were not always of the same urgency. Two examples are recalled with particular clarity. On the one hand, the encounter at Dḥāt al-Rikāt, in Najḍ, during the expedition against the Qaṣāfān, in 4/626 (cf. Ibn Ḥiṣaṃ, l, 662; al-Tirmīdī, i, 1454-5; al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūq, § 1489). The place is mentioned in the tradition of Sahīh b. Abī Ḥāṣim, also for example in the tradition of Abū Ḥurayra (al-Nasā‘ī, 141). The enemy was then located in the direction opposite to the kibla; while performing the prayer, the Muslims then turned their backs towards the adversary, put-
ting themselves in the greatest danger. On the other hand, on an occasion when the Muslims, at Usfān, confronted an enemy band commanded by Khalid b. al-Walīd, the enemy was located in the direction of the house of a madman where this situation applied (traditions of Abū ʿAyyāb al-Zurākī, in Abū Dāwūd, no. 1236; al-Nasāʾī, 144-5).

The “prayer of fear” is specifically Muslim. However, the conflict between the duty, the desire or the need to pray on the one hand, and on the other the necessity of fighting, may be encountered in other religions. In the context, not of prayer admittedly, but of an act considered important, this situation applied during the restoration of the walls of the Holy City, ca. 445 C.E.: “From that day forward half the men under me were engaged in the actual building, while the other half stood by holding their spears, shields and bows, and wearing coats of mail; and officers supervised all the people of Judah who were engaged on the wall” (Neḥ. iv, 16, tr. NEB).

Thus far, consideration has been given to the obvious exceptions applied to the prayer rite in order to permit its observance “in assembly” in proximity to the enemy, on the very solid basis of Qurʾān, IV, 102. But also quoted, at the outset, was another passage: “If you fear [an attack, pray] on foot or on horseback” (II, 239). In commenting on it, Fakhr al-Dīn correctly observes: “The prayer of fear is of two kinds. The first, when one is in a position of combat, and this is what is envisaged by this verse. The second, when one is not (yet) in a position of combat, is that which is mentioned in the surat al-Nisāʾ (IV)” (al-Rāzī, vi, 154). Once battle has been engaged or is imminent, in the presence of the enemy, there is a duty, according to Abū Hanīfa, to delay the prayer until the situation is more favourable. But al-ʿSāḥīfī and Mālik firmly assert, on the contrary, that prayer should be observed at its proper time, during the battle itself, individually, even when mounted, with the understandable reduction to two rakʿās of the prayers which normally comprise four, and with two considerable relaxations of the ritual prescriptions. The first is, in case of necessity, abandonment of the kibla. The second is the replacement of bowings and prostrations by their īmā (cf. the tradition related by Ibn ʿUmar, in al-Bukhārī, bāb 2 and Muslim, no. 306, and that related by al-Awzāʾī, in al-Bukhārī, bāb 4). This means that it is sufficient to signify the corresponding act by its outline. The body or the head is slightly inclined to symbolise and signify ritual bowing; a rather deeper inclination represents prostration. These relaxations of the rite are not isolated; on the contrary they are related to similar dispositions concerning the prayer of the traveller and that of the invalid. Thus Islamic law contains precedents which could be used to find solutions to other problems.

Bibliography: See the bibliography to SALĀT, and in particular Kurṭubī, iii, 223-6, v, 364-73; Malātāwī, 193-4; Rāzī, vi, 153-6, xi, 24-7. As for the four works of Šafīʿ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, vols. Cairo 1948/1930, ii, 11-18; Ibn Māǧīd, ed. M.F. ʿAbd al-Bākī, 2 vols., Cairo 1391/1972, i, 399-400; Naṣāʾī, 10 vols., Cairo 1383/1964, iii, 136-46; Tirmīdī, ed. Ahmad Muhammad ʿṢāḥīr, 5 vols., Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 453-7. (G. Monnot)

ŠALĀWAT [see TAŠLIYAH].
AL-SALĀWĪ [see AL-NĀʿIR AL-SALĀWĪ].
ŠAL (a.), “crucifixion”. In Islamic doctrine and practice, it refers to a criminal punishment in which the body of the criminal, either living or dead, is affix-
SALDJUKIDS, a Turkish dynasty of medieval Islam which, at the peak of its power during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, ruled over, either directly or through vassal princes, a wide area of Western Asia from Transoxania, Farghāna, the Semireчье and Khārazm in the east to Anatolia, Syria and the Hijāz in the west. From the core of what became the Great Saljuk empire, subordinate lines of the Saljuk family maintained themselves in regions like Kirmān (till towards the end of the 6th/12th century), Syria (till the opening years of the 6th/12th century) and Rûm or Anatolia (till the beginning of the 8th/14th century) (see below, section III).

I. The historical significance of the Saljukš

II. Origins and early history

III. The various branches of the Saljukš

1. The Great Saljukš of Persia and Írāk
2. The Saljukš of Western Persia and Írāk
3. The Saljukš of Kirmān
4. The Saljukš of Syria
5. The Saljukš of Rûm

IV. Intellectual and religious history

1. In Persia and Írāk
2. In Anatolia

V. Administrative, social and economic history

1. In Persia and Írāk
2. In Anatolia

VI. Art and architecture

1. In Persia
2. In Anatolia

VII. Literature

1. In Persia and Írāk
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VIII. Numismatics

1. In Persia and Írāk
2. In Anatolia

I. The historical significance of the Saljukš

The appearance of the Saljukš undoubtedly marks a change in the course of the history of the central and eastern Islamic lands, but the nature and extent of this change, affecting a wide range of aspects of both material and religio-cultural life, are not easy to evaluate and have given rise to controversy (see below).

The Saljukš arrived on the scene of the Islamic world only a few decades after the practical and moral authority of the 'Abbāsid caliphs in Baghdad had reached its lowest ebb under the political and military tutelage of the Shī'ī Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS]. At the same time, many of the petty Arab principalities of Írāk, al-Djazira and northern Syria were also Shī'ī, but the most serious threat of all came from the constituting of the rival Ismā'īlī Shī'ī caliphate in North Africa, Egypt and southern Syria of the Fātimids, still in a militant, expansionist stage and with a capital, Cairo, which was beginning to outstrip Baghdad in material and intellectual splendour alike.

The installation of the Turkish Saljukš in Persia, Írāk, al-Djazira and northern Syria reversed this apparently unrelenting march of political Shī'ism, and it was to be another four centuries or so before Shī'ism would be able permanently to affect the religious complexion of large stretches of the northern tier of the Middle East, sc. Persia and eastern Anatolia (and, somewhat paradoxically, through the agency of further Turkish/Turkmen elements there, notably through the Şafawids and their Kızılbaşh followers). The Saljukš were Sunnī, and Hanafī in madhhab, who wished to replace existing powers in Persia, including the Ghaznavids and the generally Shī'ī Daylamī dynasties of northern and western Perßa (at the same time, by the removal of the last remaining of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, a certain amount of pressure and constriction) without, however, the fruits of military and political victory, which they now wished to enjoy themselves. This explains why, although al-Kā'im welcomed Toghril Beg’s appearance at the outset, subsequent relations between the ʿAbbāsids and the Great Saljukš were not always smooth. The caliph soon found that they had little more freedom to manoeuvre than they had had under the Būyids. They only came into their own only during the middle years of the 6th/12th century, when they were able to show increased independence of mind and of freedom of action vis-à-vis the declining Saljukš.

This revival of the caliphate was to be transitory; both ʿAbbāsids and Saljukš were shortly to be swept away by new, dynamic forces from the East, notably the Khārazmshāhs and above all the Mongols. Yet through the co-existence for something like 130 years of the two dynasties the conditions were created for the development within Islam, even if dictated by practical necessity, of the concept of the caliph-imām as spiritual and moral leader and the sultan, in this case the Saljuk one, as secular, executive leader of a large proportion of the Muslims (see further, KHALIFA. (i) n; SULTAN; and below, section V. 1).

The irruption of the Saljukš into the Islamic lands was only the beginning of a prolonged movement of peoples from Inner Asia into the Middle East, one which was to have long-term social and economic as well as political and constitutional effects. Whilst many of the Turkmen elements percolating into northern Persia all through the Saljuk period passed on to Anatolia, others became part of the increasing nomadic and transhumant population of Persia and the central Arab lands, and this process became accelerated in the time of the succeeding invaders mentioned above, sc. the Khārazmshāhs and Mongols, through the movements of Turco-Mongol peoples. There resulted a transformation of land utilisation, social organisation and ethnic composition in the territories affected, associated with new systems of land tenure such as the šāhâd and the later sayyahrāl [q. v.], and with the pastoralisation of extensive areas of the northern tier of the Middle East, so that many of the Turk (or their Abbasid and Saldjuk successors) and the Mongol tribesmen became integral parts of the population there, previously mainly Persian and Arab, bringing with them their languages. The use of these land grants to support professional soldiers, and the availability of reservoirs of tribal manpower, first of all in the Saljuk period buttressed the authority of the sultans and their epigon, the atabegs [see ATABAK], but in the course of time it led to the political and military domination of Turkish dynasts or military leaders from Bengal to Algiers.

A further effect of the assumption of political leadership by the Great Saljukš lay in the consolidation of Sunni authority as the dominant ethos of rule in the central Islamic lands. Although barbaritans at the outset (and the first Saljuk sultans, at least in Persia and Írāk, remained substantially unlettered), these Turks knew how to make the best of the exist¬ing Persian and Arab administrative structures already in place, and the viziers and officials whom they employed, such as al-Kunduri, Nizām al-Mulk and al-Tughrâl [q. v.], shed as much lustre on their masters as had done the great viziers of the 4th/10th century on their Būyid employers. Culturally, the constituting of the Saljuk empire marked a further
step in the dethronement of Arabic from being the sole lingua franca of educated and polite society in the Middle East. Coming as they did through a Transoxania which was still substantially Iranian and into Persia proper, the Saldjûks—though no high-level Turkish cultural or literary heritage of their own—took over that of Persia, so that the Persian language became that of administration and culture in their lands of Persia and Anatolia. The Persian culture of the Rûm Saldjûks was particularly splendid, and it was only gradually that Turkish emerged there as a parallel language in the fields of government and adab [q.v.]; the Persian imprint on Ottoman civilisation was to remain a prominent until the 19th century.

The region of the Middle East where the coming of the Saldjûks was to have the most immediate and obvious impact, with enduring political, religious and cultural effects which are strongly visible today, was Anatolia. Here the Saldjûk sultanate of Rûm based on Konya and other Turkish principalities in northern and eastern Anatolia took over the greater part of the former Byzantine and Armenian territories of Asia Minor. It was in this region that the geographical designation Turkey/Turcia, etc., first appears specifically in Western European usage at the time of the Third Crusade of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1187-92) (thus according to Cl. Cahen, "Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and cultural history c. 1071-1330," London 1968, 144-5).

The details of the Saldjûks' part in the gradual Turkification of Asia Minor will be considered below under section III. 5; see also ANADOLU. i. i. But it should be noted that the consolidation of the Saldjûk sultanate of Rûm as the political, cultural, religious and geographical predecessor of the modern Turkish Republic, has been a salient point in the assessment of the general importance of the Saldjûks in Middle Eastern history by contemporary Turkish historians. Over some half-a-century, the role of the Saldjûks as the first Turkish, Islamic power to establish itself in the heartlands of the Islamic world (ignoring dynasties on the far peripheries like the Ghaznavids in Afghanistan and India and the Karâkhânids in Transoxania) has been the starting-point for much analysis and speculation by these Turkish scholars. In part, this has been a reaction against 19th century European views, those formed in the light of the Greek and Bulgarian liberation movements of the late 19th century onwards were unplanned plunder raids or part of a pre-planned grand strategy going back to the early decades of the century, a reasoning put forward by some Turkish nationalist historians (see further, below, section III. 1. 5).

These discussions have arisen out of the process, common enough in the recent history of central and eastern Europe as well as of Turkey, in which historical, linguistic and nationalist feelings are used as a formative impulsive in, or as a justification for, the consolidation of the existing state pattern (see H. Kohn, "The idea of nationalism, a study in its origins and background," New York 1961, 324-5, 329-31). As forming a fascinating case study, they have attracted the attention and the analyses of Western orientalists, notably of Martin Strohmeyer, Seldschuksische Geschichte und türkische Geschichtswissenschaft. Die Seldschuken im Umriss der modernen Türkischer Historiker, Berlin 1984, who surveys the whole topic in great detail, and of Gary Leiser in his useful A history of the Seljûks. Ibrahim Kafesoglu's interpretation and the resulting controversy. Translated, edited and with an introduction ..., Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. 1988, which makes available in an annotated English translation Kafesoglu's lengthy 14 article on the dynasty plus the views of other Turkish scholars involved in Saldjûk history, notably Osman Turan and Ahmet Atum 

II. Origins and early history

The Saldjûks were in origin a family group or clan of the Oghûz Turkish people. The Tokûz Oghûz or "nine tribes of the Oghûz" formed part of the early Göktürk empire of the early 8th century, and as such
are mentioned in that empire's royal annals, the Orkhon [q.v.] inscriptions. When that empire was already in the opening decades of the 4th/10th century; and with their appearance on the northern fringes of the Sāmānids amirate later in that century, they enter the full light of Islamic history [see Quz].

(Following one of the conventional Western spellings, Saldjuk is used here in the El. However, Barthold pointed out (Turkistan, 257 n. 1; Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale, Paris 1945, 80) that the former spelling (Seldjuk or Selcük) is the more frequent in the form of rules of vowel harmony in Turkish languages and that Mahmūd Kāshghārī in his Dīwān lughāt al-Turk (ed. Kilisli Rifâ’at Bey, ii, 397, tr. Atalay, i, 428) spells the name with kāf and presumably front vowels, i.e. Seldjuk or Saldjuk, with similar spellings in the Kitāb Dele Đekorot and other texts. P. Pelliot, in his Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples en -arl-ar, urlur,-irlir, in Oeuvres posthumes, Paris 1949, ii, 176-7 n. 2, took a similar line: "si je donnerais une transcription scientifique, je parlerais des Saldjuk". On the other hand, the spelling with kāf and implied back vowels is very old in the Arabic-script sources and in such Armenian writings, Saldjuk is used here in the

Within the Öghuz people, the leading tribe was that of the Kınık, from whom their princes sprang, according to Kāshghārī again (i, 56, tr. i, 55). The Saldjuk family or kin-group (it does not seem in origin to have been a much greater social group) came from the Kınık; later, when the Saldjaks had achieved power in Persia, attempts were made to give the family a glorious past, and Togrul Beg's official Abu l-ʿAlāʾ ibn Masʿūd [q.v.] likened them with the legendary Turkish king Afrasiyāb. On somewhat more certain historical ground, during the 4th/10th century, the Saldjuk leaders (called Saldjuk b. Dukak b. Temüür Yalğız "Iron bow") seems to have held the office of Sū Bashi or military commander, at the side of the Yabğhu. Because of dissensions, the Saldjaks fled with their herds from the Yabğhu to Dījand [q.v. in Suppl.] on the lower Syr Darya, and it was in this region that the Saldjaks divided, and that his family and his followers became Muslim; the hostility of these two branches of the Kınık was not resolved till 433/1041, when the Saldjaks, by then victorious in Khurasan and Khᵛārazm, drove out from the latter province the Yabğhu 'Allî's son and successor Shâh Malik (see Barthold, Turkestan, 177-8, 256-7; Bosworth, op. cit., 210-19).

Now on the borders of Khᵛārazm and Transoxania, the Saldjaks and other Öghuz bands hired out their military services, to the Sāmānids [q.v.], by this time in increasing difficulties, to the latter's eventual supplacers north of the Oxus, the Karakhanids [see İlek kiân] and to the local rulers in Khᵛārazm, moving into the steppe fringes of these regions and into the Kara Kum [q.v.] in what is now the Turkmenistan Republic. At the outset, the Saldjaks were led by the three sons of Saldjuk, Mușa, Mīkārî and Arslan Ḳarīb [see Arslan b. Saldjuk] (and possibly by a fourth one, Yūsuf) and, from the next generation, Togrul Beg Muḥammad and Qajarī Beg Dāwūd [q.v.].

Bands of Öghuz were scattered after a defeat by Sultan Muḥammad of Ghazna [q.v. in 428/1029 throughout Khurasan and northern Persia (the so-called "İraṭî Turkmens", but whether a raid as far as Adharbāyjān and Armenia under Qajarī Beg had taken place some ten years earlier is uncertain (though upheld as such by a nationalist-minded historian like R.L. Canfield, Turko-Turkmens moving into the steppe fringes of these regions and in 426/1035 the Saldjaks and their followers were asking Masʿūd b. Muḥammad [q.v.] for a grant of Naṣār, Farāwā and Sārānj [q.v.], and their pasture lands on the northern rim of Khurasan. Over the next few years, they infiltrated Khurasan and raided westwards into northern Persia, their lightly-armed and highly-mobile cavalrymen proving more than a match for the more heavily-armed but cumbersome Ghaznavid army, so that with the defeat of Masʿūd b. Dānānkān [q.v. in Suppl.] in 431/1040, the Saldjaks were soon able to overrun Khurasan and then to sweep into the remainder of Persia. We need not assume that the actual numbers of the Turkmen were very large, for the ways of life possible in the steppes meant that there were natural and environmental limitations on the numbers of the nomads. Yuri Bregel has implied, working from the 16,000 Öghuz mentioned by the Ghaznavid historian Bayhaḵī as present on the battle field of Dānānkān (Tārīḵ-i Masʿūdī, ed. Ghāni and Fayyād, Tehran 1324/1945, 619), that we should probably assume, in this instance, a ratio of one fighting man to four other followers, to the Samanids [q.v.], for the steppes which had been not altogether familiar to the Turkmen bands moving into the steppe fringes of these regions and in what is now the Turkmenistan Republic. At the outset, the Saldjaks were led by the three sons of Saldjuk, Mușa, Mīkārî and Arslan Ḳarīb [see Arslan b. Saldjuk] (and possibly by a fourth one, Yūsuf) and, from the next generation, Togrul Beg Muḥammad and Qajarī Beg Dāwūd [q.v.].

But various Kurdish and Daylamī dynasties of the Casspian regions and Dībāl were now attacked, although the process of overcoming the more powerful and long-established Būyids in Fars and İraṭ was slower. It was not until 447/1055 that Togrul was first able to enter Baghdaḏ and depose the Būyid prince al-Malik al-Raḥim Khūstraw Frīz [q.v.], and the last Būyids to rule in southern Persia lost their power only a few years later. What had helped the Saldjaks much to triumph, A.K.S. Lambton has suggested, were their obvious leadership qualities combined with a certain level of sophistication derived from a past in the steppes which had been not altogether unfamiliar with urban life in, for example, the towns on the lower Syr Darya; hence they were able to lead the Öghuz bands towards the towns and cities of the settled organism, the sultanate in Persia and İraṭ, than those Öghuz who stayed behind in the steppes between the Syr Darya and the lower Volga, what were later called the Kıpçak steppes (Aspects of Saldjuk-Ghuzz settlement in Persia, in D.S. Richards (ed.), Islamic civilisation 950-1150, Oxford 1973, 111).

Togrul had already adopted something of the style
of an independent ruler during his first, temporary occupation of Nishapur [as], the capital of Khurasan. Tughril was to exult in his role of deliverer of the caliph from the pressure of Turkish, troops, and from the Ghaznavids, whose division of authority, within the central and eastern provinces of the empire as appanages from Seljuk predecessors in the East, both from the Samanids, with their aristocratic Iranian background but a military dependence on professional, largely slave Turkish, troops, and from the Ghaznavids, ephemeral, of slave origin and dependent on a purely professional, salaried standing army; likewise, their opponents in the West, the Buyids and Fatimids, had come to depend upon professional, multi-ethnic armies. The sultans did not prove to be wholly exempt from the pressures arising out of the ethos of power in the Middle East at this time; they endeavoured to increase their own authority and to some extent to marginalise the Turkmen tribal elements, yet these last remained strong within the empire, and on occasions, powerful enough to aspire, through their favoured candidates for the supreme office of sultan, to a controlling influence in the state.

In any case, the sultans, especially those of the 5th/11th century, could not divest themselves completely of their steppe origins, and we have no reason to think that they wished completely to do so. Tughril, Caghri and Alp Arslan had grown up with the unassimilated, tribally-organised Oghuz tribe, and when they became Islamic territorial rulers they were nevertheless careful still to observe tribal law and custom when those did not clash with their new roles as sultans (but for an occasion when the new Islamic principles firmly overrode tribal custom, see below, section III.1). Sanjar, having within his Khurâsân dominions substantial groups of still unassimilated, tribally-organised Oghuz, was likewise conscious of his dual position. One later Turkish source states that, in accordance with ancient practice, he gave the right wing of his army to the Kayf and Bayat clans of the Oghuz and the left wing to the Bayindir and Buine (Muntazzab-i tavârik-i saljûkây, quoted by I.H. Uzuncarsili, Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtı ve mütadele, Istanbul 1941, 22-4). Several administrative documents from the period illustrate Sanjar's care to regulate his relations with his Ghuzz subjects; cf. Lambton, The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the 4Atabat al-kataba, in BSOAS, xxviii (1957), 382, and eadem, Aspects of Seljûq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia, 109-11. During Malik Shâh's reign, the great vizier of Alp Arslan and Malik Shâh, Nizâm al-Mulk, commented in his Şûşû-nâmâ, § 26, that the sultans had obligations towards their former backers, the Turkmen tribal leaders, or the central political authorities in the state apparatus amidst the trends towards administrative and military centralisation and professionalism (see also Lambton, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 246-7). The persistence of influences from the Oghuz tribal past is seen in the sultans' policy of allotting various provinces of the empire as appanages from Seljuk male relatives who had a claim, by virtue of seniority or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Tughril's brother Çaghri had from the time of the Dandankan victory been left with control of parts of Afghanistan that had been left with control of Afghanistan or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Tughril's brother Çaghri had from the time of the Dandankan victory been left with control of Afghanistan or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Tughril's brother Çaghri had from the time of the Dandankan victory been left with control of regions to which they had rights, or to which they had claims, that were not immediately under the authority of the sultan of the Seljuks. The persistence of influences from the Oghuz tribal past is seen in the sultans' policy of allotting various provinces of the empire as appanages from Seljuk male relatives who had a claim, by virtue of seniority or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Tughril's brother Çaghri had from the time of the Dandankan victory been left with control of Afghanistan or experience, to some share in the material advantages of power. Tughril's brother Çaghri had from the time of the Dandankan victory been left with control of regions to which they had rights, or to which they had claims, that were not immediately under the authority of the sultan of the Seljuks.
in fact, at least at the outset, and that this equality in status was recognised by symbols on their coins." Caghri died in 452/1060, and his son Alp Arslan, already active laterly in the affairs of the East, took over power there; after Toghril's death in 455/1063, he moved westwards and assumed supreme direction of the Saldjuk empire; all subsequent rulers of the Great Saldjuk line and the Saldjuk rulers in 'Irak and western Persia sprang from Alp Arslan. A further brother of Toghril's and Caghri's, Musa Bighu or Payghu [see PAYGHU], was left to bring under his control as much as possible of Transoxiana, at that time ruled by the Malikis of Nirmuz of the Nasrid line [see NIRMUZ]. Caghri's eldest son Kawurd [q.v.] was to expand southwards through Kuhiştan to Kirmān, and in fact founded the largely autonomous Saldjuk amirate in Kirmān which was to last for nearly a century and a half (see below, II, 4). Other members of the Saldjuk family also received grants: Ibrāhīm Inal or Yinal (who may have been a cousin and half-brother on his mother's side to Toghril but whose precise position within the family is not wholly clear, cf. V. Minorsky, Apallta/Inal, in RO, xvii [1951-2], 5-6) received Kuhiştan, and Kutlumüş (or Kutumış) b. Arslan Irsarł received Gurğan and Kūmis, whilst the sons of Caghri, Yākūt and Alp Arslan, accompanied Toghril westwards at this time.

Over the following years, there was much discontent within the Saldjuk family over the idea of father-son descent from Caghri to Alp Arslan and then to Malik Şah. Already during Toghril's lifetime, Ibrāhīm Inal and two of his nephews had rebelled unsuccessfully against Toghril (451/1060). When Alp Arslan claimed the throne of the whole Saldjuk dominions in 455/1063, his uncle Kutlumuş revolted at Sāva [q.v.] in the next year, voicing the old Turkish idea of the seniorate, the right of the eldest suitable male relative to have the supreme leadership; and when Malik Şah succeeded to power in 455/1072, his uncle Ākwūrd rebelled, but was executed at the prompting of Niẓām al-Mulk. As some compensation for the rejection of Kutlumuş's claim, Alp Arslan deflected the latter's son Sulaṃyān, together with other Turkmen elements who were imbued with the spirit of plunder and ghazw and who were probably impatient of the increasingly centralised direction of the state, westwards into Anatolia, where grew new variants of earlier ideas in the wake of the Saldjuk victory over the Byzantines in 463/1071 of Malāczgird [q.v.]. In this way, there eventually came into being the Saldjuk sultanate of Rūm based on Konya (see below, section III, 5).

**Bibliography:** A good survey of both primary and secondary sources (to ca. 1960) is to be found in the Bōbī. to Cl. Cahen's art. ghuzz; especially to be noted is Cahen's further article Le Malik-bâk-ehn et l'empire des seldjoucs, in Oriens, ii (1949), 31-65, which brings together information from the lost Malik-nāma (which was probably written for the young prince Alp Arslan shortly after the death of his father Caghri Beg in 452/1060); see also Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 219) preserved in ʻAdr al-Dīn al-ʻAluṣaynī, Ibn al-Athīr, Barhebraeus and Mīrakhāzīd. Of additional and/or subsequent secondary sources, see R. Grousset, L'empire des seldjoucs (1977); L. Ofar, in Tarkonian Studies of Turkish and Turkmen Studies (Kafesoglu); W. Barthold, Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. A history of the Turkish people, Leiden 1962, 99-102; C.E. Bosworth, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 15-23, 42 ff.; M.A. Köymen, Büyûk Seljûkî mahaverləri tarihi. i. Kurbulu deori, Ankara 1979; P.B. Golden, in Camb. hist. of early In-
over the local maliks in the nearby province of Sistan. When the childless Toghril died, Çağrı's son Alp Arslan, who had been governing the province of Khurasan since his father's death, succeeded to the Saldjuk sultanate and another brother, Sulaymān, the great commanders of the Saldjuk army, and certainly Alp Arslan's vizier Nizām al-Mulk, seem to have felt that the interests of the Saldjuk family and of their followers—and perhaps even the interests of the Saldjuk dominions, if such a sophisticated and prescient attitude may be attributed to their new ruling class—would best be served by a strong, unified rule; hence Alp Arslan became supreme sultan of all the Saldjuk lands. His ten years' reign (455-65/1063-73) and the twenty years' one of his son and successor Malik Şah (465/1073-92) mark the zenith of the Great Saldjuk sultanate. Both rulers kept control over their far-flung territories by living lives of ceaseless journeying through the lands and campaigning on their borders.

The threat of economic dislocation to the agricultural prosperity of Persia was alleviated by the deflection of the Turkmens and their herds westwards, against the Christian princes of the Caucasus and Anatolia, and Alp Arslan attached such importance to these projects that he fought in Georgia and Armenia personally in 456/1064 and 460/1068. Hence during their reigns, Persia and 'Irāk enjoyed considerable agricultural and commercial prosperity.

Behind the two sultans stood the vizier Nizām al-Mulk, whose influence was so marked and all-pervasive in the state that a later historian like Ibn al-Athīr calls his thirty years of office al-dawla al-Nizāmīyya. Alp Arslan never himself visited Baghādād, but the Saldjuk presence was upheld there by a shihna or military governor, usually one of the Turkish commanders in the Saldjuk army of slave origin. During his reign, relations with the caliph were on the whole more cordial than they had been in Toghril's time and the sultan was strong enough to exclude the Abbāsids caliph from secular affairs in 'Irāk, but day-to-day relations between the two powers were conducted through their respective viziers. The marriage alliance with the caliphate in 480/1087, when al-Muktaḍī married one of Malik Şah's daughters, did not bring about the expected harmony, and shortly before he died Malik Şah set about making Baghādād his winter capital and may even have toyed with the idea of deposing the caliph in order to replace him with his infant grandson, the offspring of the marriage just mentioned.

Externally, Malik Şah inherited his father's concern about the northeastern territories, the regions of special Turkmen concentration, Adharbājān and Arrān, which he placed under his cousin Iṣmā'īl b. Yaḳūt b. Çağrı's governorship, and he himself led campaigns against Georgia. But the policy of expansion into Anatolia by the sons of Quṭlumush b. Arslan Iṣrā'īl, Sulaymān and Mansasr, who by 474/1081 were raiding as far as Iznik and the shores of the Sea of Marmara, was not an official one by the Saldjuk sultanate but the result of private enterprise by these cousins of the sultan, acting outside his own sphere of control, an enterprise which he did not necessarily regard with any great approval. Of more pressing importance to Malik Şah was the upholding of Saldjuk authority in al-Djazira and Syria against the local Arab amirates there, some of which were Şīfī and therefore possibly pro-Fātimid in sentiment. From the Saldjuk bases in 'Irāk and Syria (the latter province dominated after 471/1078 by Malik Şah's brother Tutuḡ) the sultan towards the end of his life secured the muḥta for the 'Abbāsids from the
venal Sharifs of Mecca and set about extending Saljūq power down the west coast of Arabia into the Ḥijāz and to Yemen and down the east coast into al- Ḥāsh. projects permanently cut short his death. He was the other end of the empire. Malik Shāh had invaded Transoxania in 466/1073-4 in retaliation for a Karakhanid attack on Ṭūkhārīstān prompted by Alp Arslan's death. He now in 482/1090 intervened militarily again in Transoxania in order to uphold Saljūq overlordship, at a point when the Karakhanid realm was internally troubled, and he even received the homage of the eastern Karakhanid ruler of Khurasan on his own terms. An…

Muhammad, undisputed sultan 498-511/1105-18, succeeded in re-asserting a good measure of control over the empire, with action against the Assassins in Dībāl and Daylam, and in 501/1108 he overthrew the Shīʿī Mazyadīd amīr of Hilla in central ʿIrāq, Ṣadāka b. Mansūr [see MAZYAD, BANI], thereby gaining the preponderance in ʿIrāq. Muhammad was, indeed, the last Great Saljūq sultan to rule the whole western parts of the empire with any degree of firmness, having left his brother Sandjar in Khūrāsān as his viceroy, with the title of malik. When Muhammad died, Sandjar was the senior member of the dynasty, and although it had been the practice over some eighty years for the supreme sultanate to be held by the Saljūqs who controlled western Persia and ʿIrāk, Sandjar’s seniority gave him a kind of de facto calling rendering the Turkish tribal custom. He had first been appointed as governor of Khūrāsān by Berk-yaruk, and Sandjar’s coins minted up to 493/1100 acknowledge Berk-yaruk as his suzerain; but after that date, he had transferred his allegiance to Muhammad (see N.M. Lowick, Seljuq coins, in NC, 7th ser., vol. x [1970], 244-6). He now assumed the role of supreme sultan, a move which the weaker, quarrelling sons of Muhammad were unable to oppose, so that Sandjar’s name was generally placed on their coins before their own; thus a date minted early in his reign by Mahmūd (II) b. Muhammad, sultan in western Persia and ʿIrāk (511-25/1118-31), attribute to Sandjar the title al-Sulṭān al-Muʿazzam but simply give Mahmūd’s own name and patronymic.

Aḥmad Sandjar thus became ruler over northern Persia and Khūrāsān, whilst his nephew Mahmūd tried to maintain his authority in western Persia and ʿIrāk over his unruly brothers (see below, 2). Sandjar brought Mahmūd, who was reluctant to acknowledge his uncle’s supreme authority, to heel by defeating him in battle near Sāwa [q.v.] in 513/1119. Henceforth, Mahmūd, and then his successors Toghrill (II) (526-9/1132-4) and Masʿūd (529-47/1134-52), remained clearly his vassals, with the title of sultans but in reality with the status of maliks; only latterly, during the period of Sandjar’s preoccupation with affairs in Transoxania and Khuruṣān, did Masʿūd attain somewhat more freedom of action. Even so, the passage of time and the unprecedented length of Sandjar’s rule in the east, first as malik and then as supreme sultan, in general strengthened Sandjar’s moral authority within the dynasty.

Sandjar continued the policy of Berk-yaruk and Muhammad by launching attacks on the Ismāʿīlīs of both Daylam and Kuhistān after the death in 518/1124 of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāb, but without seriously affecting these sectarians’ power in those localities. He also endeavoured, both as malik and then as sultan, to retain the Saljūq overlordship established beyond the northeastern borders of the Saljūq empire by his father Malik Shāh, who had made the Karakhanids of Transoxania his tributaries. He placed Arslan Khān Muhammad on the throne of Samarqand in 495/1092 and confirmed the religious leadership in Buhkharā of the šāhs of the Al-ī Burhān [see SADR AL-SUDUR], but at the end of Arslan Khān’s long reign, Sandjar once more appeared at Samarkand and placed a fresh nominee on the Karakhanid throne. In neighbouring Khürāzim, the Turkish Shāhs of the line of Anūṣh- tīqīn Qaraḫānī [see KHURAZM-SHĀH] ruled also as...
Sandjar's vassals; Khūt al-Dīn Muhammad b. Anūṣṭūgin always remained respectful towards the Saldjuk sultan, but his son Atsiz had his own ambitions and in 533/1138 rebelled openly against Sandjar's overlordship. The latter led expeditions against him on this and on subsequent occasions, but events were soon to prove that Saldjūk resources were overstretched in attempting to keep up any degree of military control beyond the Oxus. More lasting, however, was the assertion of Saldjūk suzerainty over, and the communication of a strong Saldjūk cultural influence within, the Ghaznavid sultanate in Afghanistan and northeastern India, when the sultan in 510/1117 placed his protégé Bahram Shāh on the throne of Ghazna.

The catalyst for the ending of Saldjūk influence beyond the Oxus was the appearance within the Islamic lands there of a new power, the pagan Kara Khitay [q.v.] from northern China, who moved against Transoxania, provoking Sandjar to intervene as suzerain of the threatened Karakhānids there. But in Khurasan b. Malik Shāh, but then the Kara Khitay (who soon showed that they had no ambitions south of the Oxus), were arising in the east, e.g. the Khārazm Shāhs and the Ghurids [q.v.] from central Afghanistan. But it was stresses and discontents within the Karakhānids which, despite Sandjar's attempts to stay attuned to Turkmen feeling there (see above, section II), brought his rule there to a dismal and painful end. Following the first attacks; but when it passed to his son Mahmud, they split up that unity and destroyed its cohesion. They claimed a share with him in the power, and left him only a bare subsistence*. He likewise asserts that, by the time of his death in 525/1131, Mahmud had got through the treasury of eighteen million dinars plus estates, jewels, clothing, etc., left by his father (al-Bundārī, 134-5, 155-6).

The general tendency during these years of civil strife between the sons of Muhammad was for the sultan to exercise authority in Irāk and southern Dībāl, but to have little beyond these regions; thus during Mahmud's reign (511-25/1118-31), Toghūrī held northern Dībāl and the Caspian provinces and Mahmud was never able to dislodge him, whilst Masʿūd held Ardharbāyjān, Mawsil and al-Djazira. Even within Irāk, Mahmūd's position was challenged by local powers there like the Mazyadids and ambitious commandors like Imād al-Dīn Zangī (see on this last, H.A.R. Gibb, Zengi and the fall of Edessa, in A history of the Crusades, i, 449-62), so that the Saldjūk hold on Irāk tended to be confined to the central part only. Anūṣṭūgin, again, noted how Sandjar had appropriated all the northern Persian provinces as iṣā's, most of Fārs and Khuzistān was held by Mahmūd's rival Saldjūk Shāh, and how the Mazyadid Dābūs b. Šadaḵ held much of southern and central Irāk, so that the sultan was left with only an exiguous amount of territory from which he could grant iṣā's to his supporters, and had to resort to arbitrary confiscations (al-Bundārī, 134-5). The preoccupations of the Saldjūks within their own territories allowed the Christian Georgians, under the great David “the Restorer”, to recover ground in eastern Transcaucasia [see al-Kūrjī]. A longer-term trend was that Saldjūk dissensions gave the ʿAbbāsids an opportunity to increase their military effectiveness and secular power during the course of the 6th/12th century, under the forceful rule of such figures as al-Mustaṣfārid (512-29/1118-35 [q.v.]), al-Muqtāfī (530-55/1136-63) and, above all, al-Muṣṭaṣfārī (575-622/1180-1225 [q.v.]). Their lengthy periods of rule contrasted with the frequent changes in the holders of power within the sultanate, and these caliphs were moreover served by capable viziers such as ʿAwn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra and his son ʿIzz al-Dīn [see Ibn Hubayra] dedicated to raising the effectiveness of the

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caliphate in the politics of the age. Accordingly, it became more and more difficult for the Saldjûks to maintain what they had come to regard as their rights in Baghûsh by increasing the payment of tribute to them by the caliphs and the maintenance of a ṣibâna within the city. The high points of Saldjûk authority at this time were reached in 529/1135, when Mas'ûd b. Muhammad (529-47/1134-52) defeated the caliph al-Mustansîr outside Hamadân, soon after which the caliph was mysteriously killed in the sultan's camp; and in 530/1136, when Mas'ûd deposed al-Mustansîr's successor al-Râshid (529-30/1135-6) [q.v.]—who had assembled, but in the end unsuccessfully, a grand coalition of discontented Saldjûk princes and Turkish commanders against the sultan—and installed in his stead his uncle al-Muktafî. However, the new caliph soon began vigorously to assert his secular rights, to build up his army by purchasing Armenian and Greek slave soldiers and then to defy the sultan. When Mas'ûd died, al-Muktafî expelled from Baghdad the Saldjûk sultan's son al-Mustadîd b. Muhammad and appropriated the sultan's palace and lands; no representative of the Saldjûks were allowed there; no representative of the Saldjûks were allowed to allow Zangi after 521/1127 to achieve virtual independence in Persia and the Fars region. Trends which would once again reduce caliphal power.

The Turkish commanders were at variance over the choice of a successor, for the prestige of the Saldjûk caliphate had now accentuated. The northwest of Persia remained under the atabeg line of Eldiguz or Ildeniz [q.v.], which would once again reduce caliphal power. Trends which would once again reduce caliphal power.

Al-Muktafî, they brought out from his captivity in the citadel of Takrît Arslân b. Toghrîl (II), the future penultimate sultan of the dynasty, in order to insubordinate the army and the Turkmen princes [q.v.]...

The caliph al-Muktafî was now the chief power in 'Irâk, and after 575/1180, Al-Nâşir b. al-Mustadîd made himself a central figure in the politics and diplomacy of the central Islamic lands; but by now, the main threat to the 'Abbâsids came not from the Saldjûk sultans but from the vigorous and expanding Khârazm Shâhs.

Sultan Mas'ûd left no direct heir so that, as after his father Muhammad's death, there ensued a series of succession disputes amongst the Saldjûk princes with claims to the throne, including his brother Sulayman al-Shâh and various of his nephews, none of whom, with the exception of Muhammad (II) b. Mahmûd (548-54/1153-9), was of more than mediocre ability. They were all largely dependent on the support of the great Turkish commanders, who used Saldjûk claimants as shields for their own personal ambitions and who were often allied by marriage with the Saldjûk family; thus Arslân Shâh b. Toghrîl (II) (556-71/1161-76) was the stepson of the atabeg Eldigûz, since the latter had married Toghrîl's widow. The Saldjûk family still had a certain amount of baraka and prestige in its name, especially in the eyes of their Turkmen tribal followers. The Oghuz of Khurâsân treated the captive Sandjar in a contemptuous and humiliating fashion, but did not apparently ill-treat him, and when in 549/1154-5 the amîr of the Saldjûk army in 'Irâk were trying to rally their forces against the caliph al-Muktafî, they brought out from his captivity in the citadel of Takrît Arslân Shâh b. Toghrîl (II), the future penultimate sultan of the dynasty, in order to insubordinate the army and the Turkmen princes [q.v.].

During his six years or so as sultan, Muhammad (II) tried energetically to restore the Saldjûk position in 'Irâk, defeating his uncle and rival Sulaymân Shâh and besieging Baghûsh (551-2/1157) before illness and death overtook him with his task incomplished. The Turkish commanders were at variance over the choice of a successor; al-Muktafî had an amir who was the last of the Saldjûk princes with claims to the throne, including his stepson and alter-ego, the atabeg of Persia Eldiguz or Ildeniz [q.v.], who was a chief supporter of the caliph. The caliph al-Muktafî had started to move in the west, especially in the eyes of their Turkmen tribal followers. The Oghuz of Khurâsân treated the captive Sandjar in a contemptuous and humiliating fashion, but did not apparently ill-treat him, and when in 549/1154-5 the amîr of the Saldjûk army in 'Irâk was trying to rally their forces against the caliph al-Muktafî, they brought out from his captivity in the citadel of Takrît Arslân Shâh b. Toghrîl (II), the future penultimate sultan of the dynasty, in order to insubordinate the army and the Turkmen princes [q.v.].

With Mas'ûd's death in 547/1152, the Saldjûk sultanate of the west entered its final phase of decline; Ibn al-Aghîr writes that 'with him, the fortunes of the Saldjûk family died; after him there was no banner to depend upon or to rally round'. This juncture was also marked by two events, one the one of the senior member of the family, Sandjr, as coming embroiled with the Ghuzz in Khurâsân, hence could give no help to his kinsmen in the west. Trends discernible during the previous three decades were now accentuated. The northwest of Persia remained dominated by the Eldigûzids and Ahmadîlis; Armenia and Dîyâr Bâkî were disputed by the atabeg line of the Shâh Armanids of Akillâh and the Ayyûbids of Iberia [q.v.]; the northern Sûrîs and the territory of the Zangids; Turkmen governors controlled Khûzîstân; and the Saldjûk sultans of Persia, the child Toghrîl (III) b. Arslân (571-90/1176-94). Toghrîl was praised by contemporaries both for his learning and for his martial abilities. On reaching his maturity, Toghrîl attempted, with aid from the Turkish commander in Rayy,
Kutlugh Inanê Muhammad, to break away from Kizil Arslan Uthman's grip, but failed and was seized and jailed by the latter, who then claimed the sultanate for himself before he died mysteriously a year later. Toghril was released after two years' incarceration, gathered support in northern Persia and made himself master of Dibâb; but he was unable to prevail against the Khârazmian Shaikh Tekiân, and in a battle outside Rây in 590/1194 was defeated and killed. Since the line of Kâwûrd's descendants in Kirman had only a few years before (see below, 3), this marked the end of the Saljuqm dynasty in Persia and ‘Iraq. Sources note that this dynasty began with a Toghril and ended with a Toghril. The dynasty's demise does not seem to have stirred up any feelings of regret or nostalgia; for almost four decades the sultans had been only one element, and that an increasingly enfeebled one, in the complex pattern of Persian politics on the eve of the twin catastrophes of Khârazmian and then Mongol invasion.

Bibliography: The bibliography for a century and a half of the history of much of the central and eastern lands of Islam is immense. Detailed reference may be made to the bibls. to the articles on individual sultans, caliphs and atabegs. There are relevant sections in J. Sauvaget, Introdu, à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman, 140 ff., in Cl. Cahen's English reform and enlargement, Jean Sauvaget's Introduction to the history of the Muslim East, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1965, 151 ff., and Cahen's Introdu, à l'histoire du monde musulman médiéval VII-XV siècle, Paris 1982, 149-50. Kosuke Shimizu, Bibliography on Seljuk studies, Tokyo 1979, is based on a previous Turkish bib. The Index islamicus of J.D. Pearson et alii has items on Seljuk history in its sections on Turkey and Persia. Finally, there are extensive bibls. by Bosworth, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 683-9, and by Leiser, in A History of the Seljuqs, 190-6; see also the bibl. given above in section 1. Hence only some of the main sources specifically bearing on Seljuk history will be noted here summarily.


3. The Seljûqs of Kirmân. After his victory in Khurâsân, Toghrîl Beg sent an expedition in 433/1041 to conquer the province of Kirmân, in southeastern Persia, from its Buyid ruler, ‘Imad al-Dîn Abû Kâlidjîr Marzûbân (q.v.). This was repulsed, but Seljuk rule was imposed on Kirmân, and on the mountain peoples of the southern part of the province, the Kufs (q.v.) and Balûc [see BALÛÇTAN. A.], by Kâwûrd al-Kâwûrd, who was able to prevail against the Khârazmian Shaikh Tekiân and the slave and other professional soldiers in his forces were granted ikâs’s from the agricultural lands there. The detailed history of the Seljuk amirate which now came into being can be followed in Kirmân. History, and only a few general points will be made here. The compact geographical boundaries of the amirate seem to have allowed a greater degree of administrative centralisation within it as compared with the lands of the wider Seljuk sultanate in Persia and ‘Iraq. Muhammad Shah b. Malik Shah of Kirmân (537-51/1142-80) succeeded his father Muhammad Shah b. Ibrâhim, 29-30, a highly-developed espionage and intelligence system, both within Kirmân and outside, extending as far as Khurâsân and Isfahân. On the whole, and until the chaos of the last decade or so of the amirate’s existence, Kirmân enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. This was helped by the province’s position on the trade routes which ran down from Kirmân and Central Asia to the Gulf shores, carrying commerce which the amirs themselves, since they drew a substantial income from transit taxes on merchants and from customs dues levied at ports like Tiz in Makrân (see below, section V, 1), encouraged considerably. Thus caravanserais were built and the roads protected against the brigandage of the Kufs and other lawless elements. During the long rule of Arslan Shah (I) b. Kirmân Shah (495-537/1101-42) and during that of Bahram Shah b. Toghrîl Shah (563-70/1170-51), foreign merchants, including Rûmîs and Indians, established trading colonies in the towns of Kirmân or Bardasîr (the amirs’ summer capital) and in Djîrûf (q.v.) (the winter capital) (Afdal al-Dîn Kirmânî, Idât al-sulâyîn, Tehran 1311/1932-3, 70-1; Muhammad b. Ibrâhim, 25-6, 49). It was Arslan Shah, one of the outstanding rulers of his family, who, according to Ibn al-Djawzî, ...
in 533/1138-9 sought the mediation of Sultan Mas'ud b. Muhammad in seeking the hand of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mustarshīd's widow; he had already contributed to the service of Bahram the Saldjuk by marrying one of Muhammad b. Malik Shah's daughters. Indeed, relations with the supreme sultans in western Persia and 'Irāk, and with Sanjar in the east, remained close; at the outset, Kawurd's coins had acknowledged the authority of the ruler of the east, his father Čaghri Beg, and in general, the Kirman amirs continued to express their subordination on their coins (see Lowick, Seljuq coins, 250-1, and Buljubasova, 'The relationship between Tughrīl Beg and Čaghri Beg', 290-1).

For most of the amirate's existence, its rulers were content to enjoy their own province, but on certain occasions the amirs endeavoured to extend their military power or their diplomatic activities beyond the boundaries of Kirman. It was Kawurd's army which in 454/1062 entered the neighbouring province of Fārs, on behalf of the Saldjuk amir, to crush the defected Kurdish chief Fadluya and his vassals; Fārs now became part of Toghrīl Beg's amirate, although Saldjuk control was not finally made firm until Fadluya was captured and killed in 461/1069. Kawurt's own claim to the Great Saldjuk sultanate, as senior member of the family after Alp Arslan's death, and his resultant bid for power, have been mentioned above in 1. Arslan Shah in 508/1114-15 invaded Fārs, then under the Turkish commander, on behalf of Muhammad b. Malik Shah, and also intervened at one point in a succession dispute at Yazd involving the vassal governor of the Saldjuk there, the Daylamī 'Alā' al-Dawla Gāshāp [see R. KAYVID].

Many of Kirman's historic contacts were with the lands further east; in previous times Kirmān had formed part of such military empires as those of the Saffarids (late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries) and of the Ghaznawids (early 5th/11th century). In the succession dispute of 510-12/1117-18 between the Ghaznawids Arslan Shah and his brother Bahram Shah, the latter appealed to Arslan Shah of Kirman for help; but Arslan Shah preferred to leave a situation which came more within Sanjar's sphere of interest (the dispute was in fact resolved by Sandjar's mediation). At some date unspecified by Muhammad b. Ibrahim, Kawurd sent his son Amīrān Shah with an army into Sīstān, although at this time Sīstān was attached, as a vassal state, to the Great Saldjuk's controlling Khurāsān, to Toghrīl's brother Mūṣa Bīghu or Payghū and shortly afterwards to Čaghri's son Yākūt, and then in the next century, to Sanjar.

The events of the last years of the Saldjuk amirate in Kirmān were in many ways a replica of what had already happened in the Saldjuk lands of western Persia and Khurāsān. In a period of short-reigning amirs, especially after 565/1170, the Saldjuk princes in Kirmān fell under the control of slave commander atabegs, such as Mū'ayyid-al-Dīn Rayhān, the former atabeg of Toghrīl Shah b. Muhammad (I) Shah b. Arslan Shah. The warfare which raged between the contenders for power devastated the countryside of Kirmān and imposed new financial burdens on its people. From 573/1178 onwards, Kirmān was afflicted by fresh bands of Qohruz tribemen deflected southwards from Khurāsān by the fighting there between the Khwārezm Shahs and the Ghūrids, and these bands brought further ruin to agriculture and trade, bringing about severe famine in towns like Bardasān. Finally, in 582/1186, the Oghuz leader Malik Dinār took over the province from the last Saldjuk amīr, Muhammad (II) Shah b. Bahram Shah, who fled and ultimately entered the service of the Ghurids. This event came eight years before the fall of the Saldjuk sultanate in Western Persia; only in Anatolia did the Saldjūks now remain as rulers.

Bibliography: In addition to the general primary sources for Saldjuk history listed in 2. above (Rāwandī, Bundārī, Husaynī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.), Kirmān is especially well served for this period by its quite abundant local histories, in particular, by Abīa' al-Dīn Kirmanī's Ṣulṭānāt al-verbosity al-amīn fi waqāyī Kirman, but also by what is in effect a special history of the Saldjūks of Kirmān, Muhammad b. Ibrahimīm's Taḥārī Handbook yān-yān Kirman. For full details, see the Bibli. to Kirmān.


4. The Saldjūks of Syria (471-511/1078-1117)

The Turkmen bands which had come westwards with the Saldjuk brothers went mainly towards Armenia, the Caucasus and Anatolia, but others of them infiltrated the regions of Diyar Bakr and the upper part of al-Djazīrah. Already in the later part of Toghrīl's reign, Turkmen had reached Malāya. In the 1060s they were harassing the countryside around Edessa (Ūrfā or al-Rūḥā [g.v.]), and Alp Arslan, during the course of his campaign against the Byzantines, attacked the city in spring 453/1071, and it may have accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Saldjuk sultan; over the next three decades, until the arrival of the Frankish Crusaders, Edessa was to be attacked by various Turkmen commanders, including the Saldjuk prince Tutush and the Artuqīd Sukman of Ḥisān Kayfā and Mārdīn (see J.B. Segal, Edessa 'The Blessed City', Oxford 1970, 220 ff.).

The Saldjuk sultans came to attack importance to Syria as the westwards extension of the position which they had established for themselves since Toghrīl's time in Mawsīl and the southern parts of al-Djazīra, but most of all because it was a march province between themselves, the champions of Sunni orthodoxy as they saw themselves, and their Shi'a opponents and rivals, the Fātimids. Syria was a region of great fragmentation, politically, ethnically and confessionally, with a strong local strain of Shi'ism amongst the Muslim Arab tribes and principalities there; the First Crusade was shortly afterwards to take advantage of these political, tribal and sectarian divisions.

In the second half of the 5th/11th century, the Fātimids' hold on southern Syria and Palestine was progressively reduced, until by the time of appearance of the Franks, they held only some fortresses on the Palestinian and Lebanese coasts. This rolling-back of Fātimid control from inland Syria and Palestine was in part the work of various Turkmen commanders dispatched there by the Great Saldjûks, and in part that of Turkmen begms and their flocks, allowed to infiltrate Syria and act on their own initiative. This last was the case with the tribal beg Afsīz b. Uvāk [g.v.], who first, in 463/1071, entered southern Syria and Palestine at the invitation of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustansir [g.v.], who hoped to use him as a counter-force against the rebellious Bedouin Arab tribesmen
of the region. Atsiz tried to set up a Turkmen prin-
cipality of his own there but, having fallen out with
the Fatimids, whose army besieged him in Damascus,
he had to appeal for aid to the Saldjuk sultan Malik
Shah. The latter in fact decided to allot central and
southern Syria and Palestine as an appanage for his
brother Tutush [q.v.]; once Tutush arrived in Syria,
he lifted the siege of Damascus but executed his poten-
tial rival Atsiz (471/1078).

Tutush then began an amirate in Syria which lasted
for seventeen years (470-88/1078-95). Northern
Syria, with its strategically-placed centre of Aleppo,
had been controlled by the Arab Mirdasids [see MIR-
das, BANU] laterly in full decline, and replaced after
472/1080 by the Saldjuk's vassal, the 'Ukaylid
Muslim b. Kuraysh [see 'UKAYLIDS]. Disputes over
possession of Aleppo between Tutush and the Saldjuk
leader of raids into Rûm, Sulaymân b. Kutulmush
(see below, 5), which ended in Sulaymân's defeat and
death in battle in 478/1086, led to Malik Shah's com-
ing west from Iqshelfân personally with a large army in
defeat of the First Crusade, which injected a new
element into the already complex political and dynastic
rivalries in Syria.

Dukâk (488-97/1095-1104) remained for all of his
reign very much in the shadow of Tughtigin, who was
not only his atabeg but also his stepfather, since
Tutush had given Dukâk's mother in marriage to
Tughtigin. From the outset, Ridwan (488-507/1095-
1113) was at odds with his brother and with
Tughtigin, and in 489/1096 or the following year, the
two sides clashed in battle near Kinnasrin [q.v.]. Rid-
wan having secured troop reinforcements from the
Fatimids. Dukâk and Yaghî Siyân were decisively
defeated, and had to agree to placing Ridwan's name in
the khutbas of Damascus and Antioch before their
own. When the Crusaders besieged Yaghî Siyân in
Antioch, Dukâk and Tughtigin sent soldiers to rein-
force an army sent by the supreme sultan Berk-yaaruk,
but failed to save the city (henceforth the centre of the
Local Principality of Antioch), and Ridwan himself
was then against the Crusaders by the irreconcilable
division between Ridwan and Tughtigin had allowed
the Franks to continue their march southwards to
Jerusalem and beyond. Damascus, a firmly Sunnî city
and the bastion of orthodoxy in Syria, was, under the
skilful rule of Tughtigin, able to withstand pressure
from the Crusaders, and Tughtigin went on to found
his own short-lived Turkish dynasty there, the Bôrîds
[see BÔRÎDS]; before his death in 522/1126, he had in
509/1116 become the leader of all Syria under the Saldjuk
sultan's control, with Tutush's authority confined to
Syrain. He occupied Aleppo and central and
northern Syria, and the Turkmen beg Artuk in Jerusalem. Al-Djazira and Syria were thus firmly brought within the supreme
sultan's control, with Tutush's authority confined to
central and southern Syria. All these local governors and Tutush were ordered to conduct operations
against the coastal areas of the Levant, where petty
rulers like Ibn 'Ammar of Tripoli [see 'AMMAR, BANU]
still enjoyed virtually undisturbed power.

The death of Malik Shah in 485/1092 enabled Tutush to put forward his claim, as the most ex-
perienced of the surviving sons of Alp Arslan, to the
supreme Saldjuk sultanate. He proclaimed himself
sultan at Damascus, managed to kill Aceonkur and
Bozan, and extended his military power over all Syria
and Al-Djazira, preparing to march eastwards into
Persia against Malik Shah's successor Ber-yaaruk (see
above, 1). But a majority of the great Turkish
commanders—doubtless hoping to achieve a greater
role in the state under the youthful Berk-yaaruk than
under the mature Tutush—eventually rallied to Berk-
yaaruk, and Tutush was defeated and killed near Rayy
(Safar 488/February 1095).

Ridwan was however able to exert his authority in the lands west of Irak, and Tutush's two sons Ridwan and Dukâk, encouraged by the latter's
atabeg Tughtigin [q.v.], a former slave commander of
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5. The Seljukus of Rum (ca. 483-707/ca. 1081-1307)

It is soon after Alp Arslan's victory at Malazgird (see above, section III. 1) that we hear of the activities in Anatolia of the four sons of Kutalmish: the Kutlumush b. Arslan Isrâ'il, and the descendants of one of these sons, Sulaymân, were to found in central Anatolia the Seljuk sultanate of Rum based on Iconium or Konya [q.v.]. As noted above (loc. cit.), and see the views of some modern Turkish nationalist historians, these activities seem to have been purely symbolic acts of individual enterprise, although later official historiography, e.g., by H. H. Brentjes and C. A. C. Schaller, of the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in the 7th/13th century insisted that the Great Seljuk sultan Malik Shâh had, on his accession, personally bestowed the land of Rum on his cousins, the sons of Kutalmînsh. In fact, these last seem earlier to have been present in Anatolia during the time of the Seljuk sultans of Rum. In fact, these last seem earlier to have been under official Seljuk supervision, and only managed to escape to the safety of the fluid, governmentally uncontrollable Anatolian frontiers after Alp Arslan's death. Official disapproval continued under Malik Shâh, who had Mansûr b. Kutalmînsh killed, and although Sulaymân escaped, he was later killed in battle, contending with his kinsman Tutish on control of Aleppo in 479/1086.

Meanwhile, Turkmen bands had been operating within Asia Minor, raiding as far as the shores of the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean, so that Sulaymân had reached Nicaea or Iznik in the far north-west of the land, and it is from this time that one may roughly date the beginnings of a Seljuk principality in Anatolia. After Malik Shâh's death in 485/1092, Sulaymân's son Kilîç Arslan I (485-500/1092-1107) managed to escape from captivity and was raised to the leadership of the Seljuk principality in Anatolia, only moving his capital to Konya after the Frankish armies of the First Crusade recaptured Nicaea in 1097. Malik Shâh had not had any definite plan for the overrunning of Anatolia. He did, however, hold himself as head of all the Turks, and wished to control the Turkmen, the most anarchyically-inclined of his people, and in pursuit of this had been prepared to make an agreement with the Byzantine Emperor Alexis Comnenus, whose empire was being threatened by the Turkmen's depredations.

The infant Seljuk principality in Konya was only one of several Turkmen beylikûs which now took shape in central and eastern Anatolia, such as the Saltukids [see Saltukids], the Erzerum, the Mengiçekids [see MengiçekÊ], in Erzincan and other towns of the east, the Shâh Armanids [q.v.] of Sôkmen's line in Akhîla to the west of Lake Van and the Artukids [q.v.] in Diyarbakr. The most serious rival, because geographically closest to the Saltukids, was the Dânîîshêmdîns [q.v.] of north-central Anatolia, who controlled the northerly route across the land via Sivas, Kayseri and Ankara, and who after 529/1134-5 enjoyed the title of Malik bestowed on them by the 'Abbasid caliph for their zeal in ghazzâm against the Byzantines.

When Kilîç Arslan I was killed in battle, there was a temporary division of the Saltukids lands. The appearance of the First Crusaders and a re-assertion of Byzantine power, plus the policy of containment of the Turkmen applied on their western frontier by the Great Seljuk sultans in Persia and 'Irâk, had meant that the various Turkish groups in Anatolia were confined to the interior of Asia Minor. There was often occasional cooperation between the Seljuk sultanate of Rûm and the Genoese, and the Dânîîshîmdîns against such foes as the Byzantines and the Armenians of Cilicia and Little Armenia, but after the death of the Dânîîshêmdîn Muhammad b. Gumîchqûn in 536/1142, the Seljukus gradually secured the preponderance in central Anatolia. Masûd fought off only with difficulty a Byzantine project for the recovery of Anatolia collaps-...
ports of Antalya (seized by Kay Khusraw I in 601/1207) and Alanya (named 'Ala'iyya after the sultan 'Ala' al-Din Kay Kubadh I, 616-34/1220-37). Also, towards the end of the 6th/12th century the Turkmen amir of Tokat captured Samsun [see Samsun], thus bringing Turkish arms to the Black Sea shores, and this was followed by the conquest of Sinope [see Sinope] by 'Izz al-Din Kay Kâwûs I (608-16/1211-20) from the Trebizond Commneni in 611/1214. Hence whereas the Turkish powers of Anatolia had been essentially landlocked and confined to the interior plateau, they now had access to the sea. For the Saljuks, the opening up of their position at the north-south trade routes of Anatolia and trade relations with the Venetians—enemies of the Byzantines—in Antalya, so that the sultanate benefited from Venetian trade with Alexandria. Commerce between the Black Sea ports and the great Crimean entremêt of Sughdâgh tended to be controlled by the Greek principality of Trebizond, but from 1225 to 1229, the date of the definitive conquest of Sinope by the Trebizond Commneni, the Golden Horde [see Bâtu], Kay Kubadh I was able, through Kastamonu and the Black Sea ports, to establish his suzerainty in Sughdâgh [q.v. and kîkîm]. Towardsthe end of his life, in one of the periodic recrudescences of the old Turkish principle of patrimonial division, Kîlîc Arslan II divided his kingdom amongst his ten sons and some other male relatives, allotting various towns to each of them. Not surprisingly, a period of successive disputes and weaknesses ensued over the next two decades. In 1190 the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his Crusading army plundered Konya whilst Kîlîc Arslan took refuge in the citadel. But the crisis in the state was surmounted by the opening of the 7th/13th century, and the first forty years of this century were to mark the apogee of the sultanate under such rulers as Kay Kâwûs I and Kay Kubadh I. For half a century there was peace with Byzantium, the result of an agreement between Kay Kâwûs I and Theodore Lascaris, and the Saljuks henceforth concentrated their military efforts on the eastern frontiers, in Cilicia, Syria, al-Djazîra, and against Trebizond. But these eastern fringes of Anatolia were now in fact becoming threatened by the expansionism of the Khârazm Shahs [q.v.]. The Khârazmians first appeared in eastern Anatolia in 1226/1227, Kay Kubadh I endeavored to ally with the Ayyûbîds of Syria and Diyarbakr, equally menaced. The Saljuq sultan was now at the height of his power, as undisputed master of most of Anatolia and suzerain of the surrounding smaller Christian Greek, Armenian and Georgian states; the financial and artistic resources which he could command for building purposes and the splendor of his manner of life are seen in the meralles which he constructed, such as the Kubâdîhâbîd palace on Lake Beysehir and the Kay Kubâdîhîyya one near Kayseri [q.v.], both only now being excavated properly. The Mongols appeared in eastern Anatolia in 640/1242-3 at a time when the Ghiyâth al-Din Kay Khusrâw II had only just with difficulty quelled the prolonged rebellion in eastern and northern Anatolia, which had started in 638/1240, of a Turkish popular holy man, Baba Ishaq, who claimed to be a prophetic messenger [rasûl] [see Sâxîlî, and below, section IV. 2]. Kay Khusrâw II (634-44/1237-46) was distinctly less capable than his predecessors, but he assembled an army which included, as well as his own troops, Armenians, Greeks and Franks; however, he was defeated by the Mongol commander Baydu in Kûse Dagh [q.v.] in the region of Sivas (641/1243). Although the Mongols allowed the sultan to retain his throne in Konya, it was as a vassal of the Mongols liable to heavy tribute. There was subsequently little within the client Saljuq state when the dead Kay Khusrâw II's throne was disputed by the officials and commanders supporting his minor sons. Only in 659/1261 did Rukn al-Din Kay Kâwûs II establish a certain measure of power in Konya. But until his execution in 676/1277 by the Il Khânâd Abâka after a Mongol defeat at the hands of the invading Mamûlî army of Baybars of Egypt and Syria, real power in the Saljuq state was exercised by the Pâwâna Mu'ûn al-Dîn Sulaîman, from a former vizier of the Saljuqs, who worked closely with the Mongols and endeavored to reduce tensions between incoming Turco-Mongol soldiers and the established Turkmen groups of Anatolia. His death marks the end of semi-independence for the sultans in Konya, for the Il Khânâds now resolved to direct rule through their own alien Persian and Turco-Mongol officials and commanders. The Saljuq military forces were disbanded, to swell the ranks of mercenaries and bandits throughout the Anatolian countryside. Specifically Perso-Mongol institutions and practices were now introduced into Anatolia, in particular, fiscal ones (see below, section V. 2). Mongol taxation in Anatolia was undoubtedly heavy, but there was nevertheless little perceptible adverse effect on the general economic and commercial well-being of the area, with agricultural production and external trade remaining buoyant and with a continued endowment and construction of public and charitable buildings (see below, sections V. 2, and VI. 2). The Il Khânâds led various expeditions into Anatolia to quell local rulers such as the Karâmân-OGHULLAR [see KARAMÂN-OGHULLAR] and Atrakids [see AŠRAF-OGHULLAR] and other unrest, and to reassert Mongol financial demands, such as the expedition of Gaykhâtû in 690-1/1291-2 which spread terror and devastation throughout southern Anatolia as far west as Menteşe [see MENTEŞE-ELI] and the Aegean Sea coasts. Various ambitious Turco-Mongol commanders within Anatolia also led revolts, contributing to a general atmosphere of disintegration and tyrannical rule. The Jâniât Saljuq sultan 'Alâ' al-Dîn Kay Kâbûdî III was executed by Alâ' al-Dîn Masûd Il Khân's [q.v.] forces in 702/1303, and the sultanate disappeared, in the same obscure circumstances, as the Il Khânâd ruler in 708/1310. It was a period of control by the Il Khânâds' commanders of the Çobanî family [see ÇOBANÎS] that Anatolia eventually emerged into the age of the beylûks, with a fragmentation of âwâdu'î or petty principalities comparable to those in 5th/11th-century Muslim Spain. Some descendants of the Rûm Saljuqs seem to have survived into later times. One Kîlîc Arslan b. Luftî b. Sawelî, possibly a Saljuq, governed Alanya in the 1460s before the Ottoman annexation of 876/1471; and a later Ottoman historian, 'Ali, says that after the deposition of the last Saljuq Ghiyâth al-Dîn Masûd Il Khân, Ghazan granted Sinope to a Saljuq prince, Çâzî Celebi, who became active from there against the Greeks of Trebizond and the Genoese in the Black Sea.

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mation from Arabic, other Persian, Greek, Armenian and Syriac sources. Still valuable is M.F. Köprülü's extended survey of sources in Anadolu Selçuklu tarihini yetti kaynaklar, in Brillen, vii (1943), 379-522, now easily accessible in an Eng. tr. and with valuable updating and further references by G. Leiser, The Selçuklu of Anatolia, their history and culture according to local Muslim sources, Salt Lake City 1992.

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IV. Intellectual and religious history

1. In Persia and 'Irāk

The territories of the Great Seljuks and their successors here formed a mighty empire, of an extent not seen since the heyday of the 'Abbasid caliphate, that century between 750 and 850 A.D. As heads of this empire, the Seljuk rulers in the second half of the 5th/11th century came to a working arrangement with the caliphs of Baghdad. In the 6th/12th century Hanbalism enjoyed a resurgence in influence under the patronage of the Shafi'i vizier Nizâm al-Mulk, who was able cautiously to promote his own favoured party and to endeavour to redress the balance somewhat in favour of the Ashâris and Shâfîis (see for the effects of this policy in one place, R. W. Bulliet, The political-religious history of Nishapûr in the eleventh century, in D.S. Richards (ed.), Islamic civilization 950-1150, Oxford 1973, 85-8). Hanbalism during the Seljuk period was essentially centred on Baghdad and Damascus (the latter city, of course, only indirectly ruled by the Seljuk sultan, see above). The central point of the Ashârî movement during the Seljuk period was in the 6th/12th century Baghdad. It enjoyed a resurgence in influence under the patronage of caliphal officials like Ibn Awwâl; see also the example of the Sufi Shaykh 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]), and the Sufi bayat, 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]), and the Sufi bayat, 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]).

The orthodox Sunnî, which al-Ghazâlî represented, was thus the religious force behind the Seljuk ideal of government. Now that the Shi'is, see also the example of the Sufi Shaykh 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]), and the Sufi bayat, 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]), and the Sufi bayat, 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djalâni (d. 561/1165 [q. v.]).

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of the Saljuq empire, from Baghdād to Ḥaratāt, mentioned below in section V.I, concerning the ʿażābīyāt (see in general on Sunnism at this time, W. Madelung, Religious trends in early Islamic Iran, Albany, 1988, 26-38). The dominant forms of Sunnī kalām just described likewise triumphed in the end over more speculative forms of Islamic thought, those of the faṭalīya or philosophers [see FAṬALĪYA; FAYLĀṢUF], with their Aristotelian or Neoplatonist forms of reasoning; al-Ghazālī’s exposé in his autobiographical al-Muḥākāt aṭ-tnāīl of the insufficiency of philosophy to pro- vide salvation, for example, was a polemic against his exponents, his Taḥāfūt al-faṭalīya, were only two of several attempted refutations. Nevertheless, the succession of the great Ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037 [q.v.]) continued in the Persian lands during the Saljuq period, and the scientist, philosopher and poet ʿUmar Khayyām (d. 526/1131 c.) continued in the Persian lands during the first half of the 5th/11th century and mosques were destroyed (see MADRASA). I. 4 and NIZĀM AL-MULK). Much light is shown on the distribution of Shiʿism during the Saljuq period by two Shiʿi works of the time, the Kitāb al-Nakāt of ʿAbd al-Djalāl Kāzawī Rāzī (mid-6th/12th century) and the Tabṣira al-sawāmīn of Sayyid Muṭṭādāt Rāzī from the opening of the 7th/13th century. They confirm the impression of the historical and biographical sources that Khurasan, Transoxania were strongholds of Sunnī orthodoxy, apart from communities of sayyids in places like Nīshāpūr, Tūs and Bayḥāq, but that Shiʿism had some strong groups in northwestern Persia, with the Zaydīs in the Caspian provinces (where the khība was still made in some places for the Zaydi imām), and the Dīṣarīs or Twelvers influential in the urban centres of Dībāl like Rayy, Kāzawīn, Kaft, Khurāsān and Kashān, among their own madrasas and khātānas [q.v.] or tombs in some of these centres. The establishment of Ismāʿīlism in Daylam, the region of Iṣfāhān and Kuftūstān has already been noted (above, section I, 1). The two great groups of the Sunnis and Shiʿis, although on occasion at odds with each other, and with the Shiʿa stimulated as Rawḍat al-Dīn [see RAṽNA] in Sunnī works like Niẓām al-Mulk’s Sayyāt-i-nāma, in practice mostly co-existed peacefully with each other, and Shiʿis were represented quite significantly in the ranks of Saljuq officials right up to the office of vizier; the common enemy of both was Ismāʿīlism (see A. Bausani, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 290-6; J. Calmard, Le chisme imanite en Iran à l’époque seldjoukide d’après le Kitāb al-Naqd, in Le monde iranien et l’Islam, sociétés et cultures, i [Geneva-Paris, 1971], 43-67). The Saljuq period was further important for the distribution of Sunnism in provinces like Khurāsān, Transoxania and the Tiraḵ, with a distinctive school of Sufism now emerging in the Persian lands. This was particularly the case with Kuṭrūsān, where Sufism was henceforth to benefit much from official Saljuq patronage, whereas, up to the opening of the 5th/11th century, zubd or asceticism there had been mainly the province of the Karamīya (on whom see below), with some adherents of the Malamātiyya [q.v.] in the towns (see J. Chabbi, Societes et cultures, i, 43-67). From the 5th/11th century generation or so were ʿAbd Allāh al-Ansārī (d. 481/1090 [q.v.] and Abu ʿKāsim al-Khujāyir (d. 465/1072 [q.v.]) who, together with Abu ʿHāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]), did much to incorporate the moderate form of Sufi mysticism into the fabric of Sunni orthodoxy. A notable feature of Persian Sufism at this time came to be its grouping around the maḥālātāt [see MAḤRĀKH] or dervish convents, and the influence of ʿUmar Khayyām and his contemporaries spread westwards through the Saljuq lands; thus Chabbi has noted that the founders of the riḥāb [q.v.] or centres for devotion, study, preaching, etc., in Baghdād during the first half of the 5th/11th century were almost all Kuṭrūsānis (La fonction du rībaṭ à Baghdād du Ve siècle au début du VIIe siècle, in REI, xlii, 1988, 26-38). The patricians of Nishāpūr. A study in medieval Islamic social history, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 1972, 73-5, 254-5, and, in general, MADRASA. I. 4 and NIZĀM AL-MULK).

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The next century, the 6th/12th one, was notable for the formation of several of the major dervish orders (fursk [see ṭarka]), including the Kadiri Tariqah of the Yasawis [see nādir yasawi], the Rifa’iyya, the Suhrawardiyya [q.v.], and the Kubrawiyya [see kubb, nāqīm al-dīn]. See further, J.S. Trimingham, The Sufi orders in Islam, Oxford, 1971, 31-60; Bausani, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 296-302; Madelung, op. cit., 49-53.

As just noted, the ascetic strain within Sufism originally had had its counterpart in eastern Persia in the form of the ascetic but activist movement of the Karramiyya [q.v.], especially vociferous in Nishapur and strong in the rural, mountainous, eastern fringes of the province, what is now western Afghanistan. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, the Karramiyya and their khānakāhs had enjoyed some patronage from the Ghaznavids; this favour disappeared with the advent of the Saldjūks and became an active disapproval on the part of the ruling authority, but the Karramiyya remained an assertive element in Nishapur and elsewhere all through that same century, as their mention as participants in the ʿasāṣīyya (of the time shows); it was only during the course of the succeeding 6th/12th century that they were pushed eastwards into regions less accessible to Saldjūk control such as Ghur and Ghur; thus the Karrāmī madrasa at Baybāk, founded in the opening years of the 5th/11th century, had disappeared when the local historian Ibn Funduk wrote (in 563/1168), although the Hanafi and Shafiʿī ones still survived (Ṭūrkiyya; Bayhāk, ed. Ahmad Bahmanvār, Tehran 1317/1938, 194, 220-1; and, in general on the Karrāmīyya, Madelung, op. cit., 39-46).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see especially Bausani’s ch. Religion in the Saljuq period, in Camb. hist. Iran, v, 283-302; and Madelung’s Religious trends in early Islamic Iran, which in part covers the Saldjūk period, notably chs. 3-4, 6-7.

2. In Anatolia

The Turkmen who entered Anatolia no doubt brought with them vestiges of the pre-Islamic, Inner Asian shamanistic past (survivals of which were explored by Fuad Köprülü in various of his works, such as his Influenz des chamanismus turko-mongol auf die ordres mystiques musulmans, Memes de l’Institut de Turcologie de l’Université de Stamboul, N.S. 1, Istanbul 1929), but the ascetics did not have more than a token presence in pagan towns, and even so, his Mirsād al-ʿibād (see below, section VII. 2) became very popular in Anatolia and was later translated into Turkish.

Such religious traditions and practices as those outlined above helped to consolidate what became the dominant, official Sunnism of Anatolia. But at a less exalted and articulate level were currents of belief which may well have gone back to the animistic past of the Turks, mentioned at the beginning of this section, especially amongst the Turkmen outside the towns, and there probably existed also ill-formed and emotionally-based pro-Shīʿī feelings such as were to be undoubtedly discernible amongst the ʿAlawī Turkmen of eastern Anatolia in the early Ottoman period. Only at times of particular political and social stress or upheaval did these somewhat inchoate trends of belief and thought come to the surface, assume tangible form and impinge on the wider political scene. Such was the case with the Bahaʾī movement, a religious one with social overtones, which disturbed much of Anatolia in the years just before the Mongol invasion there. Its leader, a popular, charismatic figure, Baba Išākh, defied the Saldjūk armies for some time, and his movement was never completely ex-
Finally, a word should be said about the possible interaction of the great faiths in Anatolia, specifically between Islam and the Christian substratum there. It is hard to reach firm conclusions on such an elusive matter, but it seems that certain sultans, such as Kay Kuvshâb, were enlightened and tolerant rulers, conscious of the mixture of faiths and ethnic over which they ruled. There were both Armenians and Greeks in the capital Konya, the latter with their monastery of St. Chariton and some Jews. Rûmî seems to have had harmonious relations with the local Dhimmi, whilst remaining convinced of his own divine mission to convert them. Throughout Anatolia there was at the popular level an interchange, or double veneration, of both faiths. Thus, in the 8th/14th-century Sufi biographer Aflaki, ‘Abd al-Qadir Bektash may have been a disciple of Baba Ishâk [see BABA芝; BETKASHTI].

Thus by Malik Shâh’s reign, the sultan came to exercise a delimited territorial authority, although it was one exerted with different degrees of intensity. Right to the end of the Saldjuk empire, there were whole stretches of territory which were substantially left, usually on payment of some taxation, to their indigenous tribal peoples, such as those of Kurdistân and Luristan in Dîjâbâl and much of Fârs, and the Kufs and Balûc in Kirmân and Mâruk, or to the Oghuz nomads in such areas as the Mukan steppes in Arrân [q. v.].

In any case, the early sultans, with their Central Asian tribal origins, did not at first conceive of themselves as territorial monarchs but as leaders of nomadic hordes who happened to range with their flocks in search of pasture over a particularly large stretch of territory within the Dâr al-Islâm. But these ideas soon became modified as, already by the end of Toghrîl’s reign and during that of Alp Arslân, the sultans settled down as rulers over a defined territory, even though the Saldjûks never, until the end of the dynasty, resided in one permanent, fixed capital. As rulers over an empire of vastly differing climatic and topographical zones, from the deserts and steppe lands of northern Syria and ‘Irâk to mountains and plateaus of Persia, they often moved between summer and winter capitals, echoing their nomadic past. Hence a more delimited territorial authority, although it was one exerted with different degrees of intensity. Right to the end of the Saldjuk empire, there were whole stretches of territory which were substantially left, usually on payment of some taxation, to their indigenous tribal peoples, such as those of Kurdistân and Luristan in Dîjâbâl and much of Fârs, and the Kufs and Balûc in Kirmân and Mâruk, or to the Oghuz nomads in such areas as the Mukan steppes in Arrân [q. v.].

Aspects of Saljuq-Ghuzz settlement in Persia, see Lambton concluded (op. cit., 124-5), that the additional nomads who came into Persia with the Saldjûk invasions did not cause widespread dislocation but may even have contributed to the general prosperity of the lands in that they now supplied the cities and towns with milk and meat products and may have contributed to the stock of transport animals available for trading purposes.

On the fringes of the empire, local princes were often allowed to remain as feudatories. In the northwest, the Shaddâdids [q. v.] of Dwîn and Gandja and the Marwânids [q. v.] of Dîyâb Bakr were left in power until Malik Shâh’s reign. In ‘Irâk, the ‘Ukaylids [q. v.] held Mawṣûl till the end of the 9th/11th century, with minor branches persisting in Diyar Mûdar till the advent of the Zangûs, whilst the Mazyâdids [see MAZYAD, BANU] of the upper Persian Gulf region (see further, below). But in general, the sultans deliberately eschewed this; Nizâm al-Mulk’s lament that the Saldjûk sultans showed no interest in settlements is well-known (Siyyašt-nâma, § 10), and Anâhiwrân b. Khâlid says that Alp Arslân’s abolition of the previously-existing bârid and khobar system, on the basis of what he calls a ‘whim’ (uwm) but which was more likely a deliberate choice, was a cause of the spread of Islam and of the terror in people’s minds which exaggerated, ill-informed accounts of the Assassins’ activities brought about (al-Bundârî, ed. Houtsma, 67).

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their authority by military force into lands outside the empire, as happened with the Karakhanids in Transoxania on various occasions, the Ghaznavids in eastern Afghanistan (see above, section III. 1) and the Shirwanids in eastern Caucasus (see al-Bundari, 139-41), tribute would be exacted from those potentates, although this source of income was obviously sporadic.

Within the directly-administered areas of the empire, much land was, in the course of time, alienated by assignments of revenue on particular lands, ikhtisāds, a term which covered, however, a very wide variety of different types of grant (see Lambton, in Camb. Hist. of Iran, v, 233-4; and irdâr). The grants of the first Saljuq sultans were mainly as appanages for other members of the family who had claims, under tribal concepts, of a share-out of the total assets of the ruling family or the chiefs; these were especially to be found in northern Persia, Khurâsan and the upper Oxus lands (see above, sections II and III. 2). But grants were also made at an early date to the Turkish generals of the professional, standing army which Toghrîli in his later years, and then Alp Arslan and Malik Shâh, were compelled to recruit after the danger of sole reliance on the Oghuz tribal bands had been demonstrated by the latter's part in the revolts of disgruntled Saljuq princes, such as Ibrâhîm Înal and Kawurd (see above, section I). Such earlier grants were delegations of the sultan's authority, and did not imply any hierarchy of vassalage or a bestowal of permanent territorial or financial rights. These last only crept in during the 6th/12th century, when the warring Saljuq sultans and princes were desperate to acquire troops and had to alienate more and more lands to great commanders as the price of their military support. Eventually, the process was to lead to the formation of the autonomous atabeg principalities of northern and western Persia, of northern Syria and al-Djâzîrâ and of eastern Anatolia (see above, section II), but, from the legal aspect, these principalities rested upon an act of usurpation and not one of delegation or vassalage. All these trends were to have long-term effects upon land utilisation, the social and economic status of the cultivators and the ethnic complexion of the regions in question. For a fuller consideration of the trends, see Lambton, in Camb. Hist. of Iran, v, 231 ff.; edem, Camb. Hist. of Iran, v, 231 ff.; edem, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, London 1968, 97-115; Bosworth, in ibid., 82-4; and irdâr.

The heart of the sultans' power lay in their own court entourage, the dargâh, whose smooth functioning was ensured by a series of influential officials such as the waqil-i dâr or intendant, the hâjîqâs or chamberlains, the qâbâma-dâr or master of the sultans' wardrobe, the hâjîqâs-dâr or head of the royal stables, the kârân-sâdâr or master of the royal kitchens; the latter's function were especially important for the dispensing of general hospitality in accordance with steppe traditions and of feasts (şabêns) for the Saljuqs' tribal followers, the providing of which Nizâm al-Mulk, Siyâsat-nâmâ, 8-17; and, in general, for courts and court life during the Saljuq period, Bosworth, Etr. Art. Courts and courtesans. iii. In the Islamic period to the Mongol conquest).

The means by which this power of the sultans was exercised were, firstly, through the army and the coercive force which it could exert, and secondly, through the civil administration of the empire controlled by a series of diwâns, both of which were, of course, interconnected through the overriding need for the provision of finance for them. By Malik Shâh's time the army's main strength lay in its professional troops, in part supported by tâdâs but to a significant extent still paid directly in cash from the royal treasury (cf. Nizâm al-Mulk, Siyâsat-nâmâ, § 23). Its nucleus was the force of slave gâšâm and freedmen troops, a large proportion of whom, though not all, were Turks. Supplementing this were the free troops, and here, as with the slave core for an army, the Saljuqs were following in the steps of other Middle Eastern imperial powers like the Fâtimids and Ghaznavids by recruiting from a wide array of races. Nizâm al-Mulk recommended the employment of Daylamis, Khurâsânis, Georgians and Şabânâkârî Kurds (Siyâsat-nâmâ, § 24). This army was normally stationed in the capital with the sultan himself, and according to Râwandi, the number of cavalrymen was not allowed to fall below 46,000 (see M.F. Sanaullah, The decline of the Saljuq empire, Calcutta 1938, 18-35; Uzunçarshî, op. cit., 56-61; Bosworth, in Camb. Hist. of Iran, v, 80-1; Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, 4-14; Chulaman, ii; and Harb. v).

Complementing the court's role in the running of the state were the central administration, comprising essentially the diwân-i ašâ, presided over by the sultan's chief executive officer, the vizier. The vizier, and the personnel of his bureaux, were normally representatives of the Peri-Islamic secretarial class. It is possible that, in the Saljuq period, some of these had received an education and training in the madrasas (for which, see above, section IV. 1), although this point requires further research. The vizier headed a complex of diwân, his intermediary and link with the court being the waqil-i dâr (cf. al-Bundari, 93-4). The diwân-i ašâ was above all responsible for the provision of finance for the sultan and hence for the running of the empire, and had component diwâns as the chancery, for official and diplomatic correspondence (irtîfâ); the finance bureau, for the collection of revenue and its allocation (irtîfâ); the bureau for overseeing accounts and financial transactions (irtîfâ); and the department of the army (irtîfâ), responsible for the recruitment, payment and fighting calibre of the troops. The heads of these component bureaux were powerful officials in their own right, who not infrequently followed their own policies or had supporters at court who might be at odds with the vizier. Other high-ranking persons in the state, such as the sultans' consorts and the queen-mothers and Saljuq princes
allotted appanages in the provinces, might have their own households with miniature replicas of the central divāns (see Uzunçarşılı, op. cit., 42-51; Lambton, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 257 ff.).

Nevertheless, the vizier was a very powerful figure throughout the Saldjūk period, with his position buttressed by the patronage which he exercised and the opportunities which he had for self-enrichment through confiscations, etc. He normally had his own ikāt, and an outstanding figure like Nizām al-Mulk built up around himself what was in effect a private army of mamluks and other retainers, the Nizāmiyya [q.v.] being too powerful to play the significant role in politics well after their master’s death.

Justice and equity of an “administrative” or “secular” kind was exercised through the sultan’s own māzālim [q.v.] jurisdiction, both personally and by delegation to special māzālim courts. At the side of these, the local kādis dispensed justice according to the šarī‘a, and with the restatement of the relationship between ruler and retinue, the potency and the role of the kādi were heightened. He could with impunity ‘play’ the important role in politics well after their master’s death.

The cities and towns of Persia, Īrāq, al-Djazīra and Syria seem in general to have flourished during the 5th/11th century, doubless benefiting from the general internal peace in the years before Malik Šāh’s death and having a resilience and continuity of tradition which enabled them to function and to prosper to a fair extent in the more troubled decades of the 6th/12th century, when the Crusaders and Ismā‘īlīs destabilised Syria, when al-Djazīra and western Khurasan were devastated by the warfare among rival Saldjūk princes and the atabegs, and when the ascendency of anarchic Oghuz tribesmen in Khūrāsān and Kirmān led to widespread looting and devastation there, a foretaste of the worse disasters which the arrival of the Mongols was to bring.

Whether there was in the 6th/12th century a distinct decline in economic life, a deterioration of the status and richness of the town bourgeoisies, the better judges, theoretically the deputies of the caliph and deriving their spiritual jurisdiction from him, were in practice appointed by the sultan and were salaried servants of the sultanate, as were the khaṭibs [q.v.] or preachers of the Friday sermon and the muḥtasibs or market inspectors [see Ǧīṣa]. A chief judge of the empire, the kāddi-yi Ǧīṣa-yi māmlik, is mentioned under Alp Arslān, with oversight of the religious law, of religious buildings and of awkāf or pious trusts (which spread considerably within the Saldjūk empire as a result of benefactions from the great amīrs, the atabegs and the women in the ruling classes, see Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, 149-51), but the mass of judges were local officials in the towns of the empire and thus served as a link between the central government and the local urban communities (see eadem, in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, 269-72).


There were, of course, counterforces in the cities and towns and in their agricultural hinterlands working against this urban group solidarity in the face of external attackers or tyrannical government actions. The ʿabd b. Muhammad, a powerful group of sultan Masʿūd’s, particularly after the weakening of the sultan’s power from Berk-yaruk’s accession onwards, reduced the amount of lands from which taxation could be directly collected and drove the rulers into an increased reliance on non-canonical taxes, mukāb [see māks]. Yet as a counter to this, one may note that the Saldjūk government, for its part, had an enduring interest in fostering, as far as possible, the economic well-being of the cities and towns, with their roles as centres of craft production and of long-distance trading, from which they derived so much of the taxation needed to maintain an independent life, or autonomous life of its own within the concept of divinely-dispensed authority in Islam. But the local historians of cities and towns like Nīṣāhpūr, Bayhaḵ, Harāt, Iṣfahān and Shīrāz certainly demonstrate the vitality of urban life at this time and the cohesiveness and common interests of their oligarchies, whether these comprised Ḥanafīs, Shāfiʿis or Hanbalis (and also, in Kūrāsān, Karrāmīs). This class of ‘ālama’; merchants and other notables largely monopolised such offices as those of kādi, khaṭīb, etc. (see above). Above all, it was from their ranks that there came the raʿīs or mayor, the mouthpiece of the town notables vis-à-vis the provincial and central government; and, since the relations between the towns and the ruling authority were essentially financial, it was he who forwarded the taxation due from the town to the local diwān. See, in general, raʿīs-īs. 1. and 2.; Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, 171 ff.; Bulliet, op. cit., 66-9. For the duties of a raʿīs in Māzandarān and Gurgān in the second quarter of the 12th century A.D., Lambton, The administration of Sanjar’s empire as illustrated in the Atabat al-katatba, 383-7. For these institutions in Syria under Saldjūk rule, A. Havemann, Riʿāsa wa ḍaqaqa. Institutionen als Ausdruck wechselder Kräfteverhältnisse in syrischen Städten vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, Freiburg-im Breisgau vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert, Freiburg-im Breisgau 1973, and idem, The vizier and the raʿīs in Saljuq Syria: the struggle for urban self-representation, in JIME, xx (1989), 233-42.
ing to Rawandl, internal factional feuding, rather than the ravages of the Oghuz, which really consumed the ruin of the city (cited in Bulliet, The political IV). But not long after this, both of the madhhabbs were uniting in Nishapur against the Karlāmiyya (see Ibn al-Athir, ed. Beirut, x, 251, year 488/1095).

Another divisive element in certain cities and towns of the Saldjuk empire at this time was that of the 'ayyars [q.v.] or mobsters. Baghdād, the Syrian towns and those of Khurāsān suffered especially badly, but there is reason to believe that towns elsewhere had similar problems, conceivably evidence of some underlying social-political malaise in them such as the exclusion of sections of the urban populace from participation in higher municipal affairs; but this is conjecture. Outbreaks of 'ayyars violence were a matter of concern for the urban authorities, who alone could take steps to curb it; hence when, at Bayhaq, 'ayyars took advantage of the relaxation of central authority in the state after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092, one of the town's numerous and influential body of Sayyids organised, at his own expense, a police force of citizens and their slaves against unruly elements (Ibn Funduk, Ta'rikh-i Bayhaḵ, ed. Bahmanyār, 274-5; cf. J. Aubin, L'aristocratie urbain dans l'Iran seldjukide: l'exemple de Sābāzvār, in Mélanges René Crozet, Poitiers 1966, 328).

As the secular counterparts of the caliphs, the Sunni Saldjuk sultans had an obligation to further Islamic learning within their dominions. The role of them and their servants in the movement for founding madrasas, mosque- and shrine-colleges, etc., has been outlined above, in section IV. 1. The sultans of the first two or three generations were probably illiterate, and undoubtedly so in Persian and Arabic; it must be remembered that Malik Shāh was the first monarch not to grow up purely in the Oghuz tribal environment. Barthold (Turkestan dovon, p. 308) thought Sardarjâr remained illiterate all his life, but this requires further investigation. By the 6th/12th century, however, various of the sultans in western Persia and 'Irāk are praised in the sources for their culture and education. Thus Anāshirwān b. Khālid, who is severely condemnatory about Mahmūd b. Muhammad's policies, nevertheless praises him for his fine Arabic scholarship, his knowledge of poetry and adab, history and fīrs; and among the Saldjuk amirs of Kirmān of this century, Arslān Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh encouraged scholarship by providing bursaries for students, pensions for the fukahā, etc. (al-Bundarl, 156; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 25-6, 29).

Concerning the non-Muslim population of the empire, mentions of the dhimmis, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, become sparser in the Saldjuk period than for the preceding ones, e.g. the Būyid period. The Christians were still, however, strong in 'Irāk and Iranian provinces of Khūzestān and Fārs and the city of Isfahān, and the 'Abbāsids and the Saldjuk sultans in Baghdād used the services extensively of Jews and Christians for the traditional pursuits of these last, such as administration and the practice of medicine. Despite mention still of a metropolitan for the Christians of Fārs in the early Saldjuk period, the western Persian communities of Christians and of Zoroastrians (the latter of whom life was an important element in Būyid Fārs). It seems to have fallen into decline, the prelude to the eventual disappearance of the Christians, at least, there. The Christians of 'Irāk, on the other hand remained numerous and vigorous, and influential enough in public life to bring down on their heads sporadic Muslim persecution. Thus the caliph's vizier Abū Ḫubbād al-Rūḍāwarī [q.v.] in 484/1091 drastically enforced the discriminatory laws against dhimmis [q.v.], bringing about the conversion to Islam of the Christian head of the caliph's dīwān al-ʿināshāʾ, Abū Saʿīd b. Ibn al-Mawṣīlāyā and of his nephew, the sāḥib al-ḵabar Abū Nasr Ḥabīl Allāh (al-Bundārī, 78; Ibn al-Athir, x, 186). In the east, the metropolitan of Marw was still the most important dignitary of the Nestorian Church in Khurāsān, and a bishop of Tūs is mentioned as late as 1279; Abū Saʿīd b. Abī 'Iṯ̄̄khtyr of an important trade route from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman shores northwards through Khūzestān and Khūrsān, a trade which had international ramifications, since Hindus and Greeks are mentioned as amongst the merchants at the trading suburb of Kumāḏin (the Camadi of Marco Polo, through whose ruined site he passed in the later 7th/13th century, see Yule and Cordier, The book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1903, i, 97-9) outside Djīrūf in Khūzestān, where there were extensive warehouses storing goods in transit (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 49). At the northern end of this trade route, Nishāpūr was the great emporium of Khurasān, often with a special quarter of the town's numerous and influential body of madrasas, warehouses for storing goods in transit (Muhammad b. Ibrahim, 49).

It is hard to find concrete information on trade and economic activities within the Saldjuk empire. The rich geographical and travel literature in Arabic and Persian of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries dwindles almost to nothing during the Saldjuk period, and there is a general paucity of information in the historical sources. One region about which we know a certain amount is Kirmān and eastern Persia, from items mentioned by the local historians of Kirman and noted above in section III. 3. They reveal the existence of an important trade route from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman shores northwards through Kirmān to Kuhistān and Khūrsān, a trade which had international ramifications, since Hindus and Greeks are mentioned as amongst the merchants at the trading suburb of Kumāḏin (the Camadi of Marco Polo, through whose ruined site he passed in the later 7th/13th century, see Yule and Cordier, The book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1903, i, 97-9) outside Djīrūf in Khūzestān, where there were extensive warehouses storing goods in transit (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 49). At the northern end of this trade route, Nishāpūr was the great emporium of Khūrsān at this time, certainly up to the Ghuzz sackings of the second half of the 6th/12th century. It was probably the main centre in the Great Saldjuk state for the minting of the Saldjūks' gold coinage, judging by the
number of extant dinârs which were minted there (see further, below, section VIII. 1), and although information is regrettably lacking, it must have continued, as it did in Sâmânîd and Ghâznavid times, to have commercial contacts with the Central Asian steppelands and beyond.

The southern end of the route, running down to the Gulf of Oman and across it, connected the eastern Persian world with the Arabian one. Al-Mukaddasi, 321, had noted that the name of ka‘în, in Kuhîstân, had a great renown in ʿUmân; at the beginning of the Sâldjûk period, the traveller Nâsîr-i Khusrâw [q. v.] found that transactions at Tabâs (al-Tamr) in the eastern part of the Great Desert, Abu ʿl-Ḥasan Gilâkî, had established perfect security in a region formerly terrorised by the Kufs who must, in any case, have been pushed back southwards by the incoming bands of Oghuz [see KUFS] seem to have been done in the dinârs of Nîshâpûr (Ṣafar-nâmâ, ed. Muhammad Dâbir-Sîyâkî, Tehran 1335/1956, 106, tr. W. M. Thackston, Nâsîr-e Khusrâw’s Book of Travels, Albany 1986, 85). The Kufs or Kûfiî bandits who had been such a menace to commerce and to travellers along the edges of the central Great Desert of Persia in the Bâyûd period [see KUFS] seem to have been mastered by Kâwûrûd, who also took over against a bribe the frontier region of the Bâlût; Nâsîr-i Khusrâw, again, found that the amûr of Tabâs (al-Tamr) had only a local commercial role to play, probably as a centre for pearl-fishing. The towns on or near the Gulf, such as Siraf [q. v.], had an international trade, as entrepôts for South and South-East Asian products destined for the central desert regions, but the late Il-Khânîd period writer Hamd Allâh [q. v.] capital, and now had only a small area enclosed by a wall against the Shâbânîkânâ and the Turkmen, with much of its former area ruinous; another fairly important town of Fârs, Kâzârûn, had suffered similarly (Ībn al-Balkhî, 132-4, 145-6, tr. 36-8, 55-6). It was only in the Il-Khânîd and Muṣaffârîd periods that Shîrûsân revived completely (see Aubin, op. cit., 297-9; q. v.).

We have virtually no information about trade along the great, historic highway across Persia from ʿIrâk either via the more northerly Hamadâtân route or the more southerly Isfahân one to Rây and Khûrûsân, although this must have continued to be a major commercial artery between the central Islamic lands and the northeastern fringes of the Islamic world, even after the comparative peace within the Sâldjûk empire up to Malik Shâh was destroyed by fairly continuous fighting in Dîjbûl, Khurûsân, and Lurûsân during the ensuing succession disputes. We do know, however, that the great cities along this route continued to thrive. Hamadâtân [q. v.] was a lively trade centre with a prosperous agricultural hinterland, and in the later decades of the 6th/12th century served as the sultans’ capital. Rây [q. v.] was taken over by Ṭoḡhrîl Beg in 434/1042-3 from the Turkmen leader ʿIrâbîm IÎnâl when the former came westwards from Khûrûsân, becoming its capital for a while, and the city flourished for the next half-century; fine dinârs were minted there by Ṭoḡhrîl, Alp Arslân and Malik Shâh. After 485/1092, however, the internecine warfare had deleterious effects on the city’s prosperity; from this date, the Sâldjûk coins minted there become scarcer and almost dry up, being of feeble quality, reflecting the degeneration of the coinage (see G. C. Miles, The numismatic history of Rây, New York 1938, 196-217. The standard of the coinage is, of course, concrete evidence of the health or otherwise of the economy in general; for a consideration of the Great Sâldjûk coins, see below, section VIII. 1). It is Isfahân [q. v.] that we are best informed about. It finally passed into Ṭoḡhrîl’s possession from the Kâkûyids in 443/1051, and the sultan immediately put in hand measures for its revival after the preceding years of economic stagnation. On his homeward journey in 444/1052, Nâsîr-i Khusrâw found it in a highly flourishing state, with busy markets, including a bazaar for the money-changers with 200 shops and fifty kâhûns in one street alone, whilst the caravan with which he travelled brought 300 assloads of goods (Ṣafar-nâmâ, 123, tr. 90). Ṭoḡhrîl moved thither his capital from Rây, and the city continued till the death of ʿIrâbîm IÎnâl in 485/1092, on the death of Malik Shâh to be a favoured centre for the sultans, directly administered by them and not granted out to one of their servants or commanders (Mâfarrukhî, K. Mâhâîm Isfahân, ed. Sayyid Djalâl al-Dîn Tîhrânî, Tehran 1312/1933, 101 ff.; and see, in general, on the cities of Persia at this time, Lambton, Aspects of Sâldjûq-Ghâzî settlement in Persia, 116-20).

One result of the general healthiness of the economy was the rapidity with which some of the cities in the areas of paper manufacture, such as Rayy, during the 5th/11th century at least seems to have been a buoyant revenue accruing from the lands of the empire, comparing favourably both with the preceding Bâyûd period and certainly with the succeeding Mongol and Il-Khânîd ones. We have no global figures stemming from the Sâldjûk period itself, but the late Il-Khânîd period writer Hamd Allâh...
MustawfT states, from a lost Risdla-yi Malik Shahi, that the total revenue of the empire was in that sultan’s time 215 million red gold dinārs, the equivalent of roughly 500 million of his own time but in fact a much higher figure than that during Il-Khānīd times (cited in Lambton, op. cit., 120-1).

Bibliography: Given in the article. There are no full-scale works devoted to Seljūk social and economic history, nor any chapters on them in Camb. hist. of Iran, v, but for administration, A. K.S. Lambton's magnum opus on the indivisible structure of the Seljūk empire, in ibid., 203-82, provides a detailed account, to be supplemented now by Carla L. Klausner, The Seljuk vezirate. A study of civil administration 1055-1194, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, and Bulliet's The patricians of Nishapur. Also, Lambton's Continuity and change in medieval Persia, whilst covering a wider expanse of Persian history than just the Seljūk period, nevertheless contains much important information and attention to land tenure and social conditions. The question of patronage, loyalty, clientelism, etc. in the Seljūk empire has recently been examined by A. Jurado Aceituno, La 'hidma' seljūqi: la red de relaciones de dependencia mutua, la dinámica del poder y las formas de obtención de los beneficios, diss. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid 1994, unpubl.

2. In Anatolia
The Seljūk administration in Anatolia was probably less developed and certainly less extensive in its sphere of operations than that of the Great Seljūks. The rulers depended on secretaries and officials from the Seljūk lands further east, essentially of Perso-Islamic culture, for any existing, pre-Seljūk Greek or Armenian officials would have been of little practical use, given their ignorance of Arabic and Persian and of the whole Islamic administrative tradition. Hence the administration, like the culture of the Rum Seljūks, became strongly Persian in ethos. In the formative, earlier period, however, the possibility of extraneous influences from the earlier, Byzantine civilisation should be considered, and the question whether the Seljūks and, after them, the Ottomans, made use of Byzantine models or worked purely with the Perso-Islamic and/or native Turkish traditions, has equivalency of other officials generally used Persian for correspondence, but Arabic was naturally of great importance e.g. for diplomatic relations with the Muslim powers of Syria, Egypt and 'ırāk; Ibn Bībī even mentions niyāt = notarī, who were presumably used for correspondence with Byzantine and other Christian powers and, possibly, for contacts with the indigenous Greek population of Anatolia. Also, Turkish must have been necessary for communicating with the increasing numbers of Turks amongst the Anatolian population, the towns and the countryside; and, in particular, with the army, whose payment was the responsibility of the central dīwān or one of its offshoots concerned with military affairs. When the Karamānīd Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad captured Konya in 675/1277, he is said to have ordered that Turkish only should be used in the chancery there
sisted, which suffered economic and social dislocation, whereas the sultans had an obvious interest in promoting the agricultural prosperity of their dominions. The taxes levied by the Saldjuk administration on the sultanate in the later 7th/13th century, however, taxation on all classes must have increased perceptibly. The sheer productivity of these centuries in the visual arts [see KHAZAF and MA'ADIN represents, in comparison with the output of earlier centuries, a quantum of pottery and coarse glazed ware reminiscent of folk art, elaborately inlaid metalwork to the arts of the book and architecture. It is important to note that this time frame begins well before the Saldjuk period and ends well after it, a reminder that the chronology of artistic styles is often out of phase with that of political history. A by-product of this is that the overlap between Saldjuk art and that of the Buyids, Ghaznawids, Ghurids, Karakhanids and Ghurids, and its nature is uncertain (e.g. in the western and central regions, the Saldjuk art is still either unavailable or inadequately contextualised. Thus the originality of Saldjuk art is apt to be exaggerated.

Despite these burdens, the lands of the sultanate continued in general to prosper. As noted above, during the first half of the 7th/13th century the sultans secured access to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea shores, and even made their presence felt as far away as the Crimea (see above, section III. 5). There was consequently a great fillip to internal trade and the transit trade across Anatolia, signalled by a perceptible building programme by the sultans, from Kilik Arslan II in the later 6th/12th century onwards, and by great men in the state, along the Anatolian caravan routes, seen in bridges, caravanserais, ‘emirets and other facilities for travellers and merchants (see below, section VI. 2). The first tentative trade agreements were made with European powers like the Venetians, specifically in this case concerning access to Mediterranean trade through Antalya (610/1213 and 613/1216). At the same time, urban life within the sultanate revived by the later 6th/12th century from its depressed state under the later Byzantines, and many towns received new or strengthened walls, visible now in the walls of Alanya (those of the walls of Konya only having disappeared in recent times). Although the Saldjuk towns, almost all of them corresponding to their Byzantine and/or classical forerunners, have largely died out, some important towns elsewhere in the Islamic world, they had a vigorous life, accentuated by the mélange of peoples and faiths within them. In the 7th/13th century we have mention of such groups of mixed parentage called ikdih ‘cross-breeds’, and of the akids [q.v.], whose importance in almost all the towns of Anatolia was later to strike the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta.

Bibliography: See that for section III. 5 above, and especially Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 143 ff., 314 ff., and Vryonis, The decline of mediterranean Hellenism in Asia Minor. For administrative organisation, see I.H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti tarihi Maddevi, Istanbul 1941, 64-107, and for military organisation, ibid., 108-22, and A. Bombaci, The army of the Saldjaks of Rum, in AIUON, xxxviii = N.S. xxviii (1978), 343-69. (C.E. Bosworth)

VI. Art and Architecture

1. In Persia

This article will confine itself to the output of the Saldjuk period in Persia, for that was the centre of Saldjuk art and power; and while some Saldjuk rulers extended their authority far to the west, and even to the north-east at times, their hold on this territory was much more tenuous. Moreover, the visual arts in Syria and ‘Iraq between ca. 1000 and ca. 1220 followed their own path, in which local traditions played a major role. For the art of the Saldjaks in Anatolia, see section 2 below.

The importance of Saldjuk art within the broader context of Islamic art as a whole lies in the way that it established the dominant position of Persia; one may compare the pivotal role of Italy in European art. It also determined the future development of art in the Persian world for centuries. In its own time its impact was felt, either through the agency of the Saldjaks themselves or through their successor states, from Syria to the Northern India. The period 1000-1200 set benchmarks for all sorts of fields, from pottery and metalwork to the arts of the book and architecture. It is important to note that this time frame begins well before the Saldjuk period and ends well after it, a reminder that the chronology of artistic styles is often out of phase with that of political history. A by-product of this is that the overlap between Saldjuk art and that of the Buyids, Ghaznawids, Ghurids, Karakhanids and Ghurids, and its nature is unclear (e.g. although the Saldjuk sources call the ‘Emir of Khusraw’ the ‘Emir of the World’. Moreover, was at its most vigorous in the years of Saldjuk decline and after the fall of the dynasty in 1194, and it owed much to the political unity imposed by the Saldjaks on eastern and western Persia. It is to this later period that the major technical advances of Saldjuk art can be attributed. The period from ca. 1150 (the pen case of 542/1148 in the Hermitage provides a convenient point of departure) saw an unprecedented expansion of figural decoration, whether in the form of narrative scenes (taken, for example, from the Shdh-nama of Firdawsi), pictures of courtiers, animals, zodiacal themes, and images from the so-called ‘princely cycle’ featuring hunting, banquetting, music-making and the like. Long benedictory inscriptions in Arabic now become the norm in the portable arts. Sculpture in stucco, ceramic and metal now takes on a new importance.

The sheer productivity of these centuries in the visual arts [see KHAZAF and MA’ADIN represents, in comparison with the output of earlier centuries, a quantum of pottery and coarse glazed ware reminiscent of folk art, elaborately inlaid metalwork and virtually plain cast pieces. One can identify numerous local schools, for example in architecture and ceramics. A natural by-product of this intensive activity was a wide range of technical and stylistic innovations. It must be remembered, however, that the picture is skewed, especially in the fields of pottery and metalwork, by the massive scale of illegal excavations in Persia over the last hundred years, for which there is no parallel in the rest of the Islamic world. In other countries most of the comparable material is still in the ground. And the paucity of detailed monographic studies of key objects and buildings means that much basic information is still either unavailable or inadequately contextualised.

Thus the originality of Saldjuk art is apt to be exag-
gerated. In many cases, the artists of the Saldjuk period (it is misleading to speak of “the Saldjuks” in this connection) consolidated, and indeed at times perfected, forms and ideas that had long been known. In architecture one may cite the 4-iwan plan, the dome chamber over the mihrab in the mosque, and the tomb tower; in Kutânic calligraphy, the apotheosis of the “New Style” of Kufic, now integrated with lavish illumination; in metalwork, the technique of inlay using several metals; and in painting, the development of the frontispiece. Above all, there is surprisingly little for which a source right outside the Persian world can be posited. Although the Saldjuks themselves were Turks, it is hard to point to any specifically Turkish elements in the art of Persia and its eastern provinces in the period under review. This seems to point to the dominance of Persian artisans in the visual arts. Parenthetically, one may note that the picture in Anatolia, where people of Turkish extraction formed a larger proportion of the population, is distinctively different; there, references to pagan 70s, religious beliefs, funerary customs and royal ceremonial are frequently encountered (see section 2. below).

What of patronage? Only two pieces of Saldjuk pottery made for a person of high rank, one an amir, the other a vizier, are known, and the situation is little better in the case of metalwork. The overwhelmingly rich and varied production in these fields ought presumably, therefore, to be attributed to patronage exercised at a lower level of society, such as merchants, members of the learned class and professional people. Most of it was presumably made for the market, though this would not exclude its use by those of high rank. Architecture, involving as it did much larger sums of money, is a different story altogether. Inscriptions in mosques and mausolea mention the Saldjuk sultans themselves (e.g. Malik Shâh and Mohammad), viziers (Nizâm al-Mulk, Tâdji al-Mulk), Turkish chieftains (the towers of Kharrâkân), army commanders (Urmiya) and numerous amirs (Marâgha, Mîhmandust, Kazvîn and Abârbûh).

Problems of provenance have bedevilled the study of the so-called “minor arts” in the Saldjuk period. These problems have been exaggerated by the fact that most of the known material has not been scientifically excavated and lacks inscriptions yielding solid information on its production. Conjectures about the areas of production there), and this luxury ware was widely traded, to judge by the sherding carried out by A. Williamson and others. But conversely, many other slightly less luxurious but still fine wares cannot be securely associated with any one city or area, and they might therefore have been produced in several places independently (like the Samâned epigraphic ware of the 10th century, which was produced in both Samarqand and Nîshâpûr, and apparently in Merv too). The same is true of the celebrated Bobrinski bucket and the Tîfis ewer both bear an inscription indicating that they were made in Harât indicates that fine inlaid metalwork was produced in that city, and the occurrence of craftsman’s nîbas indicating Khurâsânî cities—Harât, Marw, Nîshâpûr—con-firms the important role of this province in metalwork. But it is not enough to justify the wholesale attribution to Harât of wares that merely share some of the forms. A new light body known as stone-paste or fritware was devised; it was made largely from ground quartz, with
small quantities of ground glass and fine clay, presumably an attempt by Islamic potters to imitate the body of Chinese porcelain, though the necessary evidence of trade with China is missing. Such pieces were mostly moulded. Others belonged to categories known as silhouette or double-shell wares and in these, as in lakabi and other sgraffito wares, much of the decoration was incised with a knife or a pointed object. Such incised wares continued a fashion well established before the Saldjik period. Underglaze painting in blue and black was also popular, as was painting in blue and black was also popular, as was a type of translucent white ware, often pierced for decoration. In some of these, as in lakabi and other sgraffito wares and book painting, including Saldjik ceramics—handles, stepped feet, imitation chains, incising, gilding, flaming—derive from metalwork. Similarly, the ornamental sheen and decorative motifs of Saldjik metalwork reveal close familiarity with manuscript illumination. All this points both to the interdependence of the arts in this period and to the existence of hierarchies within the visual arts.

The recent demonstration (Bloom, Blair and Wardwell, in Ars Orientalis, xxii [1992]) that the majority of textiles once thought to be Buyid or Saldjuk are in fact of modern manufacture has made it imperative to submit all so-called Saldjuk silks to scientific tests, and renders premature any art-historical enquiry into them.

It is not possible to say much about book painting in Saldjik times, for the principal centre of production in this period was 'Irak, which was then under the control of the newly reasurated caliphate [see Tawir]. Thus 'Iraki painting, for all its stylistic affinities with Saldjuk art, cannot be brought into the present discussion. The most likely candidate to represent the largely vanished art of Saldjuk book painting is the verse romance effect. Many of the most expressive wares bear inscriptions that are not a part of the painting, and signed by the painter 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Khuyi. This suggests a provenance in north-west Persia, but Anatolia is a distinct possibility too. The manuscript (in the Topkapi Sarayi library in Istanbul) has 70 brightly coloured illustrations in strip format against a plain coloured or patterned ground, with figurative types of the kind familiar in many parts of the Islamic world. Manuscript illumination. All this points both to the interdependence of the arts in this period and to the existence of hierarchies within the visual arts.

A fragment of al-Suft's treatise with figural types of the kind familiar in Islamic manuscripts is the verse romance effect. Many of the most expressive wares bear inscription bands and geometric brick patterning—known from as early as the 1020s (Dkhle, Simn). Of the two standard types of Saldjuk manuscripts, the tomb tower perhaps reached its apogee in the Gunbad-i Kabus, dated 397/1006-7 [q.v.], while the other type, the domed square, is still brought to a pitch of perfection in the so-called "Tomb of the Salmâns" in Bukhâra, datable before 943. That building also exhibits a highly developed style of brick and terracotta ornament. Similarly, such standard features of Saldjuk architecture as the trilobed squinch and the and square, respectively, are already brought to a pitch of perfection in 1069 (mausoleum of Arab-Ata, Tim). Such a phenomenon can be detected in other art forms, for example in sgraffito pottery or the continuity of the zone and decoration from pre-Saldjuk to Saldjuk metalwork; and while the quantity and range of architectural tilework is indubitably a "Saldjuk" phenomenon, its roots in Islamic monuments lie as far back as Salmânsar.

The distinctive Saldjuk contribution lies rather in the final establishment of several of the classical forms of Persia architecture and in the capacity of Saldjuk artists to draw out the utmost variety from these types. Mosques with one, two, three or four minarets are known, and the 4-minaret plan receives its classic formulation in association with an open courtyard and a monumental domed chamber; a hierarchy of size distinguished major minarets from minor ones [see mausoleum of Arab-Ata]. The same phenomenon can be detected in other art forms, for example in sgraffito pottery or the continuity of the zone and decoration from pre-Saldjuk to Saldjuk metalwork; and while the quantity and range of architectural tilework is indubitably a "Saldjuk" phenomenon, its roots in Islamic monuments lie as far back as Salmânsar.

Several fine Saldjuk Kûr'âns have survived [see knatt]. They include dated examples in Msâhid (466/1073), Tehran (485/1092 and 606-8/1209-11), Philadelphia (559/1164; produced in Hamadân) and London (582/1186), as well as examples which slightly pre-date the advent of the Saldjûks (London, 427/1036 and Dublin, 428/1037). There are also numerous undated but probably Saldjuk examples in Dublin, Paris, Istanbul, Tehran and London, to say nothing of parts of Kûr'âns or individual leaves in dozens of collections throughout the world. Saldjûk Kûr'âns are notable for their magnificent full-page or double-page miniatures, inset or detached pieces and colophon pages, often of pronounced geometric character, with script in panels taking a prime role. They are known both in naskhi and in "New Style", otherwise known as "East Persian", Küf. There is a substantial variation in scale—from small one-volume Kûr'âns measuring 12 by 10 cm to large ones of 41 by 28 cm and there are some in 30 or 60 parts, large and small, each part with its own frontispiece. The discrepancy in size and layout extends to the number of pages per line, which varies from 2 to 20, and to the size, quantity and placing of illumination. The task of establishing dates and provenances for this am ample material, and devising working categories for it, has only just begun.

In architecture even more than in other fields the division line, so far as style is concerned, between what is definably Saldjûk and what precedes that period is very hard to draw, though the Mongol invasion and the architectural vacuum that followed it means that there is a distinct break in continuity after 1220. A few examples will make this clear. The characteristic minarets of Saldjuk type—lofty, cylindrical, set on a polygonal plinth and garnished with inscription bands and geometric brick patterning—are known from as early as the 1020s (Dâmghân, Simn). Of the two standard types of Saldjuk mausoleum, the tomb tower perhaps reached its apogee in the Gunbad-i Kabûs, datable before 943. That building also exhibits a highly developed style of brick and terracotta ornament. Similarly, such standard features of Saldjuk architecture as the trilobed squinch and the and square, respectively, are already brought to a pitch of perfection in 1069 (mausoleum of Arab-Ata, Tim). Such a phenomenon can be detected in other art forms, for example in sgraffito pottery or the continuity of the zone and decoration from pre-Saldjuk to Saldjuk metalwork; and while the quantity and range of architectural tilework is indubitably a "Saldjuk" phenomenon, its roots in Islamic monuments lie as far back as Salmânsar.

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arch) whose depth, energy and rhythmic movement has as its foil the austere, low-relief articulation vouchsafed to the lower walls and to the inner dome itself. But other Saldjuk mosque types, such as the free-standing domed chamber or the arcade hall, are also known.

In mausolea (see TURĀB), the pišghāk was developed from a simple salient porch to a great screen which conferred a grandiose façade on the building behind it (Tūs, Sarakhs). The original simply formal dome of the domed square underwent other major changes too, notably in the development of a gallery zone (Sangāstan), engaged corner columns (Takistān, Hamadān), and double dome (mausoleum of Sultan Sangārj, Marw). Lofty tomb towers proliferated across northern Persia, many of them built as secular memorials for amirs and others of high rank, though some have mihrābs and therefore served at least in part a religious purpose. Their form varied: some were square, cylindrical or flanged but most had 7, 8, or 10 or 12 sides, with inner domes crowned by conical or polychedral roofs. Their form was well suited to the development of brick ornament, for it ensured a constant change of plane and therefore much variety in the play of shadow. Here, too, some of the earliest uses of glazed tilework are to be found.

The impressive sequence of some 40 Saldjuk minarets (see MANĀRA. 1) comprises all manner of structural variations, including single or double staircases with or without a central column, flaring corbelled balconies, three-tiered differences, shafts articulated with or without a central column, flaring corbellings, minarets (see MANARA. 1) comprises all manner of structural variations, including single or double staircases, with or without a central column, flaring corbelled balconies, three-tiered elevations, shafts articulated with or without a central column, flaring corbellings, double or polychedral roofs. Their form was well suited to the development of brick ornament, for it ensured a constant change of plane and therefore much variety in the play of shadow. Here, too, some of the earliest uses of glazed tilework are to be found.

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because, with exceptions like the Great Mosque and Hospital at Divriği and the foundation of Huant (Khânedâr) Hatun at Kayseri (Şawwâl 635*/May-June 1238); cf. Akok, 1968), mosques, madrasas and baths may have been adjacent but were not integrated structures, so that substantial parts could well have disappeared without damage to the rest. Funerary foundations, with the pyramidal or conical roof of a mausoleum clearly visible from the exterior, also appear to have been less common than in Ayyûbid Syria: among the exceptions are the Citadel Mosque at Konya (656*71221-91) replacing a mosque of Maqdûl I (550*1155) which once stood near the tombs of the Sultans of Rûm (Kaykâwûs I is buried, however, in the hospital he founded at Sivas [614*1217-8]); the hospital at Divriği (626*71228-9) and the complex of Huant (Khânedâr) Hatun at Kayseri (Şawwâl 635*/May-June 1238). The mosque of the vizier Fâkhâr al-Dîn ʿAlî (656*1258; cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 79) was augmented by a şâhâne (fâkhâr) on his death which was turned into a family mausoleum. Many other monuments contain provision for a mausoleum, even if they have no burials, but they are unmarked architecturally and may well have been afterthoughts.

Mausolea. The vast majority of mausolea are isolated tomb-towers. Despite marked local variation in decoration, their construction is basically standard, a pyramidal or conical drum with a pyramidal or conical roof on a raised square podium which houses the crypt. The interior often contains a mihrâb, not necessarily because prayers were to be said there but to orient the burial. These türbes or kümbets derive from the brick tomb-towers of later-12th-century Bändigâl, as at Nağçâwân [q.v.] and Marâğha [q.v.], though they are virtually all of cut stone without any tilework. Many are anonymous but those which bear inscriptions are generally of amirs or high-born ladies. In the cemeteries of Ahtal (Gabriel and Sauvaget, 1940; Karamâzarâh, 1972) they occur alongside conventional inhumations with a cenotaph and head- and foot-stones. Another monumental tomb-type is the so-called Gûmey, Hatun Tûrbe at Konya (late 13th century; cf. Meinecke, ii, no. 86), an open iwân built over a crypt and with traces of tile decoration on the façade. Such tombs remain quite common in the Kayseri area.

Fortifications. The building or restoration of fortifications by the Sâlûdûk sultans of Konya closely follows the unification of their territories, particularly in the reigns of Kaykâwûs I and Kaykûbât I as they subjugated the smaller Turcoman amirates and expanded into Byzantine territory. These include the walls of the city and Citadel of Konya (660*1263-4; 670*1273; 697*1281; 675*1279) and 693*1284-5; Sinop (Râbi’ II 612*July 1215), Antalya (Dûmûdâ 1 617*July 1220, 622*1225-6, 626*1229-9 and 642*1244-5) and the Citadel of Kayseri (621*1224-5). The walls and Citadel of Sivas were probably restored early in the reign of Kaykûbât I, and after his capture of Erzurum in 1230 its walls also were restored. The latest of his Turcoman rivals to build or restore their walls were the Mengûdûjkûks at Divriği (inscriptions of 654*1258-64, 660*1269-70, 670*1273-4; 655*1259-60; 684*1268-9; 693*1284-5, long after they had accepted Sâlûdûk suzerainty, and indeed when they had passed under Mongol overlordship. The most imposing structures were at Konya (Bombaci, 1969), but Sarre (1936; and cf. Laborde, 1836) pointed out that they were the walls not of the city but of Kaykûbât I’s palace-citadel, hence for show rather than defence. The most
important fortifications are therefore those of Alanya (Ala'iyya [q.v.]) (623-971; cf. Rice and Seton Lloyd, 1958) with a 5-bay naval dockyard (terstane), unique among extant Islamic naval installations. A break in the curtain wall to the principal tower, the Kizil Kule, which bears the signature of an engineer Abu 'l-'Ali b. 'Abi 'l-Radhā b. al-Kattāni al-Halabi, whose name also appears on the walls of Sinop, referred to in 1215*.

Palaces. Of the pavilion (köşk) on the Citadel at Konya, a brick construction with mud-brick core, nothing survives, but a photograph of 1895 shows its upper floor complete, now over a projecting rectangular tower of a line of inner walls and with an open arch showing the remains of a tile revetment on the exterior. This bore an inscription in the name of Küçük Arslan, in Sarre's view (1936) of the fourth ruler of that name (655-63/1257-63 [q.v.]). Tile remains from the inner rooms include minātā' tiles with human figures. Excavations are still continuing at the palace of Kübâbâd (q.v.) on Lake Beyşehir and have so far recovered a number of architectural elements and a fragment of a d'homme, a mosque (633-712/1235-6), baths, a quay and a small dockyard (terstane), and a game reserve.

Khan. One of the most striking features of Anatolian Seljuk architecture is the chains of caravansarays roughly 25 km/16 miles, one day's march, apart [see khan], linking the principal cities of the Sultanate of Rum, in particular Antalya, Eğri'dir and Konya; Konya and Abyon Karahisar, Konya and Denizli; Konya, Aş Saray and Kayseri; Kayseri and Sivas; Kayseri and Malatya; and Malatya, Sivas, Amasya and Sinop. No urban khan of the Seljuk period is preserved. Though the earliest caravansarays date to the late 12th century, the capture of Antalya (1207) and the annexation of Sinop (1215) by Kaykâwûs I were essential preliminaries to developing them as chains. Their principal function was evidently to service the north-south overland trade of strategic exports such as timber and Kîpçėl slaves from the Crimea to Antalya, whence they made their way by sea to the Ayyûbid states of Syria and Egypt, and to levy transit taxes on international trade. The peak period of foundations, 1230-45, follows hard upon the completion of the fortifications of Antalya. The Sultan Han near Aş Saray (Ragadîb 626* [June] 1229) and the contemporary Sultan Han near Kayseri (Frazer, 1929) have been purposefully built as halts for Kaykâbûd I on his progress from city to city, but these, like the smaller khan, were also convenient for pilgrims on the hadjî or for inter-urban trade, and in time of war could be used for garrisons or as refuges. Inexplicably, the east-west trade was much less favoured: despite the increasingly difficult terrain, the density of distribution cast of Sivas very markedly decreases. This may explain why the Mkhargrdzeli governors of Amasya and Sinop (Rogers, 1976) built their own chain of caravansarays to tap the trade along the Araxes.

The founders of these Anatolian caravansarays included the sultans and their ladies, viziers and amîrs. Their often well-preserved state suggests, moreover, that the specimen waṣfelîyyas of Seljuk caravansarays published by Turan (1947-8) are typical and that most of them had waṣf endowments. However, the Hekim Han near Malatya (615* [1218]; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 18) founded by an archdeacon and doctor, which bears inscriptions in Arabic, Syriac and Armenian, showing it to have been a family investment, is evidence that not all Seljuk caravansarays need have been pious foundations.

With very few exceptions, for example the Evdir Han near Antalya (datable 1213-19; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 55) which is built round an open courtyard, the nucleus of these caravansarays was a covered hall. This was the most appropriate to the Anatolian winter climate, though fireplaces and chimneys are generally absent. To the hall, as and when permitted, a courtyard would be added, often much larger because it was cheaper to build and because the peak season of trade was the summer when shelter was less important. With the courtyard came elaborations. Sixteen out of the surviving courtyard and hall caravansarays include mausûls and some of them, like the Sultan Han near Kayseri, placed a bath too. In the two Seljuk Hâns, mausûls take the form of richly decorated kiosks raised on a four-bay substructure. The Karatay Han (courtyard 638* [1240-1]; Erdmann, 1961, i, no. 32) also includes a spring housed in a turbe-like building.

Many of these mausûls are undecorated but practically all of them, though not built as fortresses, are fortress-like in their appearance, with stout buttresses and corner-towers. Many, however, have grand entrances, both to the courtyard and to the hall; although sometimes the hall porch is the richer, the decoration of the courtyard entrances is directly related to the elaborateness of the plan and the lavishness of the apertures. After the Sultan Hans, the richest decoration is that of the Karatay Han, the two porches of which (Erdmann, 1976, ii-ii, Plates 99-113) make use of ornamental bosses, elaborate mukarnas [q.v.] systems and angular interlacing strapwork, with animal friezes on the courtyard side of the main entrance and high-relief water spouts in the form of lions.

It is unclear how the considerable labour force employed at the peak building period of caravansarays (1230-45) was organised. The plans chosen must largely have depended on the terrain, so that variation is not necessarily significant; but the marked dissimilarities in buttresses and corner towers and the apparently random approach to the vaulting of halls and their lighting argue for an absence of centralised direction. The typology of decoration, which has little to do with, for example, tilework, is also difficult to reconstruct, not least because of the large proportion of undated buildings and because, as the work of Muhammad b. Kâhwîlân al-Dimaghî on the Sultan Han near Aş Sarây shows, a skilled decorator could vary his repertory to suit his employer. Neighbouring caravansarays tend to have somewhat similar decoration, which argues for the employment of local or provincial gangs of masons. Entrance-profiles were, however, probably largely standardised and analysis of these may well produce significant results.

Bridges. There has been no comprehensive survey of the bridges of Seljuk Anatolia, but Taeschner (i, 182 ff., 236 ff.) observes that for the most part they lie on the major Roman roads and that, for example, most of the Seljuk bridges in the neighbourhood of Sivas either incorporate or replace Roman structures (cf. Gabriel, 1934, 165-7). In the Seljuk period, re fortification and the construction of chains of caravansarays made bridge-building particularly important, not least because bridges offered another convenient way of levying transit taxes. Thus many, like the bridge over the Kızıl İrmak near Kayseri on the Kirşehir road (599* [1202-3]) built by Rukn al-Din Sulaymân b. Khâlid Arslân II, are royal foundations.

Structure. With the striking exception of the Great Mosque and Hospital at Divriği (Tükel-Yavuz, 1978), the vaulting systems of which include types of domical vault, as well as groined and elaborately ribbed vaults closely paralleled in the chapter-houses,
libraries and refectories of 12th-13th century Greater Armenian monasteries, as at Hagartsin (1248) and Saghmosavank (1255) (cf. Khal’pakhcian 1955, 1971), most Anatolian Saljuk architecture is structurally simple. Plans, moreover, are often stereotyped and much use is made of open courtyards with one, two or four iwans: despite the harsh winter climate, only mosques are regularly covered.

Building materials. Brick occupies a minor place in the architecture of Saljuk Anatolia (Bakirer, i-ii, 1981) and is most characteristic of immigrant or refugee craftsmen from Dibbâl or Persia, for example, the work of Ahmad b. Abü Bakr al-Marandi on the mausoleum of Kaykâwûs I in his Hospital at Sivas (4 Shawwâl 617*/2 December 1220). Though brick continues to be employed for domes, for example the Ince Minare and Bûyük Karatatay madrasas at Konya (latter 649*/1251-2), it generally gives way to stone and the only monument substantially of brick is the Great Mosque (Arik, 1969; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 96) at Malatya [q.v.]. The principal building material employed is volcanic tuff, carefully squared, with a rubble core. This was also widely used in 12th-13th century Greater Armenia, but though a few decorative features and, for example, the domed crossings of some of the larger caravansarays recall Armenian prototypes, the names of clearly Armenian craftsmen rarely occur and there are few or no obviously Armenian masons’ marks. On the contrary, it is the influence of Western Georgia (Tao-Klargeti) which is apparent in the 13th century architecture of Erzurum: and where “Saljûk” parallels with Armenian compositions on the facade of the Qifte Minare and the Gok Medrese at Sivas (670*/1270-1) and the west porch of the Buyûk Karatay madrasa is not apparent and the very marked differences between them, these diverse traditions are probably executed the entrance porch of the Buyûk Karatay madrasa at Konya, where to each side of the entrance a classical sarcophagus supports an ornamentally framed fountain and serves as a base for the whole composition.

Decoration. The different traditions of stoneworking, masonry, and tile-mosaic in Anatolian Saljuk architecture (Onew, 1978) place their decoration among the richest in Islam. The contrast between this lavish decoration and the relatively simple structural forms implies, moreover, that craftsmen’s inscriptions on buildings refer not to their architects but to their decorators, either masons or tile-mosaic specialists.

The decorative repertoire, which, strikingly, makes little use of monumental inscriptions, combines, in varying degrees, elements from the traditions of Western and North Syria and the Djazira: common elements include elaborately profiled entrance porches, and surface ornament of interiors and foliate arabesques (in Ottoman Turkish appropriately termed rûmî) punctuated by carved friezes or high-relief sculpture which very often are figural (Otto-Dorn, 1978-9), including both the traditional Muslim court repertory and animals and monsters—dragons, sphinxes, harpies, griffons and two-headed eagles, many of them shown as if they were heraldic, as on tiles and woodwork too. The only comparable repertoire on carved stone is to be found in 12th-century material from Ghazna [q.v.], though its treatment is stylistically unrelated.

In south-west and central Anatolia, at Konya, Kayseri, Niğde and Antalya and the caravansarays between them, these traditions are variously described as showing a remarkable rapid assimilation shows itself also on the grandest marble facade of all, the porch of the Gok Medrese (Ank, 1969; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 78), but not at Kaykubâd b. Khawânî, who is very probably executed the entrance porch of the Bûyük Karatatay madrasa at the same time), signs himself as al-Dîmaghî, not al-Halâbî. Reminisences of the Aleppo porch appear on later stone buildings at Konya, notably the Ince Minare madrasa (663/1264-5; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 78), but not at Kaykubâd b. Khawânî’s earlier work cannot have been entirely to the sultans’ taste, for when his signature recurs, on the Sultan Han near Ak Sarây (Ragdjab 626*/June 1229), the decoration and profiling are much closer to standard central Anatolian facade compositions. This rapid assimilation shows itself also on the grandest marble facade of all, the porch of the Gök Medrese, Sivas (670*/1271-2), signed by Kâlûyân al-Kûnâwî (the nizâr doubtless referring to his specialization in marble-work; see Sivas, A. Saray (1936) and Bombaci (1969) also attribute the collection of marbles outside the Citadel gates of Konya (Laborde, 1836) to Kaykubâd I’s own personal taste.

In addition to the marble re-used and re-carved in the above monuments, marble fragments were often incorporated unchanged. This is strikingly the case with the walls of the Zazadin Han (courtyard 634*/1236-7), which include a mass of fragments from Byzantine sarcophagi, including crosses. However, they could also be treated as part of the decoration, as on the façade of the mosque of Fâhîr al-Dîn 4Ali (Şâhîb Ata) at Konya, where to each side of the entrance a classical sarcophagus supports an ornamentally framed fountain and serves as a base for the whole composition.

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between the three Konya monuments testify rather to an inherent freakishly eclectic or "Baroque" tendency in Anatolian Seljuk architectural decoration.

Possibly the most remarkable feature of Seljuk monumental façades is the reproduction of entrance porches. A regrettably unpublished photogrammetric survey of the façades of the Çifte Minare madrasa at Erzurum (post-1230; Rogers, *Kunst des Orients*, 1974) and the Gök Medrese at Sivas (670*1271-2) by Alpay Özalıev of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, has demonstrated that the latter was copied to scale. Other copies (Ogul, 1966), smaller in size, include the Eşrefoğlu Camii at Beysehir (699*1299-1300) and the Hatuniye Medrese at Karaman (783*1381-2) [see LARANDA, 2. Monuments]. The reasons for the popularity of this façade remain unknown and, apart from the Gök Medrese at Sivas which records, probably, the marble-worker involved, none bears a craftsman's name. Their repeated duplication points, anyway, to the employment of techniques described by Byzantine writers on architecture (Downey, 1948) but ill-attested elsewhere in mediaeval Islam.

Patronage. Although in the light of the foundation inscriptions extant, the overwhelming majority of Seljuk buildings appears to have been the work of individual amirs (Rogers, 1976), the sultans may well have been indirectly involved in giving grants of land (tamlik) to found the foundations. Among individuals who were notably associated with buildings, the primacy is held by the vizier Fakhr al-Din ‘Ali (Sâhib Ata), whose attested foundations include a khân at Işkâh (647*1249-50); the Taş Medrese and a masjid at Aḡ Şehir (648*1250-1), with a khânâkh there (659*1260-1); a mosque at Konya (655*1258); the Sahabiye Medrese and a salât at Kaysery (663*1266-7 and 1267) (Akok, 1967); a thermal establishment and a khân at Iğûn (666*1267); the Gök Medrese at Sivas (670*1271-2); a khânâkh at Konya attached to his mosque there (668*1269-70) and which was later transformed into a family mausoleum (682*1283-4); and the Tahir or Zühre masjid at Konya (ca. 1280).

But another high official, the Pervâne Mu‘ûn al-Dîn Sulaymân [q.v.], was almost equally active in the Pontic provinces (Kaymaz, 1970, 187-88). At Sinop he built the Alaüeddin Medrese (664*1265-6, correcting ECEA 4505), a mosque (657*1258), a madrasa at Merzifon (663*1264-5) and the Duruk Han near the confluence of the Gök Irmak and the Kızıl Irmak (664*1265-6). There is also archival evidence that he founded a hospital at Tokat in 674*1275-6. Not surprisingly, Fâhîr al-Dîn ‘Ali and Mu‘ûn al-Dîn Sulaymân were prominent among the high officials of the Anatolian Seljuk sultans to profit from the decline of the central power and establish hereditary amirs (Rogers, 1976, ii, 35-45; ii, no. 71) strongly suggests, innovation owed much to refugee craftsmen from Khurasân or even Ghurid Harât. Al-Tûsî's workshop at Konya seems to have executed tile revetments from the Citadel Mosque, ca. 1235, up to the Büyük Karatay Medrese (649*1251-2; Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 75).

This last houses by far the most elaborate decoration of any Anatolian Seljuk monument, including large areas of cut faience mosaic and mosaics of relief-carved elements in turquoise and manganese-purple, as well as dadoes of hexagonal turquoise tiles with fired gilt decoration. The last elaborate tile mosaic decoration at Konya is in the funerary khânkât, dated 678*1280 and restored in Muhabarr 682*1283 (Meinecke, ii, no. 79 and 89), which the vizier Fâhîr al-Dîn ‘Ali (Sâhib Ata) added to his mosque (656*1258). The revival of tile-mosaic in late 13th century Il-Khânid Persia is very probably indebted to Anatolian composite craftsmen conscripted by Il-Khân Khorâsân for the works he ordered at Tabriz, Isfahan, and elsewhere at Ani [q.v.].

An even more characteristic feature of Anatolian Seljuk architectural decoration is star and cross-tiles for the dadoes of palaces at Konya, Antalya, Kubadâbât, Kaykubâdiyâ and Diyarbekir [q.v.], for the bath built at Kaysery by Huant (Khând) Hatun, the wife of Kuybây Kânî in Şawwâl 635*May-June 1238 and in the Roman theatre at Aspendos. The Kubadâbât-Huant Hatun-Aspendos group is technically varied (Oney, 1975; 1976) including underglaze-painted, lustre-painted and sgraffito tiles, with a rich repertory of human figures, animals, birds, Zodiac and planet figures and monsters, many of them, as on Seljuk stonework, displayed in quasi- or pseudo-heraldic fashion: it has not been demonstrated that any of them were either personal or dynastic heraldic emblems (Rogers, 1977-8). Stylistically many of the tiles show closer similarities to underglaze-painted wares from Rakka [q.v.] and other Ephrates potteries than to 13th century Kâğân tilework. But the lustre-painted tiles from Kubadâbât and the tiles from Kaykubâdiyâ are sui generis (cf. Aslanapa, 1965, Plates 5-8).

Stucco. The most elaborate uses of carved and moulded stucco in architectural decoration are the figurual reliefs the Seljuk palaces. They include as fine friezes, dados, lion-slaier from Konya, TIEM 2831, and animal friezes and frames for windows, niches or wall-cupboards with phoenixes in the spandrels of their broken arches from Kubadâbât, now in the Konya Museum. In Sarre's view (1909, 22) the stone window hood in the TIEM (Kühnel, 1938, Pl. 7) was mistakenly attributed to Diyarbekir and is actually from Konya (or Kubadâbât). Very similar fragments, now in the Historical Museum, Erevan, were discovered at Ani [q.v.; cf. Marr, 1934], and phoenixes also decorate spandrels on the façades of the church of Tigran Honents (1215) there. This should, however, be seen in the context of the evident taste of the Mkhargdzeli governors of the city for Anatolian Seljuk decoration (Rogers, 1976).

In religious buildings, stucco was often used as a plain white ground for faience-mosaic inlay. The râbâ‘ of the Alì Sharif mosque or al-Ablâm mosque, Ankara (minbar dated 688*1290), however, brilliantly combines carved stucco inscriptions and pilasters with ceramic mosaic inlay, foreshadowing the elaborate carved stucco of early 14th century Il-Khânid Persia.

(b) The minor arts.

Woodwork. Anatolia has always been rich in
wood, and the wood-carving of the Anatolian Saljukids, often in solid walnut, is among the finest in Islam. It was used not only for minbars and other mosque furniture, doors and sets of window-shutters, but also for cenotaphs and folding Kurn stand-ups (table) ingeniously carved from a single plank (Çulpan, 1968). Techniques included lattices of turned wood (mashrabiyya [q. v.]) and tongue-and-groove panelling of polygons and stars set in a strapwork skeleton (küdançâr), as well as imitations of this worked on solid planks. On minbars, the names of scribes or calligraphers frequently appear alongside the craftsman’s name: the latter describe themselves variously as minâr, as on the cenotaph of Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmi at Konya (5 Dîjûmân 672*/12 December 1273; cf. Meinecke, 1976, ii, no. 84: the form of the original building is unknown), banaâ, and nadidjâr. Although on the earliest of the known series of Anatolian Saljuk minbars, from the Great Mosque at Âk Sarây, bearing the names of Masu'dî I and Kilij Arslân II and datable therefore pre-550/1155, a certain Khâlid Nûghûkî al-Djâmâlî is named as minâr al-madîj ass tûl minbâr, this must record not his workmanship but the official installation of the minbar which turned the madîjîd into a Great Mosque.

Other important Saljuk wooden minbars (Oral, 1962) include those from the Citadel mosque at Konya (Râdjaq 550*/September 1155); the Great Mosque at Siirt (611*/1214); the Great Mosque (Muharram 621*/January-February 1224 [Ark, 1969] and 638*/1240-1) at Malatya [q. v.]; and those from the Arslanhan Camii and the Kızı̇l Beg Camii at Ankara (689*/1290-1 and 699*/1299-1300, respectively) the work of a nadidjâr who also built the minbar of the Great Mosque at Çorum. The finest of the series is the minbar of the Great Mosque at Divriği (638*/1240-1), the work of Ahmad b. İbrahim al-Tiflîsî and a scribe Muhammad, with mashrabiyya balustrades, grandly designed inscriptions and heavily undercut foliate arabesques. Wooden window-shutters and remains of a “Royal Box” up in the rafters (Tükêl-Yavuz, 1978), though in rather different styles, are equally sumptuous. The occurrence of nisbas among the woodworkers’ names relating to Aklhâl and Tiflis/Tbilisi may or may not be significant. Even the Divriği minbar gives way, however, to the table for the mausoleum-shrine of Djalâl al-Dîn Butân (689*/1290-1), the work of Ahmad b. İbrahim, to the table of an inscription in the name of Sandjar Shah, Atabak of Djazirat Ibn Umar [q. v.] in 1208 (The Anatolian civilisations, iii, 1983, D. 95). Dragon-knockers, in varying sizes and for other buildings include that in Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst I. 2242.

Other metalwork well represented from finds in Anatolia includes zoomorphic padlocks of well-known mediaeval Persian or Syrian type, brass/bronze mirrors and cast brass dishrings-weights for steelyards. Types represented by single specimens are open-work mosque-lamp from the Esrefoglu Camii at Kayseri (699*/1299-1300, respectively), with rich carving on the outside and with painting inside of compositions of two-headed eagles and lions in scrolling arabesques under yellow varnish.

Ceramics and glass. Apart from finds of fritware at the Citadel in Konya (Akok, Alâeddîn Köskû, 1968), now in the Konya Museum, possibly made by craftsmen brought in from Rakka or other Euphrates potteries, most Anatolian Saljuk pottery belongs to the late family of polychrome-painted sgraffito wares manufactured in the Eastern Mediterranean from Cyprus to the Caucasus and Transcaucasia and the Black Sea. The Anatolian material is still undifferentiated and little, if anything, is known of where it was made; but, not surprisingly, figural decoration is conspicuous and close parallels to much of it have come from Diyarbekir, and a group of cast candlesticks sparingly inlaid with silver have been attributed to Siirt (Allan, 1978). Two large 12th or 13th century drums engraved with human-headed Kufic and fine scrolls (TIEM 2832-3) were also discovered at Diyarbekir. And although the doors made by al-Djazari (Hill, 1974, 191-5) for the palace of the Artukid ruler at Diyarbekir with cast brass plates inlaid with copper and silver and knockers of confronted dragons and knobs in the form of a lion’s head have not survived, they were much imitated. Knockers of this type and brass plaques from the doors of the Ulu Cami, Gize, bear the remains of an inscription in the name of Sandjar Shah, Atabak of Djazirat Ibn Umar [q. v.] in 1208 (The Anatolian civilisations, iii, 1983, D. 95). Dragon-knockers, in varying sizes and for other buildings include that in Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst I. 2242.

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Figure coinage. As with their neighbours, the Turcoman dynasties of northern Syria and the Qańzıра, issues of figural types are common in the
coinage of Saldıņı fresh Anatolia. The prototypes are similarly varied (cf. Brown, 1974), Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine, but other types bear Zebruc or planet figures, animals and monsters, some perhaps heraldic, and, in particular, the Lion and the Sun (Şırı ½ Khrılş). This device is most characteristic of the coinage of Kaykhusraw II, but the claim, follow-
ing contemporary historians, that he adopted it at the behest of his Georgian wife, Rusudan (Güncı Hatun), has not been proved. For a fuller discussion of these
questions, see below, section VIII. 2.

Textiles. A silk with double-headed eagles and dragon-headed scrolls formerly in the church of St.
Shir u Khurshid). Her heraldic, and, in particular, the Lion and the Sun
behest of his Georgian wife, Rusudan (Güncı Hatun),

There is also copious literary evidence for the wide-
spread manufacture of floor-coverings by nomads,
perhaps, however, flat-weaves, not pile carpets. It is
difficult to say what they looked like, but varied and
undoubtedly ancient fragments from the Citadel
Mosque at Konya, the Eşrefoğlu Camii at Beyşehir
(Riefstahl, 1931) and the Great Mosque at Divrıği are
often accepted to be Saldıņı in date. Both relative and
absolute chronologies are, however, lacking. No
evidence, moreover, has been found that carpets were
yet being exported to the northern Mediterranean
countries.

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religious, the royal and the popular in the figural coinage of the Jazıra, in The art of Syria and the Jazıra 1100-1250,
1. In Persia and 'Irák
The Seljüks were important patrons of Persia, and to a lesser extent, also of Arabic belles-lettres. In this article we shall begin by looking at the panegyric poetry directed towards them (it is here that the relationship between patron and client is most immediately obvious) before taking a briefer look at the narrative and didactic poetry and the literary prose that were composed under their patronage.

Generally speaking, the great majority of the keşif dedicated to the Seljuk amirs are in Persian, while the contemporary Arabic language poets more commonly direct their panegyrics to the waqfīs and other educated members of the bureaucracy; this contrasts with the situation under the Buyids, whose knowledge of Arabic and whose appreciation of Arabic poetry were evidently superior to those of the Seljuk ruling family. The earliest major literary figure in the outpourage of the Seljūks was the bilingual writer 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Bahlârî (died 467/1075) [q. v.]). He was closely attached to Toghril's minister al-Kunduri and is best known as the author of the Dumyat al-āṣr wa-arafat al-āṣr, an anthology of contemporary Arabic poets in the manner of and in continuation of al-Thâlibî's celebrated Yatimâr al-dâ'irî. His Arabic dīwān (see O. Rescher, in RSO, iv (1911-12), 726) but unpublished, though some of the poems are known from biographical sources. A few samples of his Persian verse, among them several rubâ'îyyât, are quoted by 'Awfi (Lubāb, i, 68-71).

Lâmi'î Gurgâni [q. v.] is the author of an extant dīwān in Persian. He began his career as a panegyrist of the Ziyârîd ruler of his native Gurgân, Anûshîrîwân b. Manûchîr, but then passed into the service of the Seljûks. His dīwān contains poems in praise of al-Kunduri and Nizâm al-Mulk, as well as of the amîr Alp Arslân.

Azârî Harâwî [q. v.] flourished under two Seljûk princes (the ruler of Harât Abû 'l-Fawâris Toğhân-shâh b. Alp Arslân and his cousin Abû 'l-Mu'azzar Amîrânshâh), and has left a Persian dīwān consisting largely of poems in praise of these two men. Nîzâmî 'Arûdi (Câhâr makâla, ed. Kazwîni, London-Leiden 1910, 43-4) singles out Toğhân-shâh as a particularly generous patron of poetry and lists another half-dozen poets who served at his court, but all their works are now lost apart from stray verses.

During the early part of the reign of Malik Shâh, the young poet Mu'izzî Nayşâbûrî [q. v.] inherited from his father, Burhânî, the position of "prince of the poets" (amîr al-šâr'ân); he was, in other words, the head of the bureaucratically organised hierarchy of professional panegyrists (or in any event of those who wrote in Persian who congregated at the Seljuq court. His extensive dīwān contains odes to the amîr from Malik Shâh down to Sandjar, to their ministers and various other persons. He lived perhaps until the middle of the 6th/12th century.

Among the Arabic panegyrists of Nîzâm al-Mulk we can mention Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Razâk al-
The extensive diwān of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Arroydānī [q. v.] contains a few poems to Muhammad b. Muhammad al Bakhtayr, Malik Shāh and his brother Mahmūd, but the majority are dedicated to the wa'izs of the Saljūqs, especially to the sons of Nizām al-Mulk.

During the long reign of Sandjār, a large number of Persian poets frequented his court; we can restrict ourselves to those whose diwāns have actually survived. After the death of the already mentioned Mu‘izzī, Sandjār’s pre-eminent panegyrist appears to have been Awhad al-Dīn Anwarī [q. v.]. According to Dīwānī (ii, 8), he accompanied the amīr when, in 542/1147, the latter laid siege to the Kūh”ārazm Shāh Atsīz in Hazārazāp and participated in the campaign by writing poems mocking the enemy, which Sandjār’s archers shot into the besieged fortress. Atsīz retaliated by doing the same with verses of his court-poet and secretary, Raḥīd al-Dīn Watwat [q. v.] (who on other occasions also wrote poems in praise of Sandjār). Anwarī survived his master and went on to serve Sulaymān b. Muhammad and others. Another poet whose services to Sandjār went beyond the purely literary was Aḥād Sābir [q. v.] whom the Saljūq ruler sent as a spy to the court of the Mutanabbi. He has also left a number of books on alchemy.

The extensive diwān of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Arroydānī [q. v.] contains a few poems to Muhammad b. Muhammad al Bakhtayr, Malik Shāh and his brother Mahmūd, but the majority are dedicated to the wa’izs of the Saljūqs, especially to the sons of Nizām al-Mulk.

The satirical poet Suzanī Samarkandī was attached to the court of the Bawandid prince Faramarz b. Rustam, also sent by the then elderly ʿAmīr al-shu‘ārā’ to write an elegy.

The Persian panegyrists of the Saljūqs of Western Persia after the time of Sandjār include Abū ‘l-Qāsim Shīrīnī, a native of Tus who fled his homeland at the time of the Mongol invasion and made his way (via India, Aden, the Holy Cities and Baghdad) to Anatolia, where he served the Hūm Shāh Kay Kūbād I and his successors Kay Khusrūw II and Kay Kāwūs II, to whom he dedicated a Persian versification of (once again) Kalīla wa-Dīmna in 659/1260. He is presumably identical with the malik al-shu‘ārā’ ʿamīr Bāḥā’ al-Dīn Kānī’ī of whom Allākī (Manākī, 1260), the teacher of Talshīm, speaks (559-60, 221, 322) says that he visited Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī during his lifetime and, again (ibid., 595), that he was among those who paid their respects at Rūmī’s grave after he died in 672/1273. This produces at least an indirect link between the Saljūqs of Rūm and Rūmī, the most famous poet who lived in their domain.

The best-known work in Persian prose emanating from the Saljūq courts is doubtless the Siyāsāt-nāma (alias Siyar al-muluk) of Malik Shāh’s minister Nizām al-Mulk. Apart from this, a number of major Persian historical works were dedicated to the Saljūq rulers; these include the Fārs-nāma of Ibn al-Balḵī [q. v. in Suppl.] (dedicated to Muhammad b. Malik Shāh), the Persian history of Anushirwān b. Kāhli [q. v.], who was wa‘zīr to Mahmūd II and Mas‘ūd (not extant, but its contents are known from the Arabic version by al-Bundarsābī, the Siyar al-muluk of Zahhār al-Dīn Naysābūrī [see Siyāsāt-nāma and its continuation, the Rūhāl al-sūdār of Rāwandī [q. v.] (dedicated to the Rūm Shāh Kay Khusrūw I). A survey of Saljūq literature would hardly be complete without at least mentioning the celebrated astronomer and amateur poet in Arabic, ʿUmar Khayyām [q. v.], who flour-
ished at the court of Malik Şāh, although his claim to a place in the history of Saldjuk belles-lettres...Turkish, stemming from northwestern Anatolia, Yunus Emre (ca. 648-720/oz. 1250-1320 [q.v.], dates from the first half of the 8th/14th century, hence after the demise of the Saldjūks.

Arabic naturally retained supreme prestige as the language of dogmatic theology, law and science, and Anatolia became, in particular, a centre for the production, transmission and copying of Hanafi fiqh texts. But Arabic was also a language used for mystical theology, as seen in the prolific works of Ibn al-ʿArabi, some of these being composed during his years in Konya and other Anatolian towns during the early 7th/13th century (see above, IV. 2); thus his mystical poetic work the Tariqān al-ashūq was completed at Kayseri, and his disciple Ṣadr al-Din Kūnawi was the author of numerous works in Arabic, including commentaries on the ʿUrān, Ḥadith and the Ninety-Nine Most Beautiful Names of God, and works in the field of theoretical Sūfism.

All of these works emanated from learned or courtly circles in Rûm, but the day-to-day language of the Turkish masses, urban as well as rural, was course Turkish. Although the Karamānidsʿ introduction of Turkish as the official language for the diwân in Konya (see above, section V. 2) was only a brief interlude, it served to demonstrate the fact that an adoption of Turkish for public purposes was now a practical possibility. However, the literary use of Turkish in the Sultanate was for long at the popular, folk-literature level. Little from this has survived. An anonymous Şehrī Şarān efendişī of unknown date was handed down by Gûlşekhri (d. after 717/1317 [q.v.]), and a Șâlsal-نة in verse and prose by a poet Sheyây ʿIsā describes the caliph ʿAlīʿs struggle with the giant Şâsal. Such works reflected the contemporary spirit of ghaza evident also in the oldest-preserved work of the class of popular epics, the Saldjūk-نة, existing in both long and short versions, and the Dânishgâh-نة on the heroic deeds of Dânishgâh Ǧâzî composed by Ibn al-ʿAlâ at the command of sultan Kay Kâwûs II.

But when it came to literature of a more elevated, artistic order, Turkish had an uphill fight to establish itself, and for long authors writing in it excused themselves for not using Persian or Arabic, Turkish being still regarded as the tongue of ignorant peasants or nomads, the Atrak-i bi-idrâk. Rûm included a few Turkish verses in his work, and from his long stay in the Saldjūk capital must have been fully conversant with the language; but his son Sultan Walad can definitely be regarded as a significant Turkish author, for there are at least 367 Turkish verses scattered through these works, couched in a simple style and probably aimed at spreading Mawlawi ideas amongst the people. A contemporary of Rûmʿs was the Şûfi poet Ahmed Fakhl of Konya, whose mystical Čârâk-نة was a forerunner of Mawlānaʿs work; though brief, it constitutes the first complete work in Anatolian Turkish. In addition to a mahlavâwi on the Yûsuf and Zulâykhâ theme, Ahmed Fakhīʿs pupil Sheyây Hamza left examples of secular, court poetry apparently written for the Turco-Mongol official classes of his time and milieu, whilst the Khârâdâ Dâhânlâi mentioned above wrote both Persian and Turkish court poetry at the very end of the Saldjūk period. Finally, it was at this time, and in the years immediately after the disappearance of the sultans, that the greatest poet in early Turkish, stemming from northwestern Anatolia, Yûnus Ėmre (ca. 648-720/oz. 1250-1320 [q.v.]) produced his moving Şûfi
poetry. With this poet's later career, we enter the age
of the beyliks, when the formation of several provincial
capitals was to provide fresh opportunities for writers
in Turkish.

Bibliography: For writers in Persian, see the
standard histories of Persian literature e.g. Browne,
LHP; Arberry, Classical Persian literature; Rypk,
History of Iranian literature. For writers in Turkish,
see EI art. Turks. B. Ill.a (Köprülü Züde Mehmed
Fu'âd); W. Björkman, in PTF, ii, 405-12. In
general, see Cohen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 248-56;
M.F. Köprülü, The Seljuks of Anatolia, tr. and ed.
by C.E. Bosworth.

VIII. Numismatics

1. In Persia and Irâk

Coins were struck by all branches of the Seljuk
dynasty, but in widely varying quality and quantity.
They were all Sunni in character, acknowledging the
Abbasid caliphate, but were content
to adapt themselves to coinage patterns previously
established by the Buyahids, Kâkuyids or Kâkwayhids and Ghaznawids [q.v.]. Their coinage thus
tends to be strongly regional in character, reflecting
the general economic conditions in each of the major
areas under their control. In order to facilitate trade,
the alloy of regional coinages tended to be similar to
the currencies of neighbouring states, such as the
Fatimid in the west and the Karâkhânids and Ghaznawids in the east. The regional nature of the coinage
was emphasised by princes and governors who
struck coins in their own name whenever they were
permitted to, or when they felt their power was great
enough to seize this privilege.

The origin of the complexity stemmed from the
Seldjuk family's sudden coming to power fresh from
lands beyond the frontiers of the Dâr al-Islâm. Their
social organisation was that of central Asian nomads
where tribal sense was strong but whose experience of
oriental monarchy, imperial bureaucracy, or even
coinage itself, was almost non-existent. The Seljûks
had very little time to adapt themselves to their sud-
den good fortune, and their history reveals that behin
d a facade of Islamic kingship lay a deeply ingrained
deficient system of administration which could not
organise and sustain a sophisticated coinage.

Toghrîl was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslân in 455/1063 who, as governor of Harât, after his accesa-
ion, struck coins on which he acknowledged his
father Çâghri as overlord. His coinage appears to have been somewhat less abundant than Toghrîl's.

Under Alp Arslân's son and successor Malik Shâh (465/1072-92), the plentiful coinage of dinârs con-
tinued on the same pattern as before, although the use
of electrum dinârs apparently declined in the eastern
mints, as it did with the contemporary Ghaznawids.

The succession struggles among Malik Shâh's sons
were reflected in their complex coinages, but the
decline in the quality and quantity of the coins them-
teams also revealed that the economy was gradually being ruined as a result of these conflicts. Našâr al-Dîn
Mahmûd's coins are rare because of the confusions
of his brief reign in Isfâhan, 485-87/1092-4. After the
death of his father, Rûkân al-Dîn Berqâryâr first
issued coinage at Rayy, and quickly established himself in power elsewhere because he was both older
and more experienced than his brothers. After a tur-
bulent reign, Berqâryâr was succeeded in 498/1105
by Ġhiyâth al-Dîn Muhammâd. The last Great
Seljuk was Malik Shâh's youngest son, Mu'izz al-
Dîn San'âr, governor of Khorâsân from 490/1097,
who was less able to maintain a facade of Islamic
monarchy, but who was deeply involved in the fam-
ily's decline and lost his throne in 522/1122. There were also parallel
lines of Seljuk rulers in Irâk, Persia, Kirmân and
Syria (see above, III.). The ruling members of these
families normally acknowledged the overlordship of the Great Seljuks on their coins.

The conspicuous decline in the quality of the cur-
cency during the 6th/12th century was due to struc-
tural problems within the Seljuk state, which had no
central bureaucratic structure that could impose stan-
dards for the coinage and oversee its production.
The Seljuk state did not govern the territories it ruled,
but through the agency of members of his family,
their Atabegs [q.v.], amirs of his army or locally
powerful semi-independent governors, many of whom
included their names on the coins they issued after
those of the caliph and their principal overlords. The
coinage of the later Seljuks was manufactured with a level of care that made many of the pieces so carelessly manufactured
that their legends are often mis-struck, or the margins
are missing from the flan. Thus it is often impossible
to read the mint names and dates of striking. The
coine of the later Seljuks leads on to that of their
successors, such as the revived Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, the Zangids in Mosul, the Artuksids in Hamayn and Mardin, the Ildizids in Ardabil and the Saljûqsids in Fars.

Because the Saljûqs were champions of Sunnism, the legends on their coins reproduce the traditional 'Abbasid type, which had survived intact at Nîshâpur, the great mint for gold in Khurâsân under both the Sâmânîds and the Ghaznavids. The religious legends, therefore, show little variation in their texts. The obverse field contained the first statement of the kalima, lâ ilah illâ Allâh muhammadu lâ gÎwrî khâlu. Around this were two marginal legends, the inner containing the mint and date formula and the outer inscribed with parts of vv. 4 and 5 of sûra XXX, al-Rûm. The reverse field contained the second statement of the kalima, Muhammad nasîl Allâh, and the single marginal legend was an adaptation of v. 33 of sûra IX, al-Tauhîb.

Occasionally, the Saljûqs struck dinârs which were intended to have talismanic qualities, such as an issue of Alp Arslan from Marw dated 461 which inscribed the ninety-nine beautiful names of God in the obverse and reverse fields. A more common practice was to engrave v. 255 of sûra II, al-Bakara, the Throne Verse, in minute letters in the reverse field. This calligraphic tour de force is found on occasional issues from Isfâhan, 'Askar Mûmur and Marw. On rare occasions, the engravers included their own names on their best works in tiny letters in the outer margins.

The secular legends outside the mint and date formula were limited to names and titles. The reigning caliph's name was usually placed below the kalima in the obverse field, sometimes, if space permitted, with his title Amîr al-Mu'mînîn. On his own coinage in Mardin, the caliph was entitled al-'Imâm, and his heir's name also appeared vertically in either the obverse or reverse field. The rest of the space was devoted to the name and titles of the ruler who struck the coin and those of his secular overlords, if he was obliged to acknowledge any. In order of importance these were the ism, e.g. Toghrîl Beg, kunya, Abû-Ṭâlib; labak Mu'izz al-Din, Rukn al-İslâm, 'Adud al-Dawla; and 'alâm and 'unvânas, al-Amîr al-Adîjar/Shâhângâh, al-Sultân al-'A'zam or Mu'azzâm. Unlike the Sâmânîds, the Ghaznavids and Buwayhids, whose titulature was generally uniform in the latter half of the second millennium, the Saljûqs used labaks actually conferred by the caliph, the Saljûqs were often inconsistent in their royal styles. This may have been a result of their decentralised mint system or because of their preference for the grand effect rather than strict accuracy. For example, until 438/1046-7, Toghrîl was entitled al-Amîr al-Adîjar on the coinage of Nîshâpur, and al-Adîjar in Rayy. A look at any of the catalogues where Saljûq coinages are reproduced, or the catalogues themselves, will throw some light on the relationship between the caliph and the ruler. Throughout Toghrîl's rule, the caliph al-Kâ'îm [q.v.] accorded him a full set of titles, al-Sultân al-Mu'izz zam Shâhângâh Rukn al-Dîn Toghrîl Beg, but in the brief period of uncertainty after Toghrîl's death in 455/1063, the caliph seized the opportunity to strike coinage in his own name and that of his heir for the first time in nearly a century. On the coinage of 456 and 457 the ruler is described as Shâhângâh al-'A'zam 'Adud al-Dawla Abu Shu'ayb Malîk al-'Arab wa l-'Adîjar Abî Arsâlim, while on the dinârs of 456 and later he is simply styled 'Adud al-Dawla Abî Arsâlim. From then on it became the custom to name the Saljûq ruler on the caliph's coinage with only one or two titles, usually an imperial and a throne name. The caliph al-Mu'ktadî [q.v.] termed the ruler Djâlî al-Dawla Malîk Shâh. During the succession struggle after Malîk Shâh's death in 485/1092, the caliph once again struck dinârs in his own name. This was followed by an issue where the ruler was styled Mu'izz al-Dawla al-Kâhirâ Berkyaruk. In 489/1096 the caliph al-Mustâzîrî [q.v.], altered Berkyaruk's lakab to 'Adud al-Dawla, while in 491/1098 and 493/1100 the caliph again struck dinârs in his own name, under what circumstances is not clear. The caliph entitled his successor Ghiyâth al-Dunya wa l-'Dîn Muhammâd, and then when the state was divided after Muhammâd's death in 511/1118, the caliph al-Mustârshîd [q.v.], named the senior ruler as Mu'izz al-Dunya wa l-'Dîn Sandjar and the ruler of 'Irâq wa wa-'alî 'adhâhi Muğïîh al-Dunya wa l-'Dîn Mûhammâd. Finally, the caliph al-Mu'kalî [q.v.], retained no more than the lakab of Mu'izz al-Dunya wa l-'Dîn and Ghiyâth al-Dunya wa l-'Dîn, until the inclusion of Saljûq names on the caliph's coinage was dropped altogether after the death of Ghiyâth al-Din Mustârshîd in 547/1152.

A much larger body of numismatic evidence needs to be assembled before a comprehensive and analytical study of the Saljûq coinage can be made. This is particularly true of the post-Malîk Shâh period, when the continually changing political scene is chronicled by the frequent striking of coins in the names of two rulers, rebels and usurpers, local governors and Atabegs.


2. In Anatolia

The Rum Saljûq coinage is entirely separate in origin from that of their distant cousins the Great Saljûqids (see above VIII. 1). Their earliest coin is a crudely executed copper fals struck by Rukn al-Dîn Mas'ûd I b. Kîrîl Arsâlim (510-511/1166-56), which copies a contemporary Byzantine folis with a full-face imperial bust on the obverse, and the ruler's name on the reverse.
The earliest coinage of ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī Arslān II (551-88/1156-92) was similar to that of his father Masʿūd I. This was followed by the well-known design of a mounted lancer galloping to the right on the obverse, borrowed from Christian iconography where it portrayed St. George the warrior saint of Cappadocia. In 571/1175-6 ʿAlī Arslān II introduced traditional Islamic gold dinārs and silver dirhams to Anatolia, at the same time as the Ẓānī Ṣafuḥ reintroduced silver coinage to Syria. There is a unique gold dinar of 573/1177-8, while the earliest silver is dated 571/1175-6. Both bear conventional legends, with the mint and dates inscribed in the margins. In the east, Ẓānī Arslān placed the caliph's name on the obverse, and the sultan's titles on the reverse. The table which summarises the available silver coinage only mentions Kilic Arslān II's silver dirham modelsled on those of his father.

After Sulaymān's death in 600/1203, the Ẓānī Kay Kāwūs continued to use the kalimat on the obverse. The auspicious sign of the sun in Leo was replaced with the laudation “Glory belongs to God!” in the obverse field with the mint and date in the margin. In the east, Kilic' Arslān ly from the mint of Konya.

When ʿAlī Arslān II abdicated in 588/1192 he divided his realm among his numerous sons and a daughter, and apparently granted them all the right of succession. His eldest son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Ḵosraw I, who ruled in Konya, 588-93/1192-7, struck coins modelled on those of his father. The most famous Rum Saldjuk coin bearing the device of the lion and sun rests on the backs of two lions rampant with their tails interlaced.

The Ẓānī Saldjūk dirham was struck at the traditional Islamic weight standard of 2.90:3.00 grs of virtually pure silver, with the kalimat and the caliph’s name on the obverse, and the sultan’s titles, name and patronymic on the reverse. They bear the names only of the three sons of Kay Khusraw II at Kose Dagh at the end of 639/1242 (see III, 5). Surprisingly, the Ẓānī Saldjūk coinage did not mention them as overlords until much later. However, the number of dirhams struck in 640 and 641 decreased, and the lion and sun type was abandoned in 641. Kay Ḵusraw II returned to a purely epigraphic style of coinage, and assumed the grandiloquent title Zill Ālāḥ fi l-ʿĀlām, “The Shadow of God in the World”. Before the Mongol victory, he restored the now extinct epigraphic style of coinage, and assumed the title Zill Ālāḥ fi l-ʿĀlām. He introduced the Ẓānī Saldjūk practice of dating coins with diwānī abbreviations of the Arabic names for the numbers, borrowed from accounting conventions, for the units and decades of the year. Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muhammad II, the Ayyūbid ruler of Mayāfārīkīn and Amīd, also struck a few undated copper coins naming Kay Kāwūs II as overlord.

In 646 Rukn al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II challenged his brother Kay Kāwūs II, and demonstrated his sole power in Sivas by striking the last Saldjūk horsemanship coinage. Its artistic inspiration was Persian rather than Anatolian, replacing the warrior-saint of the Byzantines with an elaborately-dressed archer, drawing his bow on the back of a prancing horse. The Il Khan Hūlegū’s anger at the rivalry between Kay Kāwūs II and Kay Ḵusraw II in 655-60/1257-60 prompted a triumvirate among the three sons of Kay Ḵusraw II, and between 647 and 656 a conjoint coinage was issued in the names of ʿĪz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II, Rūk al-Dīn ʿAlī Arslān IV and Alī al-Dīn Kay Ḵubābīd II. Their silver is plentiful and a few gold coins are known, but there appears to be no copper. Most were struck in Sivas and Konya, but there were also minor mints in Kayseri, Malatya and Luṭlu′a. The latter, located in the Taurus mountains, appears to have been the Ẓānī Saldjūk’s first mining mint. The one sign of disunity amongst the brothers on their coinage is a dirham of 652 struck in Kayseri which names only ʿAlī Arslān IV and Kay Kāwūs II.

When coinage started on the death of Kay Kāwūs II, ʿĪz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II issued coins in his own name between 655 and 658/1257-60 at several western mints, the principal one being Kayseri and others in Goldara, Develu, Gümüşhane and Lulu′a. After the fall of the Baghdad ʿAbbasids in 656/1258 Kay Kāwūs continued to use the kalimat and the caliph’s name on his coins until 658/1260, when he replaced them with the laudation al-ʿĪz al-ʿĀlī “Glory belongs to God!” in the obverse field with the mint and date in the margin. In the east, ʿAlī Arslān
Table. Summary of names and titles found on the Rûm Saldjûk coinage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lakab</th>
<th>Kunya</th>
<th>Regal style</th>
<th>Caliphal relationship</th>
<th>Laudation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mascûd (I)</td>
<td>¹Rukn al-Dunyâ wa ¹'l-Dîn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Sultân al-Mu'azzâm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûlûk Arslân (II)</td>
<td>²Izz</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Sultân al-Mu'azzâm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay Khusraw (I)</td>
<td>Ghiyâth</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Sultân al-Mu'azzâm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulayman Shâh</td>
<td>Rukn</td>
<td>Abu ¹-Fath</td>
<td>al-Malik al-Kâhir/ al-Sultân al-Kâhir</td>
<td>Nâşir Amîr al-Mu'minnîn/ Burhân al-Mu'minnîn</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Shâh</td>
<td>Kûtb</td>
<td>Abu ¹-Fath</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayşar Shâh</td>
<td>Mu'izz</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mascûd</td>
<td>Muhyî</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-¹Abd al-Da'îf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toghrîl</td>
<td>Mughîth</td>
<td>Abu ¹-Fath</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kay Khusraw (I) (2nd reign)</td>
<td>Ghiyâth</td>
<td>Abu ¹-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultân al-Mu'azzâm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Minna lî'llâh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kay Kawûs (I)</td>
<td>²Izz</td>
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<td>al-Sultân al-Qhâlib</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kay Khusraw (II)</td>
<td>Ghiyāth</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-Mu'azzam/ al-Sultan al-A'zam Zill Allāh fi ʻl-ʻĀlam</td>
<td>Kasım Amir al-Mu’minin</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kay Kawus (II)</td>
<td>ʻIzz</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam Zill Allāh fi ʻl-ʻĀlam</td>
<td>Kasım Amir al-Mu’minin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiliç Arslan (IV)</td>
<td>Rukn</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam</td>
<td>Kasım Amir al-Mu’minin</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Three Brothers&quot; Kay Kawus (II)/ Kiliç Arslan (IV)/ Kay Kubadh (II)</td>
<td>ʻIzz/ Rukn/ ʻAlā?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Salāṭin al-ʻĪṣām</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay Kawus (II) (2nd reign)</td>
<td>ʻIzz</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-ʻIzza li’llāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay Khusraw (III)</td>
<td>Ghiyāth</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam</td>
<td>Burhān Amir al-Mu’minin</td>
<td>al-Mulk li’llāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas'ūd (II)</td>
<td>Ghiyāth</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam Zill Allāh fi ʻl-ʻĀlam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-ʻUṣma li’llāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kay Kubadh (III)</td>
<td>ʻAlā?</td>
<td>Abu ʻl-Fath</td>
<td>al-Sultan al-A'zam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>al-Minna li’llāh</td>
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All ḥakabs include the phrase al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn.
IV struck coins during his second period of rule (655-63/1257-64), still in the name of the caliph al-Musta’mim until the year 662/1264, but in 663/1265 he issued dirhams in that of a fictive caliph al-Imam al-Ma’ṣūm Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn, “the Immaculate Imam, Commander of the Faithful”. Elsewhere he replaced the kalima and mention of the caliph with the laudation al-Minna il-lāh, “Grace be to God!”.

His principal mint was Sivas, but after the death of Kay Kāwūs II in 638 his coins were struck in Erzincan, Al'AỰiya, Antalya, Bazar, Demêli, Kayseri, Gümuspazarcı, Lu‘tu‘a, Ma‘dan, Shehir, Sarus and Malatya. Kılıçe Arslan IV was succeeded by his son Qiyāh al-Dīn Kay Khusraw III (663-81/1264-82), whose coinage from Erzincan, Erzurum, Antalya, Bazar, Sivas, Sarus, Sinop, Kastamunu, Konya, Kayseri, Gümuspazarcı, Lu‘tu‘a and Ma‘dan Shehir was distinguished by the laudation al-Mukhlī l-illāh, “Sovereignty belongs to God”.

Kay Khusraw III was succeeded by his nephew 'Ala‘ al-Dīn Kay Kubādh III b. Farāmūzır in 681/1282, who lost the eastern territories to his cousin Qiyāh al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II (first reign 681-97/1282-97). The coins of Mas‘ūd II, from Erzincan, Erzurum, Antalya, Sar Kavak, Samsun, Sivas, Konya, Gümuspazarcı, Ladiķ, Lu‘tu‘a, Ma‘dan Bayburt, Ma‘dan Shehir and Ma‘dan Samastur, occasionally used the laudation al-‘Uzma il-lillāh, “Power belongs to God”.

The end of the Rūm Saldjūk coinage is obscure. Sovereignty alternated between Kay Kubādh III, Mas‘ūd II and his son Mas‘ūd III in the last decade of the seventh century and the first years of the eighth, but their crudely struck coins make it difficult to establish an accurate chronology based on numismatic evidence. Kay Kubādh III did occasionally place a lion passant or a lion and sun on his coins, some of which, struck in Erzincan, Sivas and Konya in 698, acknowledged the II Khānīd rulers Mahmūd Ghazan and as overlord. Other mints for Kay Kubādh III are Antalya, Sulaymān Shehir, Sar Kavak, and perhaps Borlu.

During the last quarter of the seventh century, most coins were struck in silver, and gold became extremely rare. The internal coherence of the state had collapsed, and local governors often used the names of the Salghur or Salur Atabegs for their own coinage. The coins of Kay Kubādh III largely disregarded the weight standard of the Islamic silver dirham, and their weight fell to 2.00-2.50 gr. Thus began the transition to the irregular, low weight Anatolian silver issued by the Beylik successors to the Rūm Saldjūk, first in the name of the II Khānīds, and later in their own names, which resulted in the introduction of the small silver skēte as the unit of account in Anatolia by the second quarter of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: Rūm Saldjūk coinage has been extensively published, having been a particular favourite of Ottoman and modern Turkish numismatists. The Istanbul Mint Museum, the Yapı ve Kredi Kültür Merkezi, American Numismatic Society and Tübingen University have large collections of Rūm Saldjūk coins, as do the museums whose catalogues are listed below: I. and C. A. Rankov, The first century of the Saldjuk sultanate, stikkerler katalogu, Istanbul 1971; Isma‘il Ghalib Edhem, Tekvimi-i meşkikāt-i ʿulāmāniyeye, Istanbul 1307/1889-90; G. Hennequin, Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, iv, Asele pré-mongole. Les Seljouqs et leurs successeurs, Paris 1985; S. Lane Poole, Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum, London 1875-90, iii; Ahmed Tewhid, Mürş-i Hamûyan mesâṣ-kât-i İslâmîye kataloghâr, Istanbul 1321/1903 (R. E. Darley-Boran). Saldjukids — Saldjursids, a line of Atabegs which ruled in Fārs during the second half of the 6th/12th century and for much of the 7th/13th one (543-681/1148-1282).

They were of Türkmen origin, and Mahmūd Kāshghārī considered them as a clan of the Oghūz tribe [see qızıq], giving their particular taghna (Duwān lugāt-i Türk, T Garrison tr. Atalay, i, 56, iii, 141, 414), later in the 7th and 8th century by the Saldjūkids of Fārs, and the Atabegs of Kūshīpa, Ma‘dan Shehir, and Ma‘dan Shehir, Ma‘dan Salmast, occasional citation of the Atabegs with the laudation kalima il-lillāh, “Sovereignty belongs to God!”.

The Saljuk clan played a role in the Türkmen’s overrunning of Anatolia in the late 5th/11th century. Muzaffar al-Dīn Sonkūr b. Mawūdūd took advantage of the weakening power of the Great Saldjūk sultans and in 543/1148 established himself in Fārs after the death of the province’s ruler Buz-āba (who himself may have been connected with the Saljugh clan). After Sonkūr’s death in 556/1161, he was succeeded by his brother Mu‘azzaf al-Dīn Zangī and then in 570/1175 by the latter’s son Tekēl or Dekēl, so that the hereditary rule of the Saljughids in Fārs became established, whilst at the same time they acknowledged, until 590/1194, the overlordship of the last Great Saldjūkīd. Tekēl had eliminated his rival for power, Sonkūr’s son Kuṭb al-Dīn Toghrīl, in 577/1181-2, according to the Niṣām al-tawsīrīkh of al-Baydāwī who was a contemporary in Fārs of the Saljughids of the 7th/13th century; his account is accordingly followed by Merçil, see Bib., and here), and he probably reigned until 594/1198, when his brother ‘Izz al-Dīn Sa‘d (I) b. Zangī [q.v.] came to power. (It therefore seems probable that we should eliminate Toghrīl from the list of Saljughids who actually ruled in Fārs, although he thus figures in much of the secondary literature, and in the E. F. art., as being still alive and ruling in Fārs in the later 11th and the 13th century; there are significant differences in the information of the historians on the events of these years).

Sa‘d, like his predecessors, campaigned against the local Shabānkārāt, the local Shabankara of the local Shabankara, and in the affairs of the neighbouring province of Kūrmān [q.v.], and in 600/1203-4 captured 1ṣfahān; but he came up against the growing power in Persia of the Khārāżm-Shāhs, was captured by ‘Ala‘ al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh [q.v.] in 614/1217-18 and only released on payment of the payment of the tribute formerly paid to the Saldjūks and the cession of certain districts in Fārs as ikhtā‘īs or land-grants for Khārāzmiyān commanders. The triumph of the Mongols released the Saljughids from this dependence on the Khārāżm-Shāhs but substituted another yoke. Sa‘d’s son Abū Bakr (succeeded on his father’s death, more probably in 625/1228-26 than 628/1231) was the vassal of the Great Khān Ögedei and then of the Il-Khan Hūgūl [q.v.], and was the former ruler who conferred on Abū Bakr the title of Kutlugh Khān in return for an annual tribute of 30,000 Rukni dinārs and the admission of a Mongol šāhna to his principality.

The years after Abū Bakr’s death in 658/1260 were filled with a succession of short-rulled Saljughid Atabegs: Mu‘azzaf al-Dīn Sa‘d (II), ‘Adud al-Dīn,...

b. Erzurum. Çifte Minare Medrese, façade.

b. Konya. Kesk of Kilid Arslan II.
Konya. Sahib Ata Mosque.
Muhammad, Muzaffar al-Din Muhammad Shah, Muzaffar al-Din Salghur Shah, closing with Muzaffar al-Din Saldjuk Shah, and the historian Wasafâ [q.v.]. The poet Sa’dî [q.v.] was the panegyrist of the Atabegs, deriving his takhallus from Abû Bakr b. Sa’d (I); it was to this last that he dedicated his Bustân and to his son, the short-reigned Sa’d (II), that he dedicated the Gulistân (cf. J. Ryppa et alii; History of Iranian literature, Dordrecht 1968, 250). Coins were minted by most of the Atabegs up to and including Abîh Khatûn, with the exception possibly of the ephemeral rulers preceding her.

**Genealogical table of the Salghurids**

Mawdûd

1. Sonkur

2. Zangi

Toqhrîl

3. Tekele

4. Sa’d (I)

5. Abû Bakr

6. Sa’d (II)

7. Muhammad

8. Muhammed Shah

9. Saldjuk Shah

10. Abîh Khatûn

**Bibliography:** Zambaur, Manuel, 232; B. Spuler, Die Mongolen in Iran, Leipzig 1939, 144-5 and index; C. E. Bosworth, The new Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1996, ch. X, no. 98; Erdoğan Merçül, Fars Atabegleri Salghurlar, Ankara 1975, with a good survey of the primary sources (Afdal al-Din Kirmânî; Nasawî; Ibn al-Athîr; Rashîd al-Din; Wasafâ; Abû Bakr B. Zarkûb, Shîrzân-nama; Mustawfî; etc.) at pp. XI-XIX. (C. E. Bosworth)

**SALHÎN,** also Salliin, the name of the royal palace of the Sabaean kings in their capital Mârib [q.v.]. The house of Salhîn (byun slhn; e.g. CII 373) is the building of ancient South Arabia which is most frequently mentioned in the Sabaic inscriptions of the first three centuries A.D. Its name is also attested in the forms Salhîn and Salîn in the title of the Abyssinian king Ezânâ in Ethiopian and Greek inscriptions of the fourth century A.D. from Aksum. Owing to the lack of excavations, the original site of the palace of Sallîn in the area of the ancient town of Mârib has not yet been discovered. Arab tradition enumerates Sallîn in Mârib among the most famous castles of pre-Islamic Yemen, which are praised by the Arabs in their poems and proverbs (al-Hamdânî, Sîfî, ed. Müllcr, 203, 11-15). Sallîn is the foremost of the three castles of ancient Mârib (idem, Ikîl, viii, ed. M. al-Akwâ’î al-Hiwâlî, Damascus 1979, 99, 10), and it is supposed to have been the palace of Bîksî [q.v.] (ibid., viii, 103, 2). It held the high rank of being the royal residence of the Himyarite kings (Nashwan, Shams, 50, 9), and it was an important castle in the country of Yemen, which belonged to the Tabbâsh al-Nebî or Tabba’s [q.v.], the kings of Yemen (Yûkût, Muṣ’âmî, iii, 115, 11). On the authority of Muhammad b. Khalîd, it is reported that the Sabaean kings lived in Mârib and in Sânî’â alternately, and whenever they resided in Mârib they stayed in Sallîn (al-Hamdânî, Ikîl, viii, 106, 11-13).

It is said that the palace was built by order of Bîksî, the Queen of Sheba, the daughter of al-Hadhad, and that in it her throne stood, as mentioned in Kur’an, XXVII, 23 (Nashwan, Shams, 50, 9-11); it is said as well that Solomon commanded the ǧînn to build the palace for Bîksî (al-Tha’labî, Kitâb al-anbîyā’î, Cairo 1889, 201). According to other traditions, the palace was named Tabbâsh’a [see TUBBA] gave orders to construct Sallîn (Yûkût, Muṣ’âmî, i, 535, 13), or else the demons built it for Dhu Bata’, the king of Hamdân, when he arranged the marriage of Bîksî to Solomon (ibid., iii, 115, 12), or when Dhu Bata’ himself married Bîksî at the behest of Solomon respectively (Ibn al-Athîr, i, 238, 1-2). It is said that demons had written in a Himyarite inscription in Yemen: “We built Sallîn, working on it continuously for seventy-seven years” (al-Tabarî, i, 585, 15-16; al-Hamdânî, Ikîl, vii, 104, 4-5). In other sources, the duration of the building of Sallîn is supposed to have lasted seventy years (Yûkût, Muṣ’âmî, iii, 115, 18) or eighty years respectively (ibid., i, 535, 13-14; Tâḏî al-sarîs, s.v. Sallîn). Al-Hamdânî, however, doubts whether the ǧînn could have written this for two reasons. In the first place, they say that the demons built Sallîn in seventy-seven years, but between the visit of Bîksî to Solomon and his death there were at most seven years, and after Solomon’s death the ǧînn refused to continue their work. In the second place, there is a saying of ʿAlkama b. Dhi Ḍadân, mentioning that human beings built Sallîn and not the ǧînn, when he composed: “and men built houses (henceforth) after Salhîn (has been destroyed)” (Ikîl, viii, 105, 3-9; for the variant of this verse, as it is rendered here, cf. Ibn Hisân, Sînâ, 26, 12; al-Tabarî, i, 928, 13; Yûkût, iii, 115, 17; Tâḏî al-sarîs, loc. cit.).

When the Abyssinians under their commander Aryât conquered Yemen, they destroyed Salhîn, Shumdân [q.v.] and Baynûn [q.v.], castles which...
were without equals among men (Ibn Hisham, Sira, 26, 13-14; al-Tabari, i, 928, 9-11); they were considered to be palaces of exceptional beauty and splendour, which people had never seen before (al-Tha‘labi, Kijar, 201). It seems that none of those castles were left in the Islamic period, since reportedly no traces of Salhín can be seen any more (Yākūt, iii, 115, 19).

From the no longer existent diwân of the previously-mentioned ‘Alkâma, who was a descendant of the famous Ḥimyarite noble family Dāhā Ḥzādan, belonging to the maḥsamān [q.v.], verses are quoted, in which the fate of Salhín is deplored, because the castle has been destroyed, so that now foxes bark in it, and because it has become deserted, it is as if it had never been inhabited (al-Hamdānī, Ikṭīl, viii, 103, 3-13). Yemenite nostalgia for times long passed is expressed by the verse “Inquire about Salhín and its days, the days when the kingdom belonged to Ḥimyar” (Nashwān, Qamām, 30, 12).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in this article): Azzmuddin Ahmad, Die auf Sudanraben bezüglichen Angaben Naṣrāns im Šams al-Sulûm, Leiden 1916; N.A. Faris, The antiquities of South Arabia, being a translation of the eighth book of Al-Hamdānī’s al-Ikṭīl, Princeton 1938; W.W. Müller, Ancient castles mentioned in the eighth volume of Al-Hamdānī’s Ikṭīl and evidence of them in pre-Islamic inscriptions, in Al-Hamdānī, a great Yemeni scholar. Studies on the occasion of his millennial anniversary, Šanâ’il 1986, 139-57; (W.W. MÜLLER) AL-ŠALĪB (A.) pls. sulub, sulbān, a cross, and, particularly, the object of Christian veneration. The term is used for cross-shaped marks e.g. brands on camels and designs woven into cloth, and in legal contexts for the instrument of execution.

The Ḥurād refers in six places to the act of crucifying as a punishment. Four of these are set in ancient Egypt: in sūra XII, 41. Yūsuf predicts that one of the men jailed with him will be crucified and birds will eat from his head; in VII, 124, XX, 71, and XXVI, 49, Pharaoh vows to crucify the magicians who have disobeyed him by believing in Muṣa’s God, with XX, 71, including the detail that he will use trunks of palm trees in doing this. In fact, according to Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Tabari, Taṭārīt, ad VII, 124), Pharaoh was the first to employ this means of execution.

The fifth occurrence, in V, 33, refers to crucifixion as the punishment for those who fight against God and the Prophet and spread evil in the land. This verse gave rise to the different views of legal experts concerning the execution of highway robbers: Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfā said they should be hung on a cross, tree or pole and torn apart with spears; while Ibn Ḥanbal said their bodies should be exposed on one of these after their execution [see NADD; KÂTL, ii; SALB; SARĀKIR].

This verse is also the legal basis for the penalty against those guilty of heresy, zandaka [q.v.]: the crucifixion of al-Husayn b. Manṣūr al-Halldj [q.v.] for his uninhibited ecstatic utterances is a well-documented example (L. Massignon, La passion de Ḥusayn Ibn Manṣūr al-Halldj, nouvelle édition, Paris 1975, i, 496 ff., 655 ff.).

The sixth occurrence in IV, 157, the denial that the Jews crucified Ḥisā [see Ḥisā], agrees well with the attitude to these verses that execution is reserved for the disobedient and criminal. This denial occasioned a long tradition of Muslim exegetical elucidations (see N. Robinson, Christ in Islam and Christianity, London 1991, 127-41) and may have contributed towards the lack of interest in the atonement among Muslim polemical authors.

The rejection of the cross as the symbol of Christianity is attested in a number of Ḥadīth: on the last day, Ḥisā will break the cross into pieces (al-Bukhārī, Ankhā, ii, 129; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, vi, 240, 272, etc.); at the final judgement Christians, “the companions of the cross”, will be condemned to hell on their confession that they worshipped Ḥisā (al-Bukhārī, Taawīl, bāb 24); the cross is the sign of the Rūm [q.v.], the enemies of Islam (Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, iv, 91, v, 372, v, 409); the Prophet had objects bearing cross designs removed from his dwelling (al-Bukhārī, Ṣalīl, bāb 15; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, vi, 52, 140, 237, etc.), and reported on the authority of ʿAbbās). Restrictions were imposed upon public display of crosses from early times. According to Abū Yūsuf the Ḥanafī lawyer, Abū ʿUbaydah Ibn al-Djarrā [q.v.], acting on the advice of the caliph ʿUmar, permitted Christians in Syria to carry their crosses in procession on one day a year, but only outside towns and away from Muslim habitations and mosques (Kitāb al-Khārij, Cairo 1973/155–7, 152, tr. E. Fagnan, Le livre de l’impôt fondé sur la loi islamique, Paris 1921, 218-19); Khālid b. al-Walid imposed the same limitation upon the Christians of Hira and neighbouring towns (ibid., 154, 158, tr. Fagnan, 222, 227).

Crosses in public places caused obvious offence. In Palestine, ʿUmar found it necessary to place crosses under protection, stipulating that in Jerusalem, Lyd-da and other towns they would not be violated (al-Tabari, i, 2405 ff.). ʿAbbās al-Mālik and other Umayyad caliphs ordered their destruction on the outside of churches (see A. Fattal, Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d’Islam, Beirut 1958, 183), and, on their imitations of Byzantine coins, had the symbol of the cross on the reverse subtly altered into a pillar by removing the bar (see W.E. Kaegi, Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests, Cambridge 1992, 223-7 and Pis. 1-11 at 207-8). The ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil forbade their display in processions (al-Tabari, iii, 1390). Under later caliphs, Christians continued to exercise their restricted rights on feast days except when repression prevented them (Fattal, 207 ff.). It is not surprising that crosses were the immediate targets of religious riots in Muslim cities, or that at the time of the Crusades they were erected on mosques by invading Europeans and removed by Muslims. Curiously, the Fātimid caliph al-Ḥākîm incorporated crosses into his coins, but in a way that non-Muslims would not be led to think that Christians should wear crosses as distinctive signs [see al-Ḥākîm bi-Amr Allâh and its bibl.]

Many of these prohibitions against Christians were based on the precedent of the so-called “Covenant of ʿUmar”, a formulation of the dhimmī status which though of uncertain date reflects the attitudes of early centuries (Fattal, 60 ff. discusses views concerning its origin). According to the earliest version of this document, Christians agree not to display their crosses on streets and markets frequented by Muslims (al-Turqūṣī, Sinâq al-mulâsh, Cairo 1289/1872, 135 ff.).

The cross and its significance does not feature prominently in Muslim polemical literature, which focusses rather on the two themes which challenged Muslim sensibilities, the Trinity and divinity of Jesus Christ, with no interest in doctrines of the atonement. In the early 3rd/9th century the Ṣa‘idī imām al-Ḳāsim b. ʿAbū l-Musṭafā ‘Abd Allāh explains the crucifixion briefly as a ransom to God (I. di Matteo, Confutazione contro i Cristiani dello Zaydito al-Qāsim b. ʿAbīrāhīm, in RSO, ix [1922] 317) but does not discuss it further; while later in the same century, the independently-minded Muṣṭafā Abū Ḥisā al-Warrāq [q.v.], whose refutation of Christianity is the most elaborate to survive from the early period, gives a concise description (D.
Thomas, Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam, Cambridge 1992, 68-9, 72-7), but only mentions the crucifixion incident and the ineptitudes of explanations of the Incarnation (see E. Platti (ed. and tr.), Abū Ḫādi al-Warrāq, Yahyā Ibn Alī, de l'incarnation, Louvain 1987 (CSCO, 490-1) e.g. §§ 63 ff.). Later polemicists follow Abū Ḫādi’s example and often refer to the crucifixion only in the course of questioning whether the divine nature in Christ could suffer death (e.g. al-Nasib al-Akbar [q.v.], in J. van Es, Frühe mu'tazilische Härriphrase, Beirut 1971, 83-4; al-Bakili, Kithā al-Tambil, ed. R. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 97-8; Ibn Taymiyya, al-Daqīq al-ṣallīb is-mān baddala dīn al-Masih, Cairo 1905, iii, 42 ff.).

Two exceptions to this indifferent attitude are Abū Ḧamād b. Ahmad and Ibn Hazm [q.v.], who each attempt to show that the crucifixion need not have involved the person of Isā, and so could have happened in conformity with the understood teaching of Isā. Ibn Hazm states that the witnesses to the events of the crucifixion are not necessarily reliable (K. al-Fīsli fī 'l-mīlañ wa 'l-aḥdī la wa 'l-nāhal, Cairo [1317, i, 58 ff.], while Abū Ḧamād b. Ḫabbār employs a previously unknown account of the Passion, in which the individual crucified is not explicitly identified as Jesus, as the factual basis for his argument that Isā was not killed on the cross (K. Taḥbīt da‘ārī al-nawāwī, ed. A.-K. Uhmān, Beirut 1966, 137 ff.; see S.M. Stern, Quotations from apocryphal gospels in Abū Ḫabbār, in Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. xviii [1967], 34-57).

Attempts were made by Christians who wrote in Arabic to explain the significance of the crucifixion, but with little if any success (see M. Swanson, The Cross of Christ in the earliest Arabic Melkite apologies, in Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period, ed. J. Nielsen and K. Samir, Leiden 1994, 115-45, and the bibliography cited there). In more recent times, Christian teaching about the cross has received close attention from some Muslims, notably K. Hussein, Karya zdlima (K. Tathbit daldīl al-Maṣūm, ed. A. Guillaume, New York 1982, i, 37-51; S. Griffith, A. T. Khoury, D. Sourdel, Altenberge 1982, 121 ff.). It is practically certain that Sallḥ penetrated the Byzantine frontier from the region of Wādi Sirhān. Ptolemy in his Geography speaks of a toponym, Ṣalḥā, in northern Arabia, identifiable with the Arabic Sallḥīd name, Duġjum/Duḏjum, and one of the affluents of Wādi Sirhān is called Hidridj/Hidraj, also identifiable with another Sallḥīd figure, al-Hidrijān. Precisely where in Byzantine Orients/Bilād al-Shām they settled as foedera is not known, but it was in the southern half of it, mainly in the provinces Arabia, and in the two Palestines, Secunda and Tertia.

Within federate tribal Sallḥ, the Duḏjum (pl. of Duḏjum) were the royal house. The eponym Duḏjum/Duḏjum is attested in the Greek sources, Sozomen, as Ζωσόμους, the tribal chief who converted to Christianity after a monk cured his wife of her sterility. Most of the historical figures among the Duḏjum/Zokomids, mentioned by the genealogists, are shadowy figures with the exception of two: Dāwūd and Ziyād, both with the same patronymic, Ibn al-Habūlā. The first was the Sallḥīd king whose name is associated with Duḏjum. The second says that his involvement in Christianity and the religious life weakened his warlike spirit and he was finally killed in the Gōlān in an encounter with a tribal coalition that formed against him. The second, Ziyād, is known as the Sallḥīd figure who fought the Kinda under the leadership of their king Ḥuḍr, but was vanquished by them at the battle of Yawm al-Baradān (see below).

As the principal foederati of Byzantium in the 5th century, their main assignment was the protection of the Roman frontier facing the Arabian Peninsula from the raids of the pastoralists, the Saracens [q.v.] of the Greek and Latin sources. Legally, they were not Roman citizens but allies, whose relationship with Rome-Byzantium was governed by the foedus, the treaty. In return for their services as watchmen over the frontier, they were granted the privilege of settling on Roman territory, and received the usual subsidies, either in money or in kind. Their chiefs were called phylarchs, and the term became technical in the Byzantine military system, meaning Arab chiefs in treaty relationship to Byzantium. In addition to protecting the Roman frontier, they took part in the two Persian Wars of the reign of Theodosius II, in 421-2
and 440-2, and possibly in the Vandal War of the Emperor Leo, who in 468 dispatched an expeditionary force against the Vandals in Africa. 4 Byzantines lost the battle of Cape Bon against the Vandals, and the Sallhids probably lost heavily in that battle, which thus must have contributed to their eventual downfall in the Orient. Participation in the Persian and Vandal Wars relieves Sallhīd history of its marginality in fighting only the pastoralists of the Arabian Peninsula.

The conversion of their eponym, Duqlum/Zakomo, to Christianity set the tone of their involvement in religion, especially monastic Christianity. The one structure that is definitively associated with them is a monastery, Dayr Dāwūd, in present-day al-Turkumāniyya in northern Syria. It was built by the Sallhīd King Dāwūd, whose name, David, speaks for itself. He was nicknamed al-Lathik "the bedraggled" because he insisted on carrying water and mortar on his own back while building his monastery, as an act of penance.

More is known about their important contribution to poetry in Bilād al-Shām in the 5th century. While Epinician odes were composed in Arabic for the victories of the Arab Queen Mavia over the Byzantine Emperor Valens, the poets of these victory odes have remained anonymous. But in the case of the Sallhīds, their court poet is known by name, ʿAbd al-ʿAs, of the tribe of Iyād, who became the court poet of the Sallhīd king Dāwūd. The poet-laureate of author of Abū ʿAs makes certain that the tradition of court poetry in Bilād al-Shām started some hundreds years before it was attested for the Ghassānīds, the Arab allies of Byzantium in the 6th century. Attractive is the fact that not only did Dāwūd have a court poet but also that he had a daughter, left anonymous in the sources who, too, was a poetess. Of her poetry, one solitary verse has survived in which she laments the death of her father Dāwūd at the hands of two tribesmen. The verse is redolent of contempt for the two "wolves" who killed the king of Sallīh and the two regicides are not left anonymous: Ibn ʿAмир and Mashdja, from the tribe of Kalb and al-Namir respectively. The Sallhīds clearly remained federates of Byzantium, not left anonymous: Ibn Durayd, a collector, refused the sword of the Ghassānīd Sabīt, that finally overturned them and superseded them as the dominant foederati of Byzantium in the 6th century, and thereby hangs a tale. The Sallhīd tax-collector, Sabīt, refused the sword of the Ghassānīd Dījjah's pawn, whose family occupied the same position in Byzantium for generations. But in the latter that finally overturned them and superseded them as the dominant foederati of Byzantium in the 6th century, and thereby hangs a tale. The Sallhīd tax-collector, Sabīt, refused the sword of the Ghassānīd Dījjah's pawn, whereupon the Ghassānīd unheathed his sword and cut off Sabīt's head, a circumstance that gave rise to the saying "From Dījjah what Dījjah chooses to give you". Dījjah min Dījjah ma aṣiṣa.

Throughout this century, the Sallhīds lived in partial eclipse overtaken by the Ghassānīds, who dominated the scene of Arab-Byzantine relations. But one of their phylarchs, who had the same name as the eponym, Zargūs appears in 586 in the Byzantine army, fighting the Persians at the siege of Mārdīn, after the suspension of the Ghassānīd phylarchate for some five years in the eighties of the 6th century. The Sallhīds clearly remained federates of Byzantium, since they appear in the period of the conquest of Bilād al-Shām, fighting the Muslim Arabs with other federate tribes at Dūmat al-Dījjand and in Zīzā in Trans-Jordan. After being worsted in the southern part of Orients by the Muslim armies, they apparently moved to the north of Syria where ʿAbu ʿUbayda found them with the Tanūkh in the baḏir (military encampment) of Kinnasrin. When asked to accept Islam, they refused conversion and remained Christians.

Unlike the Tanūkh and the Ghassānīds, these foederati of the 5th century did not prosper in Islamic times, presumably because they remained staunchly Christian and, so, isolated within the new Islamic order, with the exception of one Sallīhīd, namely, Usāma b. Zayd. This scion of the old tribe served four Umayyad caliphs: al-Walīd and Sulaymān, who put him over the Ḫabdāt of Egypt, and Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibrāhīm b. Dījam, his grandson, whose kālīb Usāma was.

In addition to political and social obscurity in the Muslim period, the Sallhīds were dispersed physically in various parts of the Fertile Crescent and in Egypt. They are represented in the 20th century best in Trans-Jordan, where traces of them have survived in a village called al-Salīhī, which lies some 20 km/12 miles to the northwest of Ammān, in a village called Wāḍī al-Salīhī in the valley called Wāḍī al-Salīhī. And not far from these toponyms still live the descendants of the Salīhīs.


The adjective generally meaning "righteous", "virtuous", "incorrupt", used in the science of hadīth [q.v.] criticism as a technical term indicating a transmitter who, although otherwise praised for his upright conduct, is known to have brought into circulation one or more traditions spurious to the Prophet Muḥammad. It is the contents of such traditions, as well as their underlying meaning, that characterise their recognised inventor as salīh rather than as wawdāt, i.e. "forger", or qawaddāt, "liar". Transmitters labelled salīh, or its presumably slightly denigrating dimin-

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tractive, are those who are held responsible for certain traditions of an, on the whole, pleasant tenor, as long as they are harmless and do not give rise to confusion, for example because of gross exaggeration. This accusation results in the qualifier ṣāliḥ, or that of the ṣāliḥun, lit. "reliable person", is, like sadūk and ṣudāk, not to be taken at face value, for it is more often than not merely a non-committal term conveying, if anything, the ignorance of the user as to the true merits or demerits of the transmitter scrutinised. This can amply be substantiated in multi-volume ṭikāt collections, e.g. the Kitāb al-Thāqāf of Ibn Hibbān al-Busti (d. 354/965 [q.v.]), in which countless transmitters thus qualified are at the same time maghāhib, i.e. "anonymous".

Transmitters who are labelled ṣāliḥ are commonly described as overly pious through the observation of various, mostly supererogatory, ritual practices. Other, quasi-technical, terms for this class of transmitters are: nāṣik, sāhid, zāhid, and the like. Their godly behaviour, as well as the generally pleasing and edifying contents of the ṣāliḥ material transmitted by them, earns them the qualification ṣāliḥ. In the context of ṣāliḥ traditions, the label ṣāliḥ, "fabricated", "forged", can be summarised as falling under the headings of ṭaqrīb wa-ta'rīhib, "arousing desire and inspiring awe", ma'ūna, "pious harangues", and rīkāk or rākāt, "subtle, elegant, ornate sayings". These tradition rubrics are replete with descriptions of the Day of Judgement, Heaven and Hell, the rewards or punishment therein, how to attain the one by performing salutary acts and how, by eschewing crimes and sins, to attain the one attributed to Ibn Hibbān al-Busti (d. 354/965), Kitāb al-Maghrīḥin, Haydārābād 1970, i, 48-74. Furthermore, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, Kitāb al-Dharr wa 'l-tā'īdīl, Haydārābād 1952, i, 37 f.; idem, Ta'dīmat al-ma'rūfa li-kitāb al-dharr wa 'l-tā'īdīl, Haydārābād 1952, 10; al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-kifāya fi 'ilm al-risāya, Haydārābād 1357, 133-4, 138-61; Ibn Rādāj, Shārī ʿalā tirmājī, ed. Subbā Ḍīaqī al-Muhaydīn, Bāsdār 13 collections, i, 13 ff.; Ibn Ḍīaqāwī, Kitāb al-Ma'ūnāt, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān M. ʿUṭmānī, Cairo 1966-8, i, 39-42; Ibn al-Ṣāliḥ, al-Mukaddimāt fi 'ilm al-ḥadīth, ed. Muḥāsin al-isṭihāl of Sīrāj al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Bulkīnī, by ʿAṣira ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Cairo 1974, 104, 212-9; Nawawī, Ṭāḥīr, tr. W. Marçais (using the term "fraudes pieuses" for traditions of ṣāliḥun) in JA, 9, séries, xxvii (1981), 121-25; ʿUṭālal al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, al-Nafṣ al-Sayliqī, tr. I. Ṣaqqārī, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Lāṭīf, Cairo 1966, 1, 274-90. For the contemporary Muslim view, see e.g. Nūr al-Dīn ʿIrī, Manḥāq al-ma∫alḥah fi 'ulūm al-ḥadīth, Damascus 1972, 524, 284-5; idem, Muḥāsan al-ma∫alḥahāt al-ḥadīthiyah, Damascus 1977, 55; Subbā al-Ṣāliḥī, Ulūm al-ḥadīth wa-ma∫alḥahāh, Damascus 1959, 289-90. For a survey of ṣāliḥ against the

SALIH, a prophet who, according to the Kurz an, was sent to the people Thamud [q.v.]. He is mentioned by name nine times in the Kurz an, with the fullest versions of the story being told in VII, 73-9, XI, 61-8, XXVI, 141-59, and XXVII, 45-53; nineteen additional references to Thamud by name, including extensive passages in LIV, 23-32 and XCII, 11-5, provide parallel accounts and specific details without mentioning the name Salih. The story of Salih follows the standard Kurz anic pattern of commission, mission, rejection and punishment (see kurz an. 6.d; J. Wansbrough, Quranic studies, Oxford 1977, 21-5). Sent as a "sign" and a "warning", the prophet demanded that his people turn to him and pray to God alone, from whom they had received blessings. The people rejected Salih abruptly, calling him "bewitched" (mubah), a man like themselves, one whose claim to revelation was false; they would not give up the religion of their fathers and they doubted the idea of a day of judgement. The focal point and distinctive element of the story of Salih comes in the account of the camel (naka) sent as a "sign" (zira, VII, 73, XI, 64, XXVI, 154), "test" (fana, LIV, 27) or "proof" (musiba, XVII, 59) by God. Salih told his people that the camel must be left alone to feed unmanned and drink unhindered. However, the people (or one person according to LIV, 29) hamstrung it and killed it. They then contemptuously asked Salih to bring about the punishment which he had threatened. He told them to stay in their houses for three days; then a storm broke out (L, 44, LXIX, 5), perhaps an earthquake (VII, 78), and on the following morning they lay dead in their houses.

Thamud, as a name of a historical people, is known from other sources, and thus the story of Salih is often thought to have a basis in history. The dwellings which the Thamudic people had hewn out of the rocks according to the Kurz an (VII, 74, XXVI, 149, LXXXIX, 9), the remains of which were still visible (XXIX, 38), are connected in folklore with the tombs of the time of Muhammad himself, from the root s-l-h (vowelling unknown) twice attested in Safaitic [q.v.].

In the story of Salih the camel is clearly a very rare name, not attested in e.g. Nabataean, Palmyrene or Hatran. The story of the camel came from a conclusive commission, as with many known past story types, although J.M. Rosenow, in his Kurz an translation, suggested in it a possible reminiscence of the story of the milch-camel of al-Basus [q.v.], the killing of which sparked off the famous pre-Islamic war in Arabia (The Koran, London 1909, 300-1).

The name itself Salih may well be a formation from the time of Muhammad himself, from the root r-i-h with the connotation of "to be pious, upright". Its only appearance in pre-Islamic North Arabian may be in the form S.l.h (vowelling unknown) twice attested in Safaitic [q.v.] inscriptions (F.V. Winnett and G. Lankester Harding, Inscriptions from fifty Safaitic cairns, Toronto 1978, nos. 2048, 2095; it is also found very occasionally in Sabae and Hatran), and it was clearly a very rare name, not attested in e.g. Nabataean, Palmyrene or Hatran. The story of the camel came from a conclusive commission, as with many known past story types, although J.M. Rosenow, in his Kurz an translation, suggested in it a possible reminiscence of the story of the milch-camel of al-Basus [q.v.], the killing of which sparked off the famous pre-Islamic war in Arabia (The Koran, London 1909, 300-1).

References to Salih's poetry abound in the literature, but little concrete detail is known about his life. He was a mawla of Asad or al-Azd. His father Abul-Abd al-Kudus, a famous poet of the 2nd/8th century, and one of the first victims of the official inquisition inaugurated by the Abbassid Caliph al-Mahdi, died in 167/783. In this year Bashshar b. Burd [q.v.] and Salih were accused of zandaka [q.v.] and executed.

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Hinrichtung des Salih b. 'Abdalquddus, in Studien zur 
Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für
Berold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, 
ed. H.R. Roemer und A. Noth, Leiden 1981, 53-66; idem,
"Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert
Hidchasa. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen
Islam", 6 vols., Berlin and New York 1991, ii, 15-
20; idem, "Theorie und Anekdotik", in ZDMG, cxxv
(1984), 22-30. Most of the surviving material on 
Salih has been collected and uncritically put 
together by 'Abd Allâh Khaṭīb in Salih b.
'Abdulqasim (Süleyman, 1967).

(Mohsen Zakari)

SALIH b. 'ALI b. 'ABD ALLAH b. al-'ABBĀS, 
member of the 'Abbasid family (92-152/711-69), 
who played an important part in the success of the 
'Abbasid revolution in Syria, assisting his brother 
'sAbd Allâh in the assault on Damascus and, with Abu 
'Awān 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazid al-Atakî leading the 
pursuit of the last Umayyad caliph, Murâwân b. 
Muhammad to Egypt.

He was appointed governor of Egypt on 1 Muharr am, 133/9 August 750 and remained there for a year, 
establishing 'Abbasid power. On 1 Shawābān 1, 133/4 
March 1516 he was moved to Palestine and in the same 
year sent Sa'id b. 'Abd Allâh to lead the first jārīy 
[quadir] or summer raid of 'Abbasid times against the 
Byzantines. After another short spell as governor of 
Egypt (5 Rabî' II 136/8 October/753 to 4 Ramadan 
137/2 February 755), he spent the rest of his career in 
Syria and Palestine and on the Byzantine frontier. 
He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of his great-
nephews, the caliphs al-Saffâh and al-Mansûr, and, 
after the rebellion of his brother 'Abd Allâh in 
137/754, which he shrewdly refused to support, he 
was the senior 'Abbasid in Syria. He took over most 
of the Umayyad properties in the area, including the 
famed Dâr al-Sabbâghîn at Ramla, at Aleppo and 
Salamiya, where his family were still living in al-
Balâdîrî's time. He played an important role in 
strengthening the defences of the Byzantine frontier 
with the rebuilding of Malatya, Mal'akâsh and 
al-Maṣṣîţa. He died in Syria in 152/769, but his sons al-
Fadl and 'Abd al-Malik remained powerful in Syria 
until the end of al-Rashîd's reign.

Bibliography: Tabari, iii; Ya'qûbî; Ta'rîh; 
Kindi; Kira'b al-Wuldt, ed. Guest; Balâdîrî, Fudhî; 
Ibn al-Fadl, Al-Ashur al-Dhul, ed. Dâbîhân, 
Damascus 1951; H. Kennedy, The early 'Abbasid 

(A. Grohmann [H. Kennedy])

SALIH b. MIRDAS [see Mirdas, bani 'un]

SALIH b. 'ARIF, a personage mentioned for 
the first time in the 4th/10th century in the text of Ibn 
Hawkal, Sūrat al-and, as having lived 200 years before 
and having been the alleged prophet of the 
Barghawâtîs, a Berber confederation of the 
Masûma group, installed in the region of Taṣmâna, 
between Sâli and Aṣzmûr in Morocco.

Salih's father, Tarîf b. Sâma'mûn b. Ya'qûb b. 
Isâhâk, perhaps of Jewish origin, had been a 
companion of Maysara al-Masghârî, who had led a rising 
in 1227/740 in northern Morocco at the time of the 
Khâridjîne revolt; Tarîf was then recognised as the 
chief of the Taṣmâna tribe. His son Salih succeeded 
him ca. 131/748-9. According to the narrative of the 
"Great Prayer Leader", sâhib jaštâbî, Abu Salih 
Zammûr al-Barghawâtî, sent as an ambassador to 
Cordova in 352/963, whom al-Bakrî (Masûlik, mid-
5th/11th century) mentions, Salih had taken part in the 
war led by Maysara together with his father, and 
then is said to have taught his people a religious doc-
trine revealed to him and to have proclaimed himself 
a prophet. He is then said to have left for the East, in-
structing his son al-Yasâa'i/Ilïsâa', who succeeded 
in ca. 178/794-5, to keep this new religion secret. He 
himself would return in the time of his seventh suc-
cessor. According to several sources, Salih allegedly 
lived, like his son also, as a good Muslim, and it was 
his grandson, Yûnus, who proclaimed that his grand-
father was a prophet, Salih al-Mu'mînin, and to have 
proclaimed publicly the secret doctrine, with a Kur'an 
in Beirut. There are various obscurities regarding 
Salih b. Tarîf. Did he really leave for the East, or was 
it just Yûnus who took the road, as Ibn 'Uthmân b.
ibn 'Abî Hârîrî (Sunna), i) seems to assert, together with another tradition 
given by al-Bakrî? Yûnus allegedly invented, for his 
own purposes, by declaring himself a prophet, this 
new "Berber" religion suffused with Suфиr 
Khâridjîsm, by attributing it to his grandfather, who 
was supposed to have charged him with the task of 
revealing it; this latter explanation seems more 
plausible.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawkal, tr. Kramers and 
Wet; Bakrî, ed. and tr. of Slane; Ibn 'Uthmân, 
Baqân, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948-
51; M. Talbi, Héraïse, acculturation et nationalisme des 
Berbères Barguawîa, in Actes du premier congrès d'études des 
cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbère, 
Algiers 1973, 217-33; Mbarek Redjala, Les 
Barguawîa (origine de leur nom), in ROMM, n. 35 
(1983), 115-25. See also the Bēdîl al-Bargawîa. 
(Chantal de la Veronne)

SALIH b. YAHYA, Salih b. Husayn b. Khâdir 
(d. 839/1436), amîr of the Druze family of the 
Banû Búhtür whose family divided up, amongst 
brothers and cousins, the coastal region and mountain 
of the Shûf in present-day Lebanon, the area lying be-
tween Beirut and Sidôn, with its chef-lieu as the 
little town of 'Abay, from the 5th/11th century to the end 
of the 9th/15th one.

Salih b. Yahya is above all known for having writ-
ten a history of his family, published for the first time, 
published by the B.N. unicum (fonds arabe 1670), in 
the journal al-Machriq (1898-9), and then issued in book 
form at Beirut by the Imprimerie Catholique in 1902 
and 1928. A new edition, taking into account the 
critical remarks of J. Sauvaget (BEO, v-viii [1937-8], 
65-81) and respecting better the text's integralness, 
also preserving its dialectical style, has been published 
by F. Hours S.J. and Kamal Sâlih as Tarîh Baytî. 
Récits des anciens de la famille de Bûhtûr b. 'Alî, émir du 
Charb de Beyrouth, Beirut 1969 (Coll. Recherches, Dar 
el-Machreq).

Written in a distinctly unclassical language, it 
 begins with topographical and historico-archaeo-
logical aspects of the town of Beirut, and then 
 passes, for the greater part of the work, to the complete 
chronicle of members of the family, from the ancestor 
Bûhtûr (6th/12th century) up to the author's own 
time, setting forth its subject in three chronological 
divisions (tabakât), the third one revolving round 
Nâşir al-Dîn al-Husayn (d. 751/1350), the author's great-
grandfather and most remarkable of the amîrs of the 
Charb.

The work's considerable interest lies in the fact 
that it is one of the rare documents which allow us to 
come to some conclusion about the daily life of a small rural 
fiefdom, administratively attached to Damas, or 
even to Byzantium and Mamlûk times. It gives, by means of personalised 
accounts and archival documents, a very lively idea of 
the life of the peoples living to the south of Beirut 
and their relations with the Mamlûk occupiers.

The Druze historian Ḥamza b. Ahmad b. "Umâr b.

SALIH b. 'ABD AL-KUDDUS — SALIH b. YAHYA
Salih, called Ibn Asbāt al-Qarba (d. 926/1520) made use of Salih b. Yahya's text in his Ta'rikh, and this was in turn made use of by the amir Haydar al-Shahabi (d. 1250/1835) in his al-Qawar al-haidi fi ta'rikh hawalid al-salih, ed. Na'im Mughabhagb, Cairo 1900.

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added Brockelmann, II, 36 and II, 47, and Ziriki, A'dam, II, 276, iii, 198.

(L. Pouzet)

Al-Malik al-Salih, the regnal title of four Mamluk sultans:

2. Al-Salih Ismail, son of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Kalawun [q.v.], was raised to the sultanate by his father's senior amirs on 22 Muharram 740/20 July 1341. In the name of the Kalawun sultan. Al-Salih Ismail's rule was upheld first by Arghun al-`Ala'i, his step-father, and Aksunkur al-Sallari, who held the offices of nizam and mamluk al-salama respectively. With Aksunkur's subsequent elimination, Arghun al-`Ala'i held the reins of power while al-Hadjadi Ali Malik became na`ib al-salama. As the Kalawun sultan's rule was nominal only, the amirs never cut off, and even encouraged their connections with the harem which al-Nasir Muhammad had left behind. Before long, the influence the harem exerted was enormous. During Isma'il's reign e.g. the involvement in government affairs of harem women and servants increased to such extent that taka'it and land allowances could be obtained only through them. Owing to the influence of the chief eunuch, 'Anbar al-Sakharti, who had been Isma'il's tutor, servants and eunuchs attained a status of such importance that they freely appropriated Mamluk ways, while Al-Sakharti surrounded himself with the ceremonial usually reserved for senior amirs. Servants and eunuchs, moreover, were involved in an abortive attempt in 744/1343 of a group of amirs to re-install Ahmad in the sultanate. For all his piety and modesty, Isma'il soon indulged himself in the pleasures of the harem and married Ittifsak, a slave-girl singer, lavishing on her expensive gifts from the royal treasuries. Soon the sultan's household expenditures (hakimiyat al-`ahd) exceeded his father's already exorbitant practices. Even when in 745/1345 the sultanate was beset by a deep economic crisis (an annual budget deficit standing at 30 million dirhams with revenues at only 15 million dirhams), mere cosmetic measures were taken to diminish expenditure.

A particularly heavy burden on the treasury during Isma'il's rule were the costly campaigns of the ruling amirs against Ahmad, still entrenched at al-Karak — after seven abortive campaigns they were forced to borrow money from merchants to finance a final attempt. Even then the city fell only when the Bedouin who had sided with Ahmad deserted him for the reward of taka'it and lands. Ahmad was subsequently executed (745/1344). Taking advantage of the government's obvious weakness, the Bedouin both in Egypt and Syria revolted. The rivalry between the Al-Muhannan and the Al Faḍl over the leadership of the Bedouin in Syria on behalf of the government, imrat al-`arab, erupted into open conflict. Other tribes in Syria, al-`alaj, soon took the law into their own hands. Intermittent warfare between the Bedouin tribes of Lower and Upper Egypt disrupted travel on the roads, damaged the irrigation system and prevented officials from levying taxes in their districts; expeditions despatched to subdue the Bedouin proved inadequate.

To this chaotic situation, the market reacted with increasing inflation and sharp monetary devaluation. Some relief came when in 745/1345 al-Salih Isma'il granted the Venetian commercial concessions. Thereafter, Europeans were increasingly offered such commercial concessions as the revenues for the government from taxation on foreign trade offset the dwindling revenues from agriculture and local commerce. That commercial ties between the Mamluk sultanate and Europe could be renewed stemmed from changes outside the sultanate. The Papal trade embargo against the sultanate which had been in force since the fall of Acre in 690/1291 was revoked because of pressure exerted by the European trading powers, who wanted to shift their trade back to the Levant after political changes hampered trade in the Black Sea region. After only a short reign, al-Salih Isma'il died in Rabii' I 746/July 1345, from illness. Anxious to remain in power, Arghun al-`Ala'i, through a will Ismail made under his guidance, guaranteed the succession of Sha`ban [q.v.], Isma'il's brother.


2. Al-Salih Salih, lived 738-61/1337-60) was the son of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Kalawun [q.v.] by Kutulumalik, the daughter of the amir Tankiz al-Husami, al-Nasir's nabi in Syria. Al-Salih was installed on the throne on 28 Djamada II 752/2 August 1351 after the senior amirs of his father's Mamluk household who held power at the time had deposed his brother al-Nasir Hasan [q.v.]. Four days later, an open power struggle broke out between them and a triumvirate, of Amirs Shaykhun (or Shaykhun), Sarghatmush and Taz, came out victorious. Wanting to avoid concentration of power in one hand, the three carefully shared control over the treasury from that over the army. Thus Shaykhun held the sultan's treasury (al-`arib) while Sarghatmush was responsible for the distribution of takis and the Mamluk's promotion in the army. Suspicions, however, simmered and in Rabii' I 753/May-June 1352 Taz accused Sarghatmush of attempting to restore al-Nasir Hasan. Later in Radjab/October, disgruntled erstwhile associates such as Baybughra Urus, the nabi of Hamat, his brother Mandjak al-Yusufi and others, led an abortive coup in Syria. The rebels, together with Turkman and Bedouin tribes, looted Damascus and its suburbs before the Mamluk army, nominated by al-Salih Salih, defeated them. When Shaykhun and Sarghatmush learned that Taz was plotting against them with al-Salih Salih, they did away with him, and on 2 Shawwāl 755/20 October 1354, deposed al-Salih Salih and restored al-Nasir Hasan to the throne.

With the ruling amirs preoccupied with power
struggles, the Bedouin who had been under the patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad and had accumulated power during his rule and after his death, took the law into their own hands. Intermingled wars by brigands and Al Fadl over the thank al-Sarab again rendered highways in Syria unsafe, compelling the government in 753/1352 to award the inmar to both of them jointly. As in 752/1351, Upper Egypt was under the de facto control of Muhammad b. Wajil al-Ahdab, chief of the ʿArak tribe. Attacks on the Bedouin throughout Egypt in 754/1353 ended a period of some fifteen years during which the country's resources had been exhausted by the further destruction which the Bedouin wrought on commerce and agriculture and by the enormous government expenditure on efforts to contain them.

It was during al-Salih Salih's reign that the impact on the sultanate's economy of the Black Death, which had ravaged Egypt during 748-50/1347-9, became most obvious. The Mamluk army was decimated, and ʿaḏka soldiers who had survived the epidemic were reduced to such miserable conditions that they resorted to leasing their āḏka to civilians, which in turn led to the further decline of the army. Shortage in manpower caused large parts of the cultivated lands in Egypt to lie waste sharply reducing the treasury's revenues from agriculture. The state's deficit now reached such proportions that no one could be found willing to take responsibility for the treasury. Even the vizierate was an office no longer much desired. In order to reduce the deficit, the salaries of almost all officials in the sultan's household and governmental administration were cut down by half or two-thirds. The ruling amīrs further increased revenues by compelling the population to purchase products which the government owned or manufactured (tarh) or through the confiscation of property (muṣādara [q.v.], notably of rich officials. In 755/1354 new attacks against Coptic scribes enveloped throughout Egypt. Yielding to the rioting mob's demands, al-Salih Salih allowed them to destroy churches, while 25,000 ʿaddān of land belonging to the church as āʿawfā were confiscated and redistributed mainly as īktaʾūt to Mamluks. Under pressure from the ʿulamāʾ and the masses, al-Salih Salih re-enacted the discriminating laws against the dhimmis [q.v.] and decreed that no dhimmī could be employed anywhere in Egypt. With their church's source of revenues destroyed and the way for personal advancement blocked, the Copts reacted with massive waves of conversion to Islam, thereby hastening Egypt's religious transformation.


3. AL-SALIH SALAH AL-DIN HADJDJI, son of al-Ashraf Shaʾbān [q.v.] and great-grandson of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Kālāwūn [q.v.], was placed on the throne at the age of ten, on 24 Safar 783/21 May 1381, after the death of his brother, al-Mansūr ʿAli. Since Rabīʿ I 782/June 1380, the amir Barkūk al-Uṯmānī al-Yalbughāʾī [q.v.] had become āḏka al-ʿawfi [q.v.], gaining the title āḏka, and was sultan in all but name. Barkūk used his position to his advantage and bought large numbers of Mamluks whom he lodged in Cairo's Citadel. Not having to rely on an alliance of amīrs, he freely bestowed āḏka rates on an alliance of amīrs, and appointed trusted followers to key positions in government. Barkūk's rule won such wide support that he became the first amir kābir to mint coins bearing his emblem, rank [q.v.], as sultans customarily did on their ascent to power. With his supremacy fixed, Barkūk moved to bring Kalāwūn rule to an end, and, on 19 Ramadān 784/27 November 1382, deposed al-Salih Ḥādjiḏji, a date conventionally considered as the beginning of the Circassian Mamluk sultanate.

Symptoms of the decline of the Mamluk economy, evident as early as the 1340s, were common during al-Salih Ḥādjiḏji's brief reign. Decline in revenues pushed the government to issue new copper coins of heavy weight and rate to replace the silver dirham further weakened the economy.

Ḥādjiḏji was briefly restored to the throne when in 6 Dijmādā II 791/2 June 1389 Barkūk's rivals, the amīrs Timurbughāʾī al-Afdālī, called Mintāṭ, and Yalbughāʾī al-Nasīrī, led a revolt against him and succeeded in temporarily exiling him from Egypt. According to one version, Ḥādjiḏji was again put on the throne simply because he had been overthrown by Barkūk. Ascending a second time, he took the regnal title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr (Ibn al-Fūrat, ib., 94); but as with most Kalāwūn princes, Ḥādjiḏji was sultan in name only and his authority was severely restricted. On 16 Shaʿbān/10 August civil strife broke out between the two partners of the coalition behind Ḥādjiḏji's rule. Mintāṭ came out the winner, and as amir kābir he became the real holder of power. Despite Mintāṭ's claim that with his struggle against Yalbughāʾī he had, among other things, aimed at re-introducing independent sultanic rule, al-Manṣūr Ḥādjiḏji was again put under harsh restrictions. His nominal reign came to an end when opposition to Mintāṭ's ruling faction lent its support to Barkūk and thus enabled him to re-enter Cairo triumphantly on 14 Safar 792/1 February 1390. Once again removed to confinement in the Citadel, al-Manṣūr Ḥādjiḏji spent the last 22 years of his life in the harem. He died on 19 Shāwwal 814/4 February 1412.


4. AL-SALIH NASIR AL-DIN MUHAMMAD b. AL-ZAHIR TATAR was the ten-year-old son and ephemeral successor in 824/1421 of Sayf al-Dīn Tatar, but was himself replaced by al-Malik al-ʿAṣraf Barsbay [q.v.] after a five-months' reign.


AL-MALIK AL-SALIH ʿIMĀD AL-DIN ISMĀʿIL b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, an ʿAyyūbīd prince, who was twice sultan of Damascus for short periods. One of the many sons of al-ʿAdil Abū Bakr [q.v.], he was probably born just before ca. 600/1203-4, although no precise date has been recorded. His father assigned him Bosra and al-Sawād (the area east of Lake Tiberias) as an āḏka. He continued to hold these lands under his brother al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā [q.v.], although in 622/1225 he was brought to Damascus, temporarily under a cloud, because of his possible involvement in a plot by a local magnate, Ibn al-Kaʾkī, to give him control of the city. After al-Muʿazzam's
death in 624/1227 he maintained his position subject to al-Nāṣir Dāwūd [q.v.]. When Ismāʿīl's brothers al-Kāmil [q.v.] and al-Āshraf Mūsā had, jointly deprived of al-Nāṣir of Damascus, Ismāʿīl was confirmed in his area of control in Ṛaddjād 626/May-June 1229. With other Ayyūbid princes, Ismāʿīl was in this same year sent by al-Kāmil to recover Ḥamā for al-Muẓaffar Ḍāhīmūd, and he commanded the ṣarkār of Damaskus which gained Baalbek for al-Āshraf. Siḥṭ Ibn al-Ḍqawṣ [see Ibn al-Ḍqawṣ, ... sīr] mentions Ismāʿīl as lieutenant of al-Āshraf Mūsā in Damaskus in Ṛaddjād 627/July-August 1231, and he took part in al-Kāmil's campaign against the Ṣalduḳs of Rum in 631/1234-4.

In Muharram 635/September 1237 he became ruler of Damaskus after the death of al-Āshraf Mūsā, who had no sons and had designated Ismāʿīl as his successor. He also took over Baalbek, and was recognised as suzerain by al-Mudḥijād Shīrūk of Ḥimṣ and by the ruler in Aleppo. In Dīmārāḍa 635/February 1238 Ismāʿīl surrendered Damaskus to the greater power of al-Kāmil, but was allowed to retain Baalbek, which gained Baalbek for al-Āshraf. Sibt Ibn al-Ḍqawṣ mentions Ismāʿīl as his successor.

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AL-SALIH NADJM AL-DIN AYYUB — AL-SALIHIYYA

They entered the city on 26 Safar 637/27 September 1239 and imprisoned Ayyub’s son, al-Mughith. Deserted by most of his troops, Ayyub was taken to al-Karak by al-Nasir Dawud, already dissatisfied with his alliance with al-Adîl, and held there for six months (from Rabi’ I to Ramadan 637/October 1239-April 1240). Although both al-Adîl and Isma’il demanded the person of Ayyub, al-Nasir released him on the basis of promises that Ayyub later claimed were forced, and they planned joint action. As both al-Adîl and Isma’il moved to crush Ayyub between them, in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 637/23 June 1240 al-Adîl was deposed at Bilbays by his emirs who then invited Ayyub to become sultan in Egypt.

Ayyub entered the Cairo citadel on Sunday 25 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 637/17 June 1240. Material for the inner affairs of Egypt in this period is exceedingly sparse and little is known about his government. For the next few years, he strengthened his position by purging the Egyptian army, increasing and promoting his own service, and forthrightly rewarding himself and the so-called Bahriyya [q.v.] on the island of Rawda [q.v.] (work began Shab‘an 638/February 1241).

A general Ayyubid settlement, again at the expense of al-Nasir, was all but concluded in 641/1243. Isma’il in Damascus recognised Ayyub as suzerain (in Rabi’ I/September), and was to release al-Mughith. Umar. However, intercepted letters to Ayyub’s Khârâz-mian allies and general lack of trust once more brought about a collapse. Al-Mughith died in prison (Rabi’ I 642/August 1244) and Isma’il was suspected of his murder. Ayyub was subsequently faced by an alliance of Syrian princes and Franks, the latter recruited by significant concessions of land. In response Ayyub’s troops, joined by the Khârâzmiyya, inflicted a major defeat on the Syrian coalition at the village of La Forbie or Farbiya (Yakut, iii, s.v.) between Ascalon and Gaza (12 Dzúmâda I 642/17 October 1244). Damascus was besieged, and surrendered in Dzúmâda I 643/October 1245. To Ayyub’s fury in Egypt, the terms made allowed Isma’il his other possessions, but he then joined the Khârâzmiyya, who had changed sides, to attack Damascus. However, the power of the Khârâzmiyya was broken in Mu‘azzam 644/May 1246 by the armies of Ayyub and his son, al-Mughith, the former forming to curtail their depredations. Ayyub’s forces then took the rest of Isma’il’s lands, and Ayyub himself, now at the peak of his power, came to Damascus in Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 644/March 1247 to organise his new possessions. Isma’il had taken refuge with al-Nasir Yusuf [q.v.] at Aleppo.

During 645-6/1247-9 there were gains from the Franks (Ascalon and Tiberias), arrests of former associates of Isma’il, including the lord of Salâkh ‘izz al-Dîn Aybak, and anxieties about Aleppo’s intentions. In 646/1248 al-Nasir Yusuf took Hims, but caliphal envoys, as ever worried by the Mongol threat, made a peace and both sides retired. Ayyub’s last success was to acquire al-Karak and the remnants of al-Nasir Dawud’s principality in Dzúmâda II 647/September 1248. In Muharram 647/1249 Ayyub had returned to Egypt, carried in a litter as he was ill, and troubled by news of the crusade of Louis IX. After the early loss of Damietta (Safar/June), a total collapse threatened to follow Ayyub’s death at the age of 49.

This took place in camp at al-Mansûra on the eve of Sunday, 14 Shab‘an 647/21 November 1249. Shadjar al-Durr [q.v.] and the senior amîn tried to conceal his death and managed affairs while summoning Tûrân-shâh, for whom Ayyub had written his political testament (see Cl. Cahen and I. Chabbouh, Le testament d’al-Malik al-Salih Ayyûb, in Actes d’Oran 2, 97-114). The nature of Ayyub’s fatal complaint has been discussed by F. Klein-Franke (What was the fatal disease of Al-Malik al-Salih ... , in Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem 1986, 153-7).

Ibn WâsÎl [q.v.] gives a penetrating pen-portrait, stressing Ayyub’s mixture of forbidding authority and diffident and introspective solitariness. He was taciturn and sparing talker. Unlike his father, he had no special taste for reading and scholarship. Even his hours of relaxation with his few special companions, in his magâlih al-shârîb, were sombre and undemonstrative.

Building was a passion. In addition to the residence on Rawda Island, he built palaces on the Nile bank at al-Lûk, the pavilions known as Manâzîr al-Kalîh (see M.G. Sarton, Études sur la topographie du Caire, in MIFAO, Cairo 1902, vii/2, 77-95), and the new town development, called after him al-Salîhiyya. Very important was the madrasa which he founded in Bayl al-Kasrayn for the four orthodox mudhâhbih. Site clearing started in Dhu ‘l-Hijja 639/June 1240 and teaching began in 641/1243-4 (al-Maârifî, Kajîlît, iii, 374). His mausoleum near the madrasa, to which his corpse was rendered in Ijâmada I 643/October 1245. To许久, the name of various places in the Middle East. These include:

1. A settlement of Diyar Muşar in al-Djayzra, placed by Yâkût in the district of al-Ruha and Edessa and said to have been laid out by the Abbasîd governor of Syria ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sâlih. He also quotes a (now lost) history of Mawṣîl by the Khârâzmiyya, and states that the caliph al-Mahdi began the work of fortification there.


2. A settlement to the north of the old city of Damascus, on the slopes of Mount Kâsiyûn [q.v.]. Yâkût describes it as a large village with markets and
a Friday mosque, containing many saints' tombs and residences of holy men. Most of the inhabitants were immigrants from Jerusalem and were Ḥanbalī in madhhab. From the 6th/12th century, it became one of the strongholds of this school [see ḤANABIYYA, at III, 161]. It is now a well-to-do suburb of the modern conurbation of Damascus.

**Bibliography:** Yākūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, iii, 390; Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslemis, 529; Hachette World Guides, *The Middle East*, Paris 1966, 301. See also [DAR].

**ṢALĪHIYYA,** a Sūfī ṭarīqa [q.v.] from within the tradition established by the Moroccan Sūfī and teacher Ahmad b. ʿĪdrīs (d. 1837). The exact origin and, indeed, the reason for the name of the Ṣalīhiyya is unclear. It appears to be an offshoot of the Raḥšādiyya, the name given to ʿārifa founded by the Sudanese ʿĪbrāhīm al-Raḥšād al-Dūwayhī (d. 1874, [q.v. in Suppl.], a student of Ibn ʿĪdrīs. After his death in Mecca, ʿĪbrāhīm al-Raḥšādīs ʿārifa was taken over by his nephew Shaykh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 1919), who moved there from the Sudan. Some time in about 1887, the Meccan-based branch became known as the Ṣalīhiyya, while the Sudanese branch continued to be known as the Raḥšādiyya. It is, in fact, very difficult to disentangle the various Sūfī traditions associated with the Raḥšādiyya, Ṣalīhiyya, ʿIrāqūndiyya and Dāndarāwīyya [q.v. in Suppl.]. The Shaykh was succeeded as head of the order by his three sons in turn, al-Raḥšād, ʿĀbd al-Ḥamīd and ʿĪbrāhīm, the last of whom died in 1976. The Ṣalīhiyya was taken to Somalia and other regions of eastern Africa by pilgrims from the region who were initiated by the Shaykh or his sons in the Hijāz. Communities (Somali, ʿāmara'a), dedicated to prayer and agriculture, were established throughout Somalia; by the 1930s, Cerulli estimated that there were 53 Ṣalīhiyya ʿamara'a there. These communities attracted ex-slaves or other marginal groups and opened up hitherto unutilised land.

The most famous Ṣalīhiyya leader in Somalia, and his people's greatest poet, was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (Somali, Ṣalīmid Abdi) Ḥassān (1864-1920). He was born in Istanbul in 1864. The following year he returned to Somalia and thereafter worked to spread the order, attacking the use of tobacco and the prevalence of saint-worship among his fellow countrymen. Four years later, in 1899, he began his ḥijāh against imperialist encroachment.


**ṢAṽAMI,** nom-de-plume (makhṭāṣ) of Mirzā-žāde Muhemed Emīn (1099-1150/1688-1743), an Ottoman author of a published biography of poets, a šaykh and, in his later years, a scholar of mysticism, a dictionary and an Ottoman translation of a Persian history, all of which are in manuscript form. Many of the details concerning his life are to be found in an autobiography included in his *Taḥrīr-yi ʿūšāra,* which is the work that qualifies him for inclusion in this encyclopaedia.

The seventh child of Shaykh al-ʿĪlām Mirzā Muḥajīf Efendī, ʿṢālim was born in Istanbul in Ḥijrīyya II 1099/June 1688. His father's professional pursuits became his own: he had a career in the šīʿīyya class in which the highest rank he reached was that of kādī ʿasker of Rumeli. There is some disagreement on the date of his death. While all sources that mention it cite the month of Muḥarrar, some give the year as 1152/1739 and others as 1156/1743. The place where it occurred is also debated; it could have been either in Istanbul where he was buried near his father, or in the town of Maḥmūdīyya, near to Rumeli, *Taḥrīr-yi ʿūšāra,* ms. Miller Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri, Tarīḥ, no. 762, fol. 135; Thureyya, iii, 3; Mustakîmzade, 454).

In his autobiography (*Taḥrīr-yi Ṣālim,* ms., B.L. Or. 7068, fols. 95a-97a; ibid., ed. Ahmed Djewdet, 337-44), ʿṢālim provides rather detailed information about his own life, education and career up to the year

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The 73 into which, according to a hadīth, the umma or community will be divided (see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi de Ibn Baṭṭa,* Damascus 1958, 17 n.). This hadīth is to be set by the side of Kur'ān, LXXII, 11, 11, “And that some of us are upright, and some of us not so; we have become [groups following] diverse ways”.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article. (S. ORY)

**ṢĀLĪM** (A.), intact, sound, i.e. free of damage or blemish, thus “well” as opposed to “ill,” and therefore a synonym of ṣakhī. The word is used as a technical term in various fields: 1. Applied to money, some so-called unclipped coins of full weight, or a sum of money free from charges and deductions. 2. In grammar, it denotes two things: in ṣarf (morphology) a “sound” root, i.e., one in which none of the radicals is a “weak” letter (harf ʿafīf, see ṣURD), nor a hamza, nor a geminate; in nābū (syntax) a word with a “sound” ending, no matter whether the preceding radicals are weak or not. Thus the root ʿir-r-i is ṣālim, while the root ʿal-ḥ-i is not, both for the ṣarfīyya and the nābū. However, ṣālim is only for the nābū, whereas ṣanākā is only for the ṣarfīyya, the latter because the root is ʿal-ḥ-i, thus sound, and only the ending ʿal, which is part of the pattern iḥanā is “weak” (al-Sharīf al-Djurđani, Ṣalāhīhā, ed. Abd al-Rahmān Umayra, Beirut 1408/1987, 154 [read ṣanākā for ṣaṭīkā]).—The term ṣālim is also used to denote the “sound” plural (al-ṭamām-i ʿal-ṣālim) as opposed to the “broken” plural (al-ṭamām-i al-ṣālim) [see ʿaṣma]. 3. In prosody, the term denotes a regular foot, which has not undergone any of the changes called zihāfūt or šīl [see š-RQ], or a line of poetry consisting of such feet. It is, therefore, particularly common in Persian prosody, where ʿūṭāfī may not change from one line to the next as they do in Arabic. The lines will thus be ṣālim throughout the whole poem.

**Bibliography:** Tahānawī, Ḥāshīf ʿishlāḥāt al-ʻanām, ed. A. Sprenger et alii, Calcutta 1862, 1, 695-6; Khārazmī, Makāfīt al-ṣalām, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 87 (prosody); L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres,* Cambridge 1976, index. (W. BJÖRKMAN-[W.P. HENRICHES])
1133/1720. He began his studies when he was about seven years old with Yeni-Bağcöeli Feydullah Efendi. In 1104/1692 he was appointed muğdarris at the madrasa of Siileymaniye. In 1107/1695, he married Nadja al-Sanhuri al-Misri, a Malikî jurisconsult. He became kadi asker of Anadolu and two years after that kadi asker of Rumeli, but he never became Shaykh al-Islâm like his father.

Mirzâ-zade Mehmed Emin’s principal contribution to the Ottoman literary arts is his Tedhkire-yi shârâni,22 which contains details, as known to and described by the author, concerning the lives and works of over 400 Ottoman poets who were alive and active sometime between the years 1099/1688 and 1134/1722. Sâlim may be regarded as an innovator in the art of compiling biographies of poets: his type of biography does not seem to be intended to simply praise the poets. He appears to have been very much aware of the uninterrupted flow in the production of this literary genre that had been present in the Ottoman society in the 10th/16th century. We must assume that he knew that he was operating within a well-established tradition, but this did not stop him from making adjustments in the way in which each poet and poem were treated. This is reflected in the very critical approach he adopted in his appraisal of both the poets and their poems. His attitude could be the result of the changed way of assessing literature that had begun to develop among some Ottomans in the early decades of the 11th/18th century with Nedin’s (d. 1143/1730 [q.v.]) successful efforts to relate his art more closely to local developments and everyday life.

There was, at the same time, growing interest in European literatures that must have had some impact on the Ottoman litterateurs. In this respect, one may consider Sâlim’s Tedhkire as a valuable contribution, not only to the genre but also to the literature in general. His Tedhkire is in two parts. The first is devoted to the usual eulogies which are in this case addressed to the reigning Sultan Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30), followed by Sultan Mustafâ I (1106-15/1695-1703) who preceded him, the Grand Vizier Dâmâd İbrahîm Paşa and the Shaykh al-Islâm. Then follow the author’s introductory remarks in which he reviews previous tedhkires leading up to his own and then expresses his thoughts on the state of literature in his own day. The rest of the work is devoted to the biographies of the poets. Each biography ends with samples of the poet’s poems, some in their entirety, others in the form of a verse or two. The work finishes with a temmet (“It is completed”) in which the author asks to be excused for his errors, but does not apologise for the tediously verbose and ornate style he uses. The Tedhkire carries a date in the form of a chronogram which adds up to 1134/1722. Sâlim’s Tedhkire-yi Sâlim, ed. Ahmed Djeuwet, Dâr-i Şââdiet 1315; Tedhkire-yi Sâlim, ms. B.L., Or. 7068; Şuleyman Mûstakîm-zade, Tuhfe-yi Khâşatîn, Istanbul 1928, 454; Râmîz, Tedhkire-yi şârâni, ms. Millet Kutüphanesi, Ali Efendi, no. 762. fol. 135; Mehmed Thüreyey, Sâgî-i ʿOtâmanî, Istanbul 1313, ii, 3; Şâfi’î, Tedhkire-yi şârâni, ms. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kutüphanesi, no. T. 3215; J. Stewart-Robinson, The Ottoman biographical tradition in the Saâtı (1965), 57-74; Aşâh Sîrîn Levend, Türk edebiyatı tarihi, Ankara 1973, i, 251-352. (J. Stewart-Robinson)


Sâlim, Muhammed Küli, an Indo-Persian poet of the 11th/17th century, died 1057/1647-8.

He originated from the Şamlû tribe of the Turks and was a native of Tehran, but details regarding his life are scanty. In Persia he served under Mirzâ ʿAbd Allah Khân, governor of Lâhlgân [q.v.] in Gilân. During this time he married and had a son. Among the eminent personalities to whom he addressed his poems in the beginning were the xxiv and xxv rulers Shâh ʿAbbâs I (r. 996-1038/1588-1629) and his successor Shâh Şâfiî I (r. 1038-52/1629-42). Perhaps his failure to find the desired patronage in his country led him to try his fortune in India. He set out by sea, reaching Gujûrât around 1041/1631, coinciding with the early period of Shâh Djiân’s reign (1037-68/1628-59). It is likely that he sought access to the imperial court but was unsuccessful; Wâlî Dâhjîstânî, author of the Roydî al-ṣârâni,32 reports that the poet-laureate Kâfîm [see Kâfîm, ʿAbd Küli], when asked by Shah Djiân to give his opinion about the poet, told the emperor that Sâlim was poetically ill-provided since one of his muthânasî, which he said was written in praise of Kâhîrî, had been composed by him originally in praise of Gilân and he had merely changed its title. This accusation supposedly prevented Sâlim from
winning royal patronage. Thereupon he attached himself to Mir Abdul Salam Mashhadi, called Islam Khan, a prominent nobleman of the period, who succeeded him in governmental positions, ending as governor of the Deccan. Salim stayed in his service until the latter's death on 14 Shawwal 1057/12 November 1647. In the same year the poet also passed away, and his body was laid to rest in Kashmīr.

In his character, Salim has been described as a gross person indulging in improper jokes. He would display his wit indiscriminately without regard for the social status of the individual towards whom it was directed. On a certain occasion, while being entertained by the governor of Fars, Imām Kuli Khan (d. 1032/1622-3), the poet came out with an improvised couplet, displeasing to the host, who felt slighted by the allusion in it regarding his farness.

Salim's divān comprises poems representing kasīda, ghazal, kifā, rubd and mathnawi. Estimates vary regarding the total number of verses in the divān, but Dhabl Allah Ṣafta places the total around 9,000 couplets. Salim's poetry is praised by writers in several plays in the literary language in prose and verse. Despite vehement criticism, he included women actresses in his troupe, and his version of 'A'da (Beirut 1875), to which he had added popular Arab airs. He performed his uncle Mārun's [q.v.] al-Ḳabīl and Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mughefīl el Hārin el-Ḳabīl, and his own Musa wa-Ḥurās in Beirut. Though cholera initially prevented them from travelling, in 1876 he led the first Lebanese troupe to Egypt.

Joining the Damascene Adib Iṣbāk [q.v.], the troupe, al-Ṭīṣārāt al-ʿArabi, performed at the Zizinia theatre in Alexandria Mārun's Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mughefīl and al-Ḥāṣid al-Salīf, and Salim's Musa wa-Ḥurās, al-Ḳabīl and al-Ẓālām, in a season extending from December 1876 to February 1877. The répertoire is said to have included also al-Ḳabīl, an adaptation of Racine's Phèdre, and his Mithridate, Meyerbeer's opera L'Africaine, 'A'da, and Gharib al-Sudaf el Salīm el-ʿArabi (in versions all attributed to Salim), Racine's Andromaque, al-Bāṭiriyya al-ḥasān (La Belle Époque by the Comptesse Dham), and Charlemagne (from the highly successful play of Henri de Bornier) (all adapted by Adib), and Zohib of l'abbé d'Aubignac. Al-Ḳabīl (Alexandria 1913) was an adaptation of Comédie's comedy Le Menestrel made by Habib Musk and revised by Salim. The tragicomedy Hīf al-Wuddāl al-Zalām (Alexandria 1891), said to be a translation, is about intrigue and romance in an Arab setting. Though audience response had been very supportive, and Salim did his utmost to keep his company alive, he eventually ceded control to one of his actors, Yusuf al-Ḳhayyāt's troupe in 1879, because the Khedive thought it alluded to him and his government disparagingly. Gharib al-Sudaf (Alexandria n.d.) is a story of love and anti-colonial struggles in India. An anthology of Salim's plays, al-Marāb al-ʿArabi - dirāsāt wa-nuṣūṣ. 5. Salīm el-Nakkāsh, ed. Muḥammad Yūsūf Ṣagīr, Alexandria 1965, includes 'A'da, Musa wa-Ḥurās, al-Ḳabīl, Gharib al-Sudaf and al-Ẓālām. Though audience response had been very supportive, and Salim helped edit it. The pair of them founded a daily al-Tidjārī in May 1873 in Alexandria; some of the best writers, al-ʿAfnānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh [q.v.], 'Abd Allāh Nadim [q.v.], Ibrāhīm al-Lakkānī and Amin Shumayyil, were to write for it. Both papers, strongly

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MUNIBUR RAHMAN

SALIM b. KHAṬĪB AL-NĀKKĀSH, Syrian Maronite journalist, historian, and pioneer of Arab theatre. Born 1850 in Beirut, he died in Alexandria on 25 November 1884. He studied Arabic, French and Italian. He worked on his uncle Nikūlā's al-Mishāb newspaper in Beirut and wrote for al-Nadīgh and al-Zāhira. He was employed in the customs in Beirut in 1876. In the family tradition he became involved with the theatre with an adaptation, Musa wa-Ḥurās (Beirut 1868), of Corneille's tragedy Horace, to which he had added poetry and songs. Seeking material support for a theatrical venture, he went to Egypt. The Khedive Ismāʿīl [q.v.] agreed to grant him use of a theatre, scenery, and costumes and financial support. Salim began rehearsing his troupe in the summer of 1875, writing for it several plays in the literary language in prose and verse. Despite vehement criticism, he included women actresses in his troupe, and his version of 'A'da (Beirut 1875), to which he had added popular Arab airs. He performed his uncle Mārun's [q.v.] al-Ḳabīl and Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mughefīl el Hārin el-Ḳabīl, and his own Musa wa-Ḥurās in Beirut. Though cholera initially prevented them from travelling, in 1876 he led the first Lebanese troupe to Egypt.
nationalist, were suspended in November 1879 for their criticism of the government of Riyād Pagla and of foreign interference in Egyptian affairs. Salim is said to have been a member of the radical nationalist Miṣr al-Fatā'ī/Jeune Égypte. After Adīb travelled to Paris, Salim started publishing a daily al-Mabrūsā and a weekly al-ʿAṣr al-Djawālī in Alexandria in January 1880; Salim followed a more moderate line with these papers. When in 1881 Salim was ill, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm took over the running of both papers. With the return of Adīb and the reissue by him of Miṣr in December 1881, al-ʿAṣr al-Djawālī ceased to appear. al-Mabrūsā, opposing the nationalist policies of Colonel al-Mahrūsa, was suspended in June 1882 for its loyalty to the Khedive. After the riots of 11 June, Salim was forced to flee; his press was destroyed. Salim tried to restart al-Mabrūsā in September 1882, but it was not till the beginning of 1884 that he got compensation for the destruction of his press, and al-Mabrūsā reappeared as a weekly till his death.

The first three volumes of his lengthy Miṣr li ʿl-Mistriyyin aw ḥawādith al-fīta al-Urdjia, Alexandria 1884-6, describing Egypt from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī to Ismāʿīl, are said to have been printed, but then destroyed on government orders; volume iv covers Tawfik’s early reign; v, ʿUrābī; vi, the British occupation; and vii–ix, the ʿUrābī trials. Riṣūd al-ʿIntikām aw al-ḥudūd al-ṣalāhī (Alexandria 1876) is a free translation by him and Adīb of the novel Le dernier rendez-vous by the French writer Pierre Zacccone.


AL-SALĪMĪ, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd b. Sullām al-Salīmī, Nūr al-Dīn (ca. 1286-1332/1289-1346), generally known in the West as ʿUmān, the name of a mystical-theological school in Baṣra, based on the teachings of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sullām (d. 297/909) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sullām (d. 356/967). In the sources, father and son are often confused. Both were pupils of the famous mystic Sahī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897) and his son ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897), and in the stories of his teaching and work, he is also similarly opposed such dubious financial predecessors, and so impassioned did the issue become that early in 1914 al-Salīmī went to see him at al-Hamra'. On the way, he was killed when his donkey stumbled; he was buried at Taṇūf. It is against this background that the nature of his history of the Imāmate, Tuhfat al-ʿānīn bi-sīrat allāh ʿUmān, should be viewed. Finished ca. 1910, the story is continued down to the death in 1954 of the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāhirī by his son, Muḥammad (Ṣhayba), in the Nahdat al-ʿānīn bi-hurriyyat ʿUmān (Cairo n.d.), this contains a lengthy biography of his father which is the main source for this article. Amongst twenty-two works of his listed in it, attention should be drawn to such studies of major Ibnādī scholarship as his edition of al-Rābī b. Ḥabīb, also to his close cooperation with the great Mzābi scholar and activist, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Atfāyīsh (1236-1332/1820-1914). It was Muḥammad’s son Abū ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm Atfāyīsh, who edited for publication the Tuhfa (first ed. 2 vols., Cairo 1347 and 1350), as also another remarkable work of his, the Dākhīn al-ṣawāfī wa ʿumān, a distillation in an urduyya of guidelines and judgements written as a sort of aide-mémoire for kāfīdī. His Talākīn al-sīyāsā became the standard book of instruction for Ibnādī children.

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SALIMIYYA, the name of a mystical-theological school in Baṣra, based on the teachings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sullām (d. 297/909) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sullām (d. 356/967). In the sources, father and son are often confused. Both were pupils of the famous mystic Sahī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897) and his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/897), and in the stories of his teaching and work, he is also similarly opposed such dubious financial predecessors, and so impassioned did the issue become that early in 1914 al-Salīmī went to see him at al-Hamra'. On the way, he was killed when his donkey stumbled; he was buried at Taṇūf. It is against this background that the nature of his history of the Imāmate, Tuhfat al-ʿānīn bi-sīrat allāh ʿUmān, should be viewed. Finished ca. 1910, the story is continued down to the death in 1954 of the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāhirī by his son, Muḥammad (Ṣhayba), in the Nahdat al-ʿānīn bi-hurriyyat ʿUmān (Cairo n.d.), this contains a lengthy biography of his father which is the main source for this article. Amongst twenty-two works of his listed in it, attention should be drawn to such studies of major Ibnādī scholarship as his edition of al-Rābī b. Ḥabīb, also to his close cooperation with the great Mzābi scholar and activist, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Atfāyīsh (1236-1332/1820-1914). It was Muḥammad’s son Abū ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm Atfāyīsh, who edited for publication the Tuhfa (first ed. 2 vols., Cairo 1347 and 1350), as also another remarkable work of his, the Dākhīn al-ṣawāfī wa ʿumān, a distillation in an urduyya of guidelines and judgements written as a sort of aide-mémoire for kāfīdī. His Talākīn al-sīyāsā became the standard book of instruction for Ibnādī children.

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are known, even by title, the Kut al-kulub of al-Makki must be considered as the main source for the doctrine of the Sāliḥyya. The compilation of Sāḥib al-Tustari’s commentary on the Kitāb al-Kunūj does not stem from the Sāliḥyya but from other pupils of al-Tustari.

The existence of a tradition of the Sāliḥî school and doctrine in the 4th/10th century is attested by the Sufi Ibn Khāṣıf al-Širāzī (d. 371/982 [q.v.]), whose work against it, the al-Raḍd ‘alāl Ibn Sāḥib (i.e. Ahmad b. Muhammad), has not been preserved. The geographer al-Muqaddasī [q.v.], who finished his descripti

gon of the Islamic empire in 375/985, associated with Baṣra with adherents of the school. He relates that at that time they were Mālūkīs, but that their founder had been a Hanafī, that they studied theology (kalām), for which they had their own books, and that their main concern was renunciation of the world (zuhd).

None of the early sources mentions them explicitly as Sūfīs. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāḏ (d. 378/989 [q.v.]), the author of the Sūfī handbook al-Luma’, records a discussion with Ahmad b. Sāḥib in Baṣra about mystical sayings of Abū Yaʿāqūb al-Bīštāmī, considered as heretical by Ahmad. Ahmad b. Sāḥib is also otherwise often mentioned in the Luma’. It was probably on account of Ibn Khāṣīf’s lost work that a catalogue of alleged heretical views of the Sāliḥyya came into being among the Hanbalīs. Reference to these views is first found in the works of Ibn al-Farra (d. 458/1066 [q.v.]), and in the work of Chios [see SAKZ], Naxos [see NAKSHE] and al-Mahdiyya (Tunisia) [q.v.], in the Cypriot sandjaks of Kerynia (Ott. Girne), Paphos (Ott. Bāf) and Famagusta (Ott. Maghāshá [q.v.]), and Aleppo [see HALAR], some governors had sāliḥyye status. There all tax revenues went to the state treasury. The local defterdar collected the taxes and paid the governor, the sdliydne mukadda, and the taṣarruh timdr. Their governments were formed a defensive line with the citadel of Busra [see FAMAGUSTA] in the Cypriot Mahdiyya (Tunisia) [q.v.]. There all local expenditure. The remainder of the revenue had to be transferred to the central treasury (see Mazzâ’ir and IRSALIYYE). In the 17th and 18th centuries there were nine sāliḥyya provinces: Egypt [see MISK], Baghdad [q.v.], Baṣra [q.v.], Ḥabash [q.v.], Yemen [see YAMAN], al-ʿAbāṣa [see AL-ḤASH] the oγqis of the West, Algiers [see NAζAζ-1-γHAR], Tunus (Tīnūs [q.v.]) and Tripoli [see TĀRABULUS-ΓHAR]. In the province of Kef [q.v.], Crete (Ottoman Girid [see SĪRΓTCIY], and the southernmost advance post of Syria towards the desert lands of Arabia and on the junction of important trade routes, connecting the main north-south axis via Damascus with the road from the Mediterranean towards east to Bağhdād and beyond. It was strongly fortified by a mighty castle, which formed a defensive line with the citadel of Buṣrā [see BOZRA], about 23 km/14 miles further west.

Today, its historic importance is only shown by the impressive ruins of the castle, built in solid black basalt massive and massive domes, the top of the Emirate, and the isolated hexagonal Ayyūbīd minaret in the city centre. Despite the poor state of preservation, the glorious past can be deduced in some detail from the chronicles or geographic manuals, and especially from a remarkable number of Arabic inscriptions re-used in recent constructions of
The Druze population, who have resettled the completely abandoned ancient site since 1860. With the continuous removal in recent times of most of the traditional fabric, the evocation and imagining of the citadel has been undertaken by the Syrian Antiquities Organisation since 1991.

The history of Salkhad, as a defensive bastion for Damascus, closely mirrors the fate of the Syrian capital, and its history has been similar to that of the neighbouring town of Busra.

The Fatimid, Seldjuk, Burid and Zangid periods. The citadel of Salkhad was evidently founded or enlarged in 466/1073-4 by the chief of the Banu Kalb Bedouins, Hassan b. Mismar, as a base for attacks against Damascus, then belonging to the empire of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. After the expulsion of the Fatimids from Syria in 468/1076 and the subsequent foundation of a new Seldjuk dynasty by Tadj al-Daula Tutush [see SALDUKIDS. III. 4, and TUTUSH], the new master of Syria invested his sons Fallus and Busra. Shortly after, when power in 497/1104 passed to the Zangid, Ayyub b. Izz al-Din Aybak al-Hamawi, as well as for the powerful amirs of both personalities. In 604/1208 it was bestowed on the Zangid ruler Nur al-Din Mahmud al-Ayyub (644-71/1247-9), who invested his family in 588/1186, both towns were bestowed on Sadlk b. A1I, the acting governor of Salkhad, strengthened by additional fortifications. But the available data clearly testify to the systematic improvement of the region, evidently resulting in an increase of the rural population.

Following the deposition of Aybak al-Mu‘azzam, the fieid of Salkhad henceforth was administered directly by members of the Ayyubid family: the Malik al-Salih Nadjm al-Din Ayyub (644-71/1247-9), the Zangid ruler Ayyub b. Izz al-Din Aybak al-Hamawi, as well as for the powerful amirs of both personalities. In 604/1208 it was bestowed on the Zangid ruler Nur al-Din Mahmud al-Ayyub (644-71/1247-9), who invested his family in 588/1186, both towns were bestowed on Sadlk b. A1I, the acting governor of Salkhad, strengthened by additional fortifications. But the available data clearly testify to the systematic improvement of the region, evidently resulting in an increase of the rural population.

The Mamluk period. In the aftermath of the Mongol conquest, al-Zahir Baybars [q. v.], who successfully expelled the Mongols from Syria and decisively reduced the Crusader dominions, systematically reorganised the Syrian provinces. The citadel of Salkhad was immediately reactivated and soon extensively repaired and strengthened in 668/1270 and 669/1271 under the supervision of the amir Balabán al-Afram, as testified by several inscriptions and a series of stone carvings with representations of the lion, the blazon [see RANK] of sultan Baybars, now dispersed throughout the region. Shortly thereafter, al-Manṣur Kalawûn in 679/1280-1 invested the amir Mu’azzam Turân Shâh (648-84/1249-50), al-ʿAzîz Muhammad (648-58/1250-60), and al-Zahir Ghâzî (658/1260). Despite a final extension of the citadel in 647/1249, the town had to suffer the military might of the victorious Mongol army in 658/1260.

The later steady decline in Salkhad's strategic importance, as also that of Busrá, is attested by its use as a place for disgraced Mamluk officials. This first occurred when the former sultan al-ʿAdil Ktibghâb nominated as governor of Salkhad a text, a forceless resignation in 696/1297. This also occurred with the dismissed governor of Damascus, ʿIzz al-Din Aybak al-Hamawi, as well as for the powerful amir Akkûh al-Afram and Karasunkur al-Manṣûr (both fleeing to the Mongol court in 711/1312), and finally also for Akkûh al-Aẖrāfī. Throughout this period, Salkhad still flourished as regional centre, even maintaining a bath complex (hamam), registered in the inventory of the viceroy of Syria and governor of Damascus, Izz ad-Din A1I, compiled on the occasion of his dismissal in 740/1340.

Because of its heavily fortified citadel, Salkhad retained some importance in the later Mamluk period. In 824/1421 it served as retreat of the governor of Damascus Dâjkâm al-Dawâdâr, after an unsuccessful revolt following the death of the sultan al-
Mu‘ayyad Shawkh. The latest historical datum marks the appointment in 842/1438-9 of the low-ranking of Mutayyad Shaykh. The latest historical datum marks the appointment in 842/1438-9 of the low-ranking of Mutayyad Shaykh. The latest historical datum marks the appointment in 842/1438-9 of the low-ranking of Mutayyad Shaykh.

D. R. Saifuddin, Muslim arts in the Middle East (648-1125 bis 932/1516), 1st. ed., London 1928, 15; M. von Oppenheim, Die mamlukische Architektur in Agypten und Syria, 2 vols., Gluckstadt 1992.—(e) Late Ottomans. L. Schatkowski Schilcher, The Hauran conquest of Syria (922/1516), resulting in a shift of importance to the northern provinces. Salkhad was soon depopulated and deserted, only to be again resettled and rebuilt by Druze refugees immigrating from the Lebanon from the later 19th century onwards.


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ed. Al-Sallami's fame arises from his history of the governors of Khurasan, the K. Wulfi Khurasan, which is now lost but which was used extensively (and independently of each other) by the Ghaznavid historian Gardizi [q.v.], and then by Ibn al-Athir for events in Khurasan and Transoxania up to the death of Abu ʿAli Ǧāghānī in 344/955 (this being the last event apparently taken from al-Sallami’s work and common to the narratives of the two later historians). Al-Sallami’s work was still known to, and cited by, the historian Gardīzl [q.v.]. The family of Ziyad already had a firm grip on the East in the later years of Muʿawiyah’s caliphate, and when Yazid I came to the throne, he appointed Salm as governor of Khurasan (61/681), and the latter nominated another of his brothers, Yazid b. Ziyad, as his deputy in Sistan. Salm proved himself a highly popular governor with the Arab troops in Khurasan, largely on account of his military successes. He led raids across the Oxus against the Soghdian princes of Transoxania and to Samarqand, and is said to have been the first Arab governor actually to winter across the river; he also raided Kh-zārazm. His lieutenants were, however, less successful in eastern Afghanistan against the Zunbils, the local rulers of Zamindawar [q.v.], and the Kābul-Shāhs; his brothers Yazid and Abu ʿUbayda were respectively killed and captured by the leading expeditions thither.

When Yazid b. Muʿawiyah died, the Arab army in Khurasan agreed with Salm to continue giving allegiance to him until the situation in the central lands of the caliphate should be clarified (63/683), but they soon renounced this allegiance; Salm was forced to return to Başra, and the East came to be dominated over the next years by the leader of the Kays party there [see KAYS AND YAMAN], ʿAbd Allah b. Khazim al-Sulami [q.v.], whom Salm had nominated as his successor over Khūrsān. In the prevailing uncertainty, Salm seems to have had the idea of giving allegiance to ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], but was arrested in Başra by the latter, who had just set himself up as anti-caliph in Arabia and the East. Salm was imprisoned at Mecca and mulcted of four million dirhams which he had gained from his two years’ governorship. He subsequently contrived to escape when al-Haddājī [q.v.], came to Mecca and the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik appointed him to the East once more, but he died at Başra in 73/692 before he could reach Khūrsān.

Salman-i Sawadji — Salmās

Djalayirid dynasty. From 744/1343 on, Salman was in the service of the Djalayirids, and in time he was the teacher of Hasan Buzung's son Uways (r. 757-76/1356-74). Most of Salman's panegyric kasidas [q.v.] are in praise of the sultans Hasan and Uways and, notably, of Dīlghād Khāṭūn. The service of the Djalayirid house made Salman a comparatively wealthy man, but frequent travel in the court's entourage seems to have damaged his health, for in a number of poems the poet complains of malaria, ailing feet and sore eyes and expresses his desire to lead a stationary and secluded life away from the court. In the last year of his life, under Uways's successor, Husayn, Salman fell from favour because of his apparent siding with Husayn's rival Shāh Shudjā. The most probable date of Salman's death is Monday, 12 Safar 778/30 June 1376.

Salman's poetic work comprises about 21,000 bayts; it consists of his diwan (kasidas, tarkibdt, tarajjbd, kifas arshid, mathnawi Djamshid u Kh w [q. v.]).

Like Hāfiz, Salman was taken as a model by following poets. His me maqām, Diwan-i Salmdn-i Sdwadji, ed. J. Asmussen, Tehran 1348 (ms. Paris, B.N. ar. 5909); cf. K. al-Mddjid al-Azdi, Opera minora, i, 475-6); in about 220/835 Persia and the Persian province of Adharbaydjan. The district com-

prised a fertile plain near the northwestern corner of Lake Urmia, bounded on the west by the Harawī Mountain range with the pass of Khānasūr (2,408 m/7,900 feet) leading into Turkey and on the east by the Kūh-i Awgān. The modern town of Salmās, Shābūr or Dilmān (lat. 38° 13' N., long. 44° 50' E.), lies 48 km/30 miles to the south-south-west of Khōy [see khor] on the Zala Čay river. The region of Salmās has been inhabited since earliest known times, as shown by the remains there from the Urartian culture onwards. In classical Antiquity it came within the province of Persarmania, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Salmas along with Cherrī (i.e. Khōy).

Salmās seems to have been conquered by Arab troops from Dīyār Rabi'a [q.v.], since al-Baladūrī states that the taxation of Salmās had long been transmitted to Mawṣil. In the 4th/10th century it came within the principality of the western branch of the Daylamī Musafīrīds [q.v.] under Marzubān b. Muhammad b. Musāfīr. In 332/943-4 Marzubān, both fought off a Hamdānī raid on Salmās, and in 344/955-6 the Kurdish adventurer Daysam attacked it. Al-Iṣṭākhri and Ibn Hākawī describe Salmās as a small town of Adharbāyjān, with a strong wall, in a fertile region. Al-Muḳaddasi describes it as a Kurdish town (these Kurds would be from the Hādībānī tribe) and considered it as being administratively part of Armenia. In 456/1064 the inhabitants of Salmās joined the Saljuḵsultan Aṯār’s expedition against the Byzantines, Armenians and Georgians. By Yāḵū’s time, however, the town was in ruins; yet in the mid-8th/14th century Hamd Allāh Mustawfī says that it was once more flourishing, with its wall, 8,000 paces in circumference, rebuilt in the time of the Il-Khan Qhanzān by the vizier Kāda-Tād al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh Tabrīzī; the revenues of Salmās (presumably the whole district) amounted to the substantial sum of 39,000 dinārs (see Abū Dulaf, Second Risalah, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, tr. 37, comm. 76; Hudud al-‘ilm, Minorsky, § 36.11, tr. 143; Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 166; Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, 962, 1108-11). This mediaeval town of Salmās then gradually declined, and today may be marked by the village in the northwest of the Salmās district called in the early 20th century Kuhnā Shahr (“old town”) on the road from Albak and Katur.

The modern chef-lieu of the district, in the 20th century known as Shāhpūr and before that as Dilmān (which latter name seems to indicate a connection with the Daylamīs who at times controlled the region, e.g. the Musafīrīds) lies in the centre of the plain (lat. 38° 13' N., long. 44° 50' E., alt. 1,430 m/4,690 ft.). In 1930 the town had some 8,000 inhabitants, almost all Shī’ī Muslims, but the surrounding villages included a good number with Christian populations. Both Nestorian Assyrians and Catholic Chaldeans, these last converted in the 18th century and having a bishop at Khozarsaw; as early as 1281 there had been a Nestorian bishop of Salmās present at the consecration (chretoronia) of the Patriarch Mar Yaballaha in Baghdad (Assemani, ii, 456). It was in Urdu-Bihṣij 1309/April-May 1930 that the town was largely destroyed by an earthquake, but rebuilt on Rodā Shāh Pahlavi’s orders. The region was badly from the Russo-Turkish fighting in the First World War, and in the post-war period had occurred massacres of the Christian population by the Muslim Kurds; it was in 1918 that the Nestorian Patriarch Mār Shīmūn Benjamin was murdered at Kuhna Shāhr by the Kurdish bandit chief Ismā’l (Simko) b. ʿAlī Kūhān (see Naṣṭūrīyyūn and J.F. Coakley, The...

(SALONIKA) [see SELANIK].

SALSABIL (A.), the name of a fountain in paradise. It is mentioned only once in the Koran, in LXXVI, 18: the righteous who are in paradise in the hereafter will be given there a cup to drink in which has been mixed ginger (zandjabil), from a fountain therein named Salsabil.

Exegetes approached the word from two directions: etymology linked to meaning, and grammar. The word was postulated to have been derived from sallu, salabu, (Najm, LXXI, Leiden 1910), where it was connected with the idea of being "easy to swallow" or "delightful in taste", attributes considered appropriate to liquids consumed in paradise. The presence of the letter bā in the word was, according to some, simply to be understood as non-radical (zāʾīda). More imaginative was the approach which saw the word composed of the imperative of the verb sala plus sabīli: "ask for a way!", according to Ibn Kuttaba, Taṣfīr ʿabar al-Kurān, Cairo 1978, 4, some have said that the word suggests that the fountain is calling, "Ask me for a path to it (the fountain), O Muhammad!" General grammatical comment regarding etymology and meaning, focused on the presence of the tanwin at the end of the word (the absence of variant readings suggests that it was never read otherwise). If the word was a proper name, then, it was generally argued, it would normally not be fully consumed in paradise. The presence of the letter sīna in the word was postulated to have been derived from the Roman administrative designation Regis saltus, a crown domain within the province of Palaestina Prima that was probably granted by the Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 192-211). The tomb complex and adjacent reservoir and olive press discovered in 1978 on the outskirts of the city may have belonged to a family entrusted with this crown domain.

The first reference to the name al-Salt occurs in 512/1118, following the death of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, when his successor Baldwin II sent an envoy to the atabeg of Damascus ʿAzhir al-Dīn Tughūtin [see būris] requesting an extension of the truce. Tughūtin responded positively on condition that the revenues from Djabal ʿAwf, Hannāna, al-Salt, al-Ghawr and al-Djawlan should be collected exclusively for the Muslims. Baldwin II refused this stipulation, and it seems that the earlier arrangement was terminated after ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn’s victory at Hitīn in 583/1187, when the Muslims established their control over these lands, and in 588/1192 al-Salt was assigned to the sultan’s brother and successor al-ʿAdîl. In 617/1220, al-ʿAdîl’s son ʿSharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsâ erected a citadel on a mountain known as Raʾs al-ʿAmīr, in response to an attack on a caravan by a group from the Banū Raḥmān from the nearby village of Kafr Yahūda. This citadel later served as a place of banishment, as when in 637/1239 the family of al-Malik al-Sāliḥ, his treasury and his horses were sent there. In 644/1246 some Khūārasmian refugees settled at al-Salt, but were forced to flee to Karak when the town was attacked and burned by a certain Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykh. The Mongols reached al-Salt in 659/1260, where they were opposed by Bâd al-Dīn Muhammad al-ʿAtēbēk; he surrendered the town, but the Mongols retained him in authority there.

Mamluk sultan al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bundukdār (d. 676/1277) repaired and expanded the
citadel at al-Salt, and stationed troops there. He also
took the town's mosque. Mamluk period
sources describe al-Salt as being prosperous and noted for
its orchards. It came within the wilayat al-Balka, the
sixth wilayat of the southern shafa of Damascus.
The administrative status of al-Salt varied, but
towards the end of the Mamluk period it had eclipsed
both Hisham (Ebusos) and 'Amman. Its residents
probably followed the Shafi madhab, for it is known that there had a Shafi'i kadi, and that the amir Sayf
al-Din Begtimmer al-Husami (d. 729/1328) founded a
Shafi madrasa there. A number of learned men with
the name of al-Salti are listed in the biographical
documents of this time.

The Ottoman tapu defters provide significant infor-
mation about al-Salt. In 954/1538 it was the seat of a
nakba comprising two mahallas: Awamna east of the
citadel and Mahallat Akrad west of the citadel; be-
tween them there were 168 households, ten bachelors,
four imams, ten Christians, and six soldiers who
taxed the population. An order by the pasha of 959/1551 states that al-Salt was in a ruinous state,
which corroborates the population decline recorded in
tapu defter of 1005/1596. Both defters detail the sum
of 12,000 akces in dues that were collected from al-Salt
as part of the allowances of the mir liwa of 'Adjudin.
Christians paid the poll tax at the rate of 80 akces per
head. At the time, al-Salt was a market place for the
district, while Hisham is reported as having been
derelict.

The citadel at al-Salt continued to be well main-
tained. In 1033/1623, Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni II
visited al-Salt and installed a garrison of fifty men
there. It is claimed that the citadel was destroyed by
Ibrahim Pasha [q.e.] during his presence in Syria be-
tween 1247/1831 and 1256/1840, and only ruins sur-
vene today, including trenches that give the
impression of houses, shops, baths, and other buildings;
and through its military garrison maintained control
over the region, especially the Abad, 'Adudan, and
Banu Saqhar tribes. This security attracted the influx
of capital, which is reflected in the town's Ottoman-
type mansions, many of which survive today.

Al-Salt was ahead of the rest of the country in
education because of the number of both state and
missionary schools that were established there. The
first secondary school in Jordan was established there
in 1344/1925, and it accordingly had an important
early role in building the modern state of Jordan.

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(M.A. AL-BAKHTIT)

SALTANA (A.) 'sovereignty, ruling power',
from the verb saltana 'become ruler, exercise power',
with suldan meaning 'force' (khar), thence by ex-
ension of the holder of power. Suldan is found in the Kur'an; see for a detailed discussion of the Islamic
origins of the term and its later developments, saltana.
The Arabic papyri from the first century of Islam have
such expressions as kharadja al-suldan or bas mal
al-suldan, with the sense of 'authority of the govern-
or, of the governor, wali or bakim'. In the standard
Arabic dictionaries (Ibn Durayd, Dammara, iii, 27;
Ibn Siduh, Mukhassas, iii, 133 ff.; Ibn Farsi, Mu'jam
mukjiri al-ta'bih, iii, 95; L.S., iii, 2066-62; al-
Firuzabadi, Ramai, ii, 356-65; T.A., v, 158-60; Butrus
al-Bustani, Maad, iii, 605-6); suldan is invariably
connected with the idea of constraint. In the popular
Arabic usage, suldan means 'oil', in Yemen, 'sesame
oil', and suldan is thus connected with salti because oil,
it is asserted, serves to make things clear, just like
political authority. Hence amir is described as
sultans because the latter term is the divine proof
which is used to put the proof into practice.
The term was employed in the fikh works and in adab ones, whence the title of the first chapter of Ibn Kutayba's *Uyun al-akhbār: kādī al-saltānā (in which the author defines the role and attributes of the sultan).* For the subsequent development in practice of sultan as a personal title, see sultān, in addition to which it should be noted that al-Kalqāshandi, speaking of the evolution of power in Egypt, states that, under the Fātimids, authority (sultānā) was acquired by the "vizierate of delegation" (ṣarāt saltanātuh dīwārāt al-saltāfīd (Ṣuhb, ix, 403).

Saltana is found in combination with many terms: dār al-saltānā, dasta al-saltānā, takht al-saltānā, sanr al-saltānā, nimdihat al-saltānā, wadīd al-saltānā.

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**SALTUK OĞULLARI**, a Türkmen dynasty that ruled a principality centred on Erzurum [q.v.] from ca. 465/1072 to 598/1202.

The information on this dynasty from all sources is rather sparse and somewhat confused. It was apparently founded by one Saltuk, who was among the Türkmen bent on conquering Anatolia after the battle of Malazgird [q.v.]. Ibn al-Āthir (d. 630/1233) says the founder was a certain Abu l-Ćāsīm, who may have been the same person. The Saltuk-oghullari seem to have established the first Türkmen principality in Anatolia after Malazgird. In addition to their capital at Erzurum, they also controlled a part of Trans-Jōran, against which the Georgians began to attack eastern Anatolia. In 516/1123, the Saltuk-oghullari concluded a marriage alliance with the Artukids [q.v.], and the Georgians attacked Erzurum for the first and last time.

It was presumably after this event that there occurred the curious incident in which Nāṣir al-Dīn's son Muzaffar al-Dīn's son Muhammad Tapar in his struggle against Berk-yaruk. In 516/1123, the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ćāsīm's son was allied with the Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafārīn against the Šāhī Arman. In 597/1200, he asked the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ćāsīm to arrange a marriage for his daughter. At that point, she seems to have been overthrown by Muzaffar al-Dīn's brother Malik Šāh. These events probably disturbed the Saldjuk sultan of Rum, Sulaymān II, who was hostile to Ayyubid ambitions in eastern Anatolia. Consequently, when he marched through Erzurum in 598/1202 on a campaign to Georgia, he imprisoned the curious incident in which Nasir al-Dīn's son and Nasir al-Dīn's sister Mama Khatūn in Terdja. Erzurum was a flourishing emporium and acquired a number of monumental buildings. Diya ʿal-Dīn built the Tepsi Minār and Kale Camii, and Nāṣir al-Dīn built or completed the Ulū Camii. Also noteworthy is the türbe of Mama Khatūn in Terdja.

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(G. Lisek)

**SALTUKIDS** [see SALTUK OĞULLARI].

**SALTUKI**, the name given by the Arabs to a member of the gatehound family, so-called because it pursues its quarry by sight and not by scent. The saltuki stands about 25-6 ins. in height at the shoulder. The saltuki has often been mistaken for the greyhound by travellers to the Middle East, but the ears are long and pendulous, while the greyhound's are short and pricked, and the greyhound is wider in the body and more heavily built. Whereas the greyhound is a sprinter, the saltuki is possessed of great stamina.

Abundant evidence exists in Arabic literature that the saltuki hunted oryx in the Djāhiliyā (see the Muwa'ālka of Labīd (ll. 49-52); the ḵudā in al-Nabīgha in C. J. Lyall (ed.), *A commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems*, Calcutta 1894, 154 ff. and 13-18); and Abā b. al-Ṭābil (ll. 29-39) and Abū Ḟuḍayyib (ll. 36-48) both in the *Mufaddalisiyya*. The huntsman, armed with bow
and arrows, would use a whole pack of saluki and the latter would hunt down and exhaust the quarry which, when turned and fighting back with its long, straight horns, would be dispatched by the huntsman's bow. The huntsman being at this time unaffected by the strict prescriptions on the killing of prey which would come into Islamic times. Although such hunting is not mentioned in the extremely stereotyped pre-Islamic poetry, the hunting of the gazelle and the hare by saluki must have taken place even before Islam.

Saluki has been a favourite hunter of the gazelle and the hare right through mediaeval times in the Middle East to the present day in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. The former was hunted until fairly recent times by both salukis and saker falcons (see Smith, A new translation, 254). The sakers would bind to the head of the gazelle to confuse and delay it, while the saluki followed on and dragged the gazelle down for the huntsmen to slaughter according to the prescriptions of Islam (see Allen and Smith, Hunting techniques, 114-15). The hare has always been, and continues to this day to be, coursèd by the saluki. The latter will probably survive, despite the stronger interest now in birds of prey for hunting, because of the danger presented to the bird of prey when she tries to cope with the swift, jinking desert hare.

The origin of the word saluki is not easily arrived at. The word must have been used in pre-Islamic times, though its occurrence in the poetry of the period is rare (e.g. MufaddalIsyād, 61, banū salukiyayn “the offspring of two salukis”). The Arab geographers (listed in detail in Allen and Smith, op. cit., n. 25) suggest the name is the nisba of a place called Saluk in the Yemen near Taizz, or alternatively in the area of al-Lān to the west of the Caspian Sea, also called Saluk (ibid., map 121). Vire in his article (REI, xii/2, 231-40) opts for the latter which he calls the “patric d’origine de ces lévriers”. There is no reason, other why saluki should not be the nisba of one of many Salukiyas, towns founded by the ancient Seleucids and called after the dynasty. The most likely answer is that, for some reason, the Arabs regarded their prize hounds as being “Seleucid” salukis”.


(S. R. Smith)

SALUL, the name of two tribal groups in northern Arabia: a branch of Khuzi’as [q. v.] and a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Kays ‘Ayān [q. v.], more precisely, the Hawāzin [q. v.].

1. The lineage of the Salul who were a branch of Khuzi’a was: Salul b. Ka’b b. ‘Amr b. Rabīb b. Ḥārīsha. The genealogists list, besides Salul himself, the following descendants of his as eponyms of tribal groups (the term employed is batin): Kumayr b. Ḥabgihya (variants: Ḥabgihya, Ḥabgiihya, Ḥabgīhya), Ḥulayl b. Ḥabgihya, Ḥalīm b. Ḥabgihya, including the descendants of Abū Ghurbān, who were numerous and formed many tribal groups, Dāṭir b. Ḥabgihya, Kulayb b. Ḥabgihya, al-Ḥizmir (variants: al-Ḥirmiz, al-Hurmuz) b. Salul, ʿAdī b. Salul, Ḥabtar b. Ḥabgihya, Ḥanī’a b. [see also Ibn Durayd, al-Īṭīṣākāʾī, ed. Ibn al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1378/1938, 468-73; cf. Caskel, <em>Garnamūr an-nasāb</em>, i, 198, 199; Ibn ʿAbd al-Rabbībī, al-Īṭīṣākāʾī, ed. Ahmad Amin et alii, Cairo 1384/1965; iii, 383; Ḥanī’a’s mother is said to have been the daughter of Salul b. ʿAshqāʾ (Ibn al-Kalbi, <em>Nasab al-Maṣād</em> wa-ʿl-Yaman al-kabīr, ed. Nadjī Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 446), which points to a link between the two tribal groups called Salul).

There are two indications, both related to blood-revenge, that before Islam the Kumayr were the leading group among the Salul, and possibly among the Ka’b b. ‘Amr as a whole. First, one of the Kumayr, ‘Amr b. Khālid, vowed that he would not let the blood of a Ka’bī go unavenged (<em>Nasab al-Maṣād</em>, ii, 441). Second, when al-Walid b. al-Mughirā the Kuraishi Banū Maṭṭāḥīn [q. v.] died of an injury caused by a Khuzā’ī (who was either of the Kumayr or of the Ḥanī’āʾ) it was again a member of the Kumayr, Busr b. Ṣufyān, who intervened in the ensuing crisis. Busr guaranteed the payment of the blood-money agreed upon—a compromise was struck; Khuzā’ī did not admit responsibility for al-Walid’s death. Busr even brought his son to Kurayb [q. v.] as hostage. But Khālid b. al-Walid [q. v.], who was the son of the slain man, sent the boy back (Nasab al-Maṣād, ii, 447). Ibn Ḥadjar, Ṣuṭṭā, ed. Ali Muhammad al-Bidāji, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 293; Muhammad b. Ḥabīb, al-Munammak fi al-ṭabar al-kabīr, ed. Khurshīd Ahmad Fārīk, Beirut 1405/1985, 191-9; Ibn Ḥājīm, al-Ṣinā al-nabawiyayn, ed. al-Sakkāʾi et alii, Beirut 1391/1971, i, 52-4).

The crisis over al-Walid’s blood-money is illuminating with regard to Mecca’s internal politics on the eve of Islam. One assumes that in the dispute, the Banū Ḥāشم supported Khuzā’ī: the Ka’b b. ‘Amr of Khuzā’ī, to whom the Salul belonged, had an alliance with ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāشم (Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Munammak, 192-2). In this alliance, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the most important figure of the Kuraishi side. On the Khuzā’ī side we find, among others, representatives of the following Salul subdivisions: Kumayr, Ḥabtar and Ḥabtar. As usual in tribal alliances, marriage links were agreed upon: ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib married on that day the daughters of two of the Khuzā’ī leaders who were party to the alliance, i.e. the representatives of Ḥabtar and Ḥabtar. The former bore him the famous Abū Lahab [q. v.] (see U. Rubin, Abū Lahab and rānī cīt, in BSOAS, xlvi [1979], 15), while the latter bore him al-Ghaydāk (M. J. Kister, On strangers and allies in Mecca, in JSAI, xiii [1990], 140; M. Lecker, The Banū Sulaym: a contribution to the study of early Islam, Jerusalem 1989, 129). In other words, two of the Prophet’s paternal uncles were born by Salul women (Ḥassān b. Ḥāhir, Dīsān, ed. W. Afaraf, London 1971, ii, 16-7; al-Baladhurī, <em>Ansāb al-ṣaḥāfi</em>, i, ed. Muhammad Hamidīlābī, Cairo 1959, 71-2; gn użyta, i, 78a-b; Kister, op. cit., 151). The Madīginī position in the dispute over al-Walid’s blood-money was supported by the Abībātī [see Ḥabshā, Ḥabshā, at the end] who at some stage were called upon by the Maṭṭāḥīn to intervene (Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Munammak, 195-6). [q. v.]

The Arabian hound, Avian [q. v.], more precisely, the Hawazin [q. v.], a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Kays ‘Ayān [q. v.], more precisely, the Hawāzin [q. v.].
The most important role played by the Salul before Islam was the one associated with Mecca in general and the Ka‘ba in particular. Their eponym Salul is said to have been a custodian (khuṣā‘) of the Ka‘ba. The Banu Salul were the custodians of the Ka‘ba, according to the Prophet’s saying, ‘This is my Ka‘ba, don’t let the Banu Salul be absent from it.‘ A prominent feature of the Salul, and one concerning which there was continuity from the pre-Islamic period to at least the 2nd century A.H., was the kiyafat [q.v.], i.e. the science of physiognomy and the examination of traces on the ground. It was a Salul, Kurz b. ‘Alkama, who allegedly tracked the Prophet and Abu Bakr when they left Mecca for the Hijra. Upon viewing the Prophet’s footprint, Kurz pronounced more than a year, ‘This is the same thing as that of Abraham, found at the mākām Ibrāhīm; according to the science of kiyafat, this similarity indicated that the Prophet descended from Abraham [see mākām Ibrāhīm, at VI, esp. 105b]. Later, at the time of Mu‘āwiyah, Kurz reinstated the marks indicating the boundaries of the sacred territory of Mecca (ma‘ātim al-haram, or aṣāb al-haram; Ibn Sa‘d, v, 338; Ibn Ḥadīr, Isbā‘a, v, 583-4; Caskel, ii, 374). The continuity from pre-Islamic times could be even pre-Islamic.

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The Salul are a tribe in the Arabian Peninsula, noted for their historical and cultural roles during the Islamic conquests. They are descendants of Djandal b. Murra, a prominent figure in early Islamic history. After the conquests, some of the Salul settled in Medina, where they arrived some time before the Prophet's death. They were on the Prophet's side: while Busr b. Sufyan is described as a farmer, the Salul were farmers as well. They were divided into three tribal units: Kudayd, Asad, and Usd. The Salul are mentioned with reference to the land near the Ka'bah and a mosque in Cairo was called after them, among others. The prominent role played by Khuza'a and their mawali in the da'wa indicates that studying the history of this tribe after the conquests will further our understanding of the da'wa; cf. Caskel, ii, 41. Mâlik's brother, 'Awf, was one of the kawâlid of the da'wa and a mosque in Cairo (miṣr) was called after him (Nasab Ma'add, ii, 442). The above-mentioned Kurz b. 'Allama is said to have inhabited 'Ashâlân (Ibn Hadjar, loc. cit.); Abu Maryam, a member of the Salul who was in Kufa at the time of Mu'awiya, is said to have embraced Islam in 6/627-8 (i.e. before his children were called, as e.g. Ibn al-Kalbi, Nasab Ma'add, ii, 446; Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Kurtubi, Ta'rif f 'l-ansâb wa 'l-tanwth li-dhawi 'l-a'sâb, ed. Sa'd 'Abd al-Muqâsid Zakâm, Cairo [1407/1986], 81; al-Baladhuri, Khânânat al-adab, ed. Hûrân, Cairo 1387-1406/1967-86, iv, 442; cf. Caskel, ii, 509) or the name of a daughter of Dhühl b. 'Áshâb b. 'Áshâb (i.e. the eponym of the Banâ Dhuâl of the Bakr), according to another version, only some of the Banû Salûl were called Banû Salûl (cf. Caskel, ii, 509). According to another version, some of the Salûl were the descendants of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan and his son 'Abd Allah, who received a grant from the Prophet. The genealogists list the following eponyms of tribal groups: Djjân b. Mâlik b. 'Áshâb (al-Tabâni et al., Beirut 1401-9/1981-8, iv, 411; al-Dâhîz, al-Bayân wa 'l-tabîyn, ed. Hûrân, Cairo 1395/1975, iv, 36). The Salûl still inhabit their old territory south of Târîf, especially Wâdî Biqâ (Hamad al-Dâjisîr, in: Maglulât al-'Arab [Riyadh] 1 [1397-1977], 37-43; C. Lyall, The Dîwân of 'Abd ibn al-Abrâm et 'Amîn ibn al-Tûfîlî, Leiden and London 1913, 113-14; Yâkût, s. v. Biqâ).


SALUR, one of the Oghuz (Turkmen) tribes. They are first mentioned in Mahmūd al-Kâhghâni’s (q.v.) Divân lughât al-turk (written 464/1072, tr. R. Dinkoff and J. Kelly as Compendium of the Turric dialects, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, 1, 101) as one of the 22 branches of the Oghuz. They may, in fact, have been the chief branch of that confederation. In the 4th/10th century, the Oghuz were spread across a wide area from the Issyk-Kul west to the Caspian Sea (P. Golden, The migrations of the Oghuz, in Archivum Ottomanum, iv [1972], 45-94). According to Rashid al-Din (q.v.), in his semi-legendary “Oghuz-nâma,” i.e. the Ta’rîkh-i Türkân ta’rîkhü hikâyet-i dîjiangiri-i sü section of his Dînamî-i tauswâri (written ca. 710/1310), the name Salur, as derived from the verb salmâk, meant “ready to attack, warrior.” He adds that the Salur tribe traced its descent from Dagh Khân, one of the six sons of Oghuz Khân, and was among a subgroup of tribes known as the uňuk (an analysis of this source is in F. Sumer, Oğuzlar’â ait destâm mahiyetinde eserler, in AUDTCFD, xvii [1959], 359-453). There are two main regions. In the former, they were called the Ak-Salur. In the latter tribal area, they were known as the Salur of Khurasan. The migrations of the Oghuz, anadolu, yazayan bazı iki otok oğuz boylarına mensûp teşkil-külleri. To go back by one of these routes, the poet Mustafa b. Yusuf (Kâdir Dârî) of Erzurum (d. second half of 8th/14th century) (Togan, Umnuni türk tarihten girisi, Istanbul 1946, repr. 1981, 272). A Salur Khân also appears in the genealogy of Uzun Hasan (861-874/1457-78) of the Ak-Koyunlu (J.E. Woods, The Aq-Koyunlu, Istanbul 1976, 187; idem, Osmanaî turk tarihine dar açıqlamalar, in Târîkh Arastmaları Dergisi, i [1963], 9, 23, 26-27, 29, 76; idem, Osmanî derindir anadolu ada yazar zamanı bazı iki otok oğuz boylarına mensûp teşkil-külleri, in Istanbul University Ikitsiz Pakâketsi Meâmuâ, xi [1952], 453-9, 486-92). The writer Fâhîr al-Dîn Muhammad b. Khâdja Hasan al-Salghurî al-Dîwîriyî (b. 631/1236), who gained fame in both Turkish and Persian letters, was from this tribe (Turan, Doğu anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi, Istanbul 1980, 69) as were the poet and statesman Kâdir Burhân al-Dîn (d. ca. 800/1398 q.v.), who put an end to the government of Ertana (q.v.), and the poet Mustafa b. Yusuf (Kâdir Dârî) of Erzurum (d. second half of 8th/14th century) (Togan, Umnuni türk tarihten girisi, Istanbul 1946, repr. 1981, 272). A Salur Khân also appears in the genealogy of Uzun Hasan (861-874/1457-78) of the Ak-Koyunlu (J.E. Woods, The Aq-Koyunlu, Istanbul 1976, 187; idem, Osmanaî turk tarihine dar açıqlamalar, in Târîkh Arastmaları Dergisi, i [1963], 9, 23, 26-27, 29, 76; idem, Osmanî derindir anadolu ada yazar zamanı bazı iki otok oğuz boylarına mensûp teşkil-külleri, in Istanbul University Ikitsiz Pakâketsi Meâmuâ, xi [1952], 453-9, 486-92). The writer Fâhîr al-Dîn Muhammad b. Khâdja Hasan al-Salghurî al-Dîwîriyî (b. 631/1236), who gained fame in both Turkish and Persian letters, was from this tribe (Turan, Doğu anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi, Istanbul 1980, 69) as were the poet and statesman Kâdir Burhân al-Dîn (d. ca. 800/1398 q.v.), who put an end to the government of Ertana (q.v.), and the poet Mustafa b. Yusuf (Kâdir Dârî) of Erzurum (d. second half of 8th/14th century) (Togan, Umnuni türk tarihten girisi, Istanbul 1946, repr. 1981, 272). A Salur Khân also appears in the genealogy of Uzun Hasan (861-874/1457-78) of the Ak-Koyunlu (J.E. Woods, The Aq-Koyunlu, Istanbul 1976, 187; idem, Osmanaî turk tarihine dar açıqlamalar, in Târîkh Arastmaları Dergisi, i [1963], 9, 23, 26-27, 29, 76; idem, Osmanî derindir anadolu ada yazar zamanı bazı iki otok oğuz boylarına mensûp teşkil-külleri, in Istanbul University Ikitsiz Pakâketsi Meâmuâ, xi [1952], 453-9, 486-92).
of Gurgândj or Urgandj. They also joined other Turkmen in the struggle against the Shi'i Safawids. In 1597, they raided the area of Asmartâbâd, but submitted to Shah 'Abbâs. This pacification was no doubt temporary. In 1843, the Salur and Tekke captured Marw and around 1838 they rose to support a revolt in Sarakhs led by a former governor of Khurâsân. The Persians crushed this revolt with great difficulty. The Salur subsequently lost their importance. Before the Russians began their occupation of Turkestan in 1869, the Salur lived primarily in the region between Sarakhs and the Murâbâ River. In the early 20th century, they were still concentrated around Sarakhs and along the Harî Rûd River in Turkestan. In the 13th/19th century, travellers estimated their population to be anywhere between 2,000 and 20,000 families divided among three branches of the tribe: Yalaâwâ, Kâramân, and Ana-Bölêghi (Kîlî-Ágha). Since the coming of the Russians, they have maintained their identity under the leadership of the Tekke. They are a completely sedentary and have lost their tribal distinction.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the text): V.V. Barthold, History of the Turkmen people, vol. xi (1916), vol. xii (1919), vol. iii (with Wachtelkonig, in Italian with Re di quaglie and in Spanish with Guion de codornices = "quails' guidon").

Salur is from the same root as the Turkish name salwâ (sälwâ). It is under this name that the quail is mentioned in the Bible (Exod. xvi, 11-13; Num. xi, 31-2; Ps. lxviii, 27; Ps. civ, 40; Wisdom of Solomon, xvi, 2) with regard to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land. Lacking provisions on their journey, they were constantly the prey of falconry, from the other hand well-known that the quail is one of the most delicate game birds, much sought after by gourmets and assiduously hunted wherever it may pass by. Its nocturnal flights, sometimes in groups of hundreds, regularly reach the peripheries of the Mediterranean. Thus on the island of Capri, in September, the ground is covered by these birds arriving, to such an extent that, according to Tristram, the bishop, who drew a certain amount of revenue from them, bore the name "bishop of the quails".

In addition to the two names salwâ and sumândâ, the quail bears other appellations, in various regions and in the different local Arabic dialects. In the Near East there is marâsu't, marâsu't al-bar, sumândâ sumândâ, firrî and firrî, and in the Magrib, sumâna, sumâma, mallâha and darrâd. An ancient belief held that the quail would be inevitably struck down by stormy weather, whence its name kâtîl al-na'd "the victim of thunder". In Berber, the names tamettam, tamettam and tiberdûf the numbers for the species each year, by the way, the Turkish name bîldîrgîn is from the same root as the Persian bâldarîn/bîldarîn/buldurîn, to which may be added local names like bâdhnâ, bûdhnâ, gîltâ, kârak, kargîfâk, karkarâk, lârdâ, lûrîda, wulalîq, wurtäjî, wurtak, wutak and wusâm. As well as having succulent meat, the quail, according to al-Damirî, has several specific qualities. Thus its head, buried in a dovecote, will make all parasites flee away, and, burnt and used to fumigate the wood, will free it from all woodworm. If a person whose eyes are affected by rheum carries one of its eyes on his person, he will be cured of his condition. Mixed with saffron, its gall is an excellent unguent for scurfy skin, and its dried and pounded-up dung placed on ulcers will make them disappear. Finally, in falconry, a sick goshawk can be cured by feeding it to quail's liver. The partridge and quail have always been for hunters some of the most sought-after game birds. They were constantly the prey of falconry, from the wrist with the sparrow-hawk and merlin [see Bayzara]. Other methods of capturing quail were and still are very varied. Since it constantly runs along the ground, only flying when forced and hemmed in, lurking in dense herbage and thickets, it is caught by means of a quail-call (saffâra) which imitates the call of the male, and is adorned in French by the onomatopoeic "paye-tes-dettes". In the Magrib, hunters use their flowing burnouses as a net by spreading them over the bushes where quail rest when they arrive after their lengthy migration. They are, at that time, very vulnerable and the episodes related in the Bible set in the time of the exodus of the Israelites through the desert, are easily understandable. At the present time, shooting quail with pointer hounds reduces considerably the numbers of the species each year, but very recently, this has been modified by the commercial rearing of quails.

As well as being the main term for "quail", salwâ is at the same time used for a land-hugging member of the Rallidae family (tîfîlät), the corncrake or land-rail (Crex crex, Crex pratinus), whose mode of life is quite similar to that of the quail, since it frequent similar habitats, keeping to the ground, hiding in thickets, long grass and crops, migrating more or less at the same time and towards the same places, it is everywhere the "companion" of the quail and, moreover, its meat is enjoyed. For all these reasons and, being double the size of the quail, it has acquired the name in French of roi de cailles, likewise in German with Wachtelkönig, in Italian with Re di quaglie and in Spanish with Guion de codornices = "quails' guidon".

SALUR — SALWA
In the Maghrib, it is the ‘quails’ mule’ (baghl al-sammdn) and the ‘slow, lazy one’ (abu l-rakhwa). It is mentioned under sfird, being considered as very cowardly, whence the saying adhan min sfird ‘more cowardly that a corncrake’. Finally, it is remarkable that al-Kazwini mentions neither the ‘quails’ donkey’ (baghl al-abwbl) nor the ‘mother’ of all Semitic languages, as well as the noun al-sammdn‘phony’ for the people who spoke it. This usage seems to be well established at this time, as contemporary dictionaries of the Islamic languages show.

(a) Precursors in the Islamic world.

Some Muslim historians, starting with al-Mas‘udi (d. 345/956), have a syntagm al-kurraj, al-‘arbajj, al-kurraj, 1967, iv, 94-5). The relative adjective sdmiis is used in modern Arabic as a rendition of “Semitic”, “semistique”, etc., thus al-lughat al-sdmiis ‘the Semitic languages.’ Important for the introduction of this notion into the Arabic-speaking world was the Christian Arab novelist and historian DjamP al-baydn (d. 345/956), from whom Zaydan’s book is also dedicated. In his later work Ta’rkh al-lughat al-‘arbajj, 1st ed. Cairo 1905, xii, 22), concerning Kur‘an, x, 39, with Ham as the character involved; the difference in identification is probably the result of an understanding that Ham would be the son properly afraid of the final judgement, rather than Shem.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. With reference to the Semitic languages.

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(A. RIPPIN)
descendants), the Hebrews, and the ancient Arabs. The author also comments on the close relationship between Arabic, Hebrew, and Syrian. I. Yu. Kračkovskij, therefore, did not hesitate to refer to Masʿūdī the conception of a “Semitic” race (Taʾwīḥ al-adab al-dīnghārī, Cairo 1963-5, 182-3; Khalidi, op. cit., 93 and n. 2).

Notions about the relatedness of the several Semitic languages are, however, very sparse, as far as Muslim and Christian authors are concerned, although it stands to reason that, e.g., translators from Syrian into Arabic and specialists on the materia medica, who had to identify the names of drugs in various languages, would be aware of similarities. One of the few Arab grammarians who was interested in languages other than Arabic, Abū Ḥāyān al-Ǧārmānī (d. 745/1344 [q.v.]) wrote a work on the language of the Abyssinians (ḥabash), probably meaning Ethiopian, which has, however, not been preserved (Brockelmann, S II, 136). It is to the credit of the Jewish grammarians in the Islamic realm, who were steeped in all three languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic, that the foundation of Semitic studies—though not under that name—has to be placed. The first to propose explicit comparisons, mainly for exegetical purposes, was Yahūdā b. Kurayyā (ca. 900). For further names and literature, see judaeo-arabic, here at IV, 305.

(b) The development of the notion “Semitic” in the West.

The term “Semitic” for a family of related languages was coined by the historian, Biblical scholar, and influential Slavicist August Ludwig (von) Schlözer (1735-1809) who took his inspiration from the Biblical genealogy of Genesis, (see Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur, viii [1781], 161; note, however, that Johann Christoph Adelung, Mithridates, i, 300, says, without reference, that Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827) was the first to use this term). However, the fact that these languages were related had been recognised much earlier in the West (and in the East even before, see above). Guillaume Postel (Guilmimus Postellus) (1510-81), author of the first Western grammar of Classical Arabic (1538 or 1539), wrote comprehensive works on Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaean, and Arabic, including speculations of a rather mystical nature about their common origin (cf. Fück, Arabisches Studien, 39, 42-3). In the following two-and-a-half centuries, more than three dozen polyglot grammars, dictionaries, and other scholarly linguistic works were published, often covering all of the known Semitic languages (cf., e.g., the title of Bonifazio Finetti, Trattato della lingua Ebraica e sue affini Rabbinica, Caldaica, Syra, Samaritana, Fenice e Punica, Arabica, Aethiopica ed Amharica, Venice 1756) but not infrequently including also other Oriental languages, such as Armenian and Persian (bibliographies in Eichhorn, 403-4, 409-11, 484-5, and Adelung, 303-6). Important for comparative purposes was the four polyglot Bible editions. While all these collections were no doubt in tune with the polythetic Zeitgeist which produced collectanea, encyclopaedias, and other cumulative works in all and sundry fields, the relatedness of the Semitic languages and, in particular, the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic was more and more considered to be important for Biblical exegesis. Typical for this approach is the work of the Leyden Professor Albert Schultens (1686-1750), starting with his Dissertatio theologicphilologic de utilitate virorum in interpretatione varia lingua (1706). Thanks to its indigenous lexicographers, Arabic had, of course, the richest attested vocabulary and was thus the language of choice in the endeavours of elucidating Biblical cruces with recourse to cognates in related languages. However, it created a problem for the philologists in the 18th century, who still believed Hebrew to be the First Language, since Arabic with its case and mood inflection seemed to be rather more archaic. This dilemma was solved in 1788 by Johann Gottfried Hasse, who assumed, like others, that originally Arabic did not have the desinential inflections and that the latter were introduced into the language by Arab grammarians on the basis of Greek models (see, see Grunfest, in Bibl.).

Toward the end of the 18th century and ever-increasingly in the 19th century, Arabic and Semitic studies ceased to be ancillary theology. The great advances made in Indo-European comparative linguistics stimulated comparative Semitics. At the same time, the term “Semitic” was hypostatised to give birth to the term “Semites” which was used to designate not only the Proto-Semites, Ursemien, before they broke up into the various Semitic peoples, but also the totality of the Semitic-speaking tribes and nations. With the growing interest in racial theories, identities of the peoples, and their distribution, became a race with a specific physical, but quite importantly also a mental make-up, most often contrasted with the Indo-European race. The first comparative grammar of the Semitic languages, Ernest Renan’s (1833-92) Histoire général et système comparé des langues semitiques (1853) was an embodiment of both tendencies. His negative characterising of the Semites (who have a knack for monotheism, but a lack of almost all other cultural achievements) was very influential, but did not go unchallenged. Suffice it to mention two works: Daniel (David) Chwolson, Die semitischen Völker, Versuch einer Charakteristik (Berlin 1872), and Theodor Noldeke, Zur Charakteristik der Semiten, in Orientalishe Skizzen (Berlin 1892). The more scholarly linguistic work was carried out by the founding fathers of modern Semitic studies: Franz Praetorius (1847-1927), Theodor Noldeke (18361930), Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935) and William Wright (1830-89). Noldeke and Wright produced comprehensive works on the Semitic languages (see Bibl.). The full harvest of all their work was brought in by Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956) in his monumental Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, 2 vols., Berlin 1907-13. Though partly dated due to new discoveries and new methodologies, it has not yet been replaced.

Changes in the notion of “Semitic” in recent decades have to do with the clear recognition of the family language as being part of the larger Afroasiatic phylum. See below, section (c).


(c) The Semitic languages. An overview.

The Semitic family of languages has a longer recorded history than any other linguistic group. The main languages and language groups of the family are
reviewed below in the order of their first appearance. Thereafter, the genetic subgrouping of the family and the interrelationships of the various languages are considered.

The first attested Semitic languages are Akkadian and Eblaite, both of which were usually written on clay tablets in the cuneiform script originally developed for the writing of the non-Semitic Sumerian language in southern Iraq. Mesopotamian Akkadian, the language of the Semitic Assyrians and Babylonians of Mesopotamia, is known from tens of thousands of documents in a wide variety of genres, such as myths and epics, letters, legal inscriptions, economic receipts, omens, and mathematical, medical and school texts. Akkadian begins to appear as early as the 26th century B.C., and the scattered documents of the earliest period are collectively referred to simply as Old Akkadian. From the beginning of the second millennium, two principal dialects are recorded: Assyrian, especially in texts from sites along or near the Tigris north of the Luristan-Zab, and Babylonian, in texts from sites mostly to the south of later Baghdad. Scholars further sub-divide both of these dialects chronologically, at roughly 500-year intervals, into Old (2000-1500), Middle (1500-1000), and Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian (1000-600); Assyrian came to an end with the fall of the Assyrian empire near the end of the 7th century, whereas Babylonian continued to be written until the 1st century A.D. (Late Babylonian); the language had, however, probably ceased to be spoken and has been replaced by Aramaic in most of the area long before. For much of the second millennium, Akkadian served as a lingua franca, and Akkadian texts from that period have been recovered from sites across most of the Near East, including Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Egypt. Eblaite is recorded on clay tablets dated to the 24th-23rd centuries B.C. found recently at the site of Tell Mardikh in Syria (about 60 km/38 miles south of Aleppo); although the writing system is similar to that used for writing Akkadian, there are enough differences in spelling and sign usage that the language remains poorly understood; it appears, however, to be a close relative, or possibly even a dialect, of Akkadian.

Texts in Ugaritic, the language of the important ancient city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra near Latakia), date from the 14th-13th centuries B.C. Like Akkadian, Ugaritic was written on clay tablets in cuneiform, but whereas Akkadian cuneiform signs depict whole words (logograms) or syllables (i.e., comprise a syllabary), Ugaritic cuneiform is alphabetic, with one sign for each of the 27 consonants, plus three extras added at the end, two for apleh (hamza) with the vowels i and u (the original apleh, at the beginning of the alphabet, being used only for /a/ and /u/) and another to write certain words with /s/. The order of the Ugaritic alphabet, which is generally considered to be the original order, from which the Phoenician-Hebrew-Aramaic and, ultimately, the Arabic, are derived, is as follows: b g h d hw z h y k l m n s t p q r g t k la u s. Some 1300 Ugaritic texts have been published thus far; most are administrative lists, but there are also many myths, rituals, omen texts, and letters.

The Canaanite group of languages, which includes Phoenician, Hebrew, and several poorly-attested dialects, begins to appear with the first identifiable Phoenician texts in about 1000 B.C., although short inscriptions that are less easily classified linguistically, in pictographic precursors to the Phoenician alphabet, are attested for perhaps five or six centuries before that date (in graffiti in Egyptian copper mines in the Sinai and in names on bronze arrowheads). Phoenician texts, especially royal inscriptions, are known from the ancient city-states of Byblos, Tyre and Sidon, as well as other sites. The Phoenician dialect of texts from the North African Tyrian colony of Carthage (Phoenician garthadait "new-town"), and from Carthage's own colonies all around the Mediterranean, is referred to as Punic. The 22-letter Phoenician alphabet was borrowed and adapted for the writing of numerous other languages, including Hebrew, Aramaic (and thence for Arabic), and Greek and thence for Etruscan and Latin. Hebrew is first attested archaeologically in inscriptions of the 10th century B.C., but it is likely that parts of the Hebrew Bible derive from a century or two earlier. Besides the biblical texts and numerous inscriptions from the biblical period, Hebrew was used for a vast literature in the centuries immediately thereafter, including texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls (paradigmatic) and the Mishna, and in the mediaeval period as well. Having died out as a spoken language, probably at some time around the turn of the era, Hebrew was revived in the last century and is thriving as the national language of modern Israel. Other Canaanite dialects, known only from a few inscriptions dating from the 9th to the 6th centuries B.C., include Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite (all from sites in modern Jordan and southern Israel).

Aramaic is first attested in inscriptions found in Syria, Iraq, and Israel dating to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. During the Persian empire, Aramaic served as an official language, a factor that helped both to standardise the language and to spread its common use: texts from this period are found as far afield as Elephantine in Egypt. The Aramaic of the biblical book of Ezra is also representative of this imperial dialect. After the Achaemenid period the use of Aramaic continued to be very widespread, but dialectal differences became more and more apparent. The period of Middle Aramaic, from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., comprises texts in the Hatran, Nabataean, Palmyrene and Old Syriac dialects, as well as the earliest Jewish Aramaic targums (translations) of the Bible and other writings. In Late Aramaic (the 1st-7th centuries A.D.), dialectal distinctions become still more pronounced; in addition to Syriac, with its vast classical literature, scholars generally recognise Late Eastern Aramaic, consisting of Babylonian Jewish Aramaic (the language of the Babylonian Talmud) and Mandaic, and Late Western Aramaic, consisting of three geographical/religious dialects: Galilean or Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (the language of the Palestinian Talmud and Mandaic), Syriac or Syriac-Aramaic, and Jacobite or Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Palestinian Syriac). Although largely displaced by the spread of Arabic, Aramaic has continued to be spoken until the present day, by Muslims and Christians in three small towns near northeast Damascus (Ma’alula, Djubb’adin, and Bakh’aa), and by Jacobite Christians in a dialect cluster in southeastern Turkey (Turoyo), by mostly Nestorian Christians and Jews in the Kurdistan area (northwestern Neo-Aramaic or "Neo-Syriac"), and by the gnostic Mandaeans in the region of Iraq, Iran and Turkey (Neo-Mandaic); many speakers of Neo-Aramaic dialects have emigrated from the Middle East.

From the 6th century B.C. until the 5th century A.D., there are attested thousands of inscriptions in...
several dialects referred to collectively as Old (or, Epigraphic) South Arabian. As the name implies, most of these inscriptions have been discovered in the southern Arabian peninsula. The best-attested dialect is Sabaic; the others are Minaic, Qatabanian and Hadramitic. The texts are written in an alphabet whose letter shapes and order differ significantly from those of the Phoenician alphabet and its descendants and which served as the basis of the Ethiopian script.

The alphabet preserves all of the consonants of Common Semitic, one more than does Arabic (an additional /l/). Although the Old South Arabian dialects share a number of linguistic features with Arabic, such as the use of broken plurals (and this to an even greater extent than classical Arabic), they also clearly have a number of important traits in common with the Ethiopian Semitic languages.

The closest linguistic relatives of classical Arabic are a group of inscriptive dialects subsumed under the term Old (or, Early) North Arabic, including Thamudic, Dedanite, Lihyanite, Hasaean and Safaitic, attested from about the 6th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Written in scripts derived from the Old South Arabic alphabet, these texts are found especially in central and northern Arabia as well as in southern Syria. It is out of the linguistic milieu of these and related dialects that classical Arabic emerged, although the written medium was no longer the Old South Arabian alphabet but rather a modified version of the Nabataean Aramaic script.

Ethiopian Semitic is first attested in inscriptions from the 4th century A.D. The earliest attested language is Ge’ez, originally the language of Aksum, which is the language of the Coptic Christian church. The Semitic languages are generally held to constitute one branch of a larger linguistic entity now usually called Afroasiatic, although the earlier term Hamito-Semitic is still preferred by some scholars. Within Afroasiatic the language groups most closely related to Semitic are Egyptian and Berber. Classical Egyptian, attested from about 3300 B.C. until the 5th century A.D., was written in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic scripts; it was continued in dialects of Coptic, which were written in a modified form of the Greek alphabet and probably spoken until the 5th century A.D. (and still in use as the liturgical language of the Coptic Christian church). The modern Berber languages, such as Tagelhit, Tamazight, Kabyle and Tuareg, are spoken by Muslims; they exist as linguistic islands in a sea of Arabic across north Africa from Egypt to Mauritania [see BERBERS.]. Other branches of the Afroasiatic phylum are the Cushitic languages of Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, such as Oromo, Somali, Sidamo, Awaw and Beja; the Edomite peoples of southwestern Arabia (parts of modern Yemen and western Oman); and the Edomites, attested from about 800 B.C. until the 15th century A.D. (and still in use as the liturgical language of the Edomites of the Christian church). Several other languages are grouped together as South Semitic, primarily on the basis of their common usage of pattern replacement for noun plurals. Some examples: Sabaic (Old South Arabian) has a bisyllabic base with a geminated medial radical: takabbir “you (will) bury”; tarrudu (< *yatrudu) “they (m) drove away” (cf. Arabic lam takbir, lam ya’trad). The imperfective form, corresponding to Arabic yaf’alu, has a bisyllabic base with a gapped medial vowel: takabbir “you (will) bury”; tarrudu “they (will) drive away”. There is a suffix conjugation corresponding formally to the primary form of the perfective verb as a prefix-conjugation, as in takbūr “you (ms) were buried”; itarrud “they (m) were driven away” (tarr(y) “driven away”), vs. Arabic kabāra “you were buried” and tadāra “they (m) drove away”. It is the innovative development of the suffix-conjugation into an active perfective verb, and the concomitant relegation of the apocopate prefix-conjugation (yaf’al) to secondary usage, that set the rest of the languages (West-Semitic) apart from Akkad.

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for example, that Ethiopic and the Modern South Arabian languages share the bisyllabic base of the imperfective verb with Akkadian, as in Ge'ez takkib and Mehri taḥak, whereas Arabic shares with the Northwest Semitic languages the loss of that form and the development of a new form in its place, as in Arabic tābīrūn (a form that is obscured in Hebrew and Aramaic by the loss of short final vowels; compare, however, Hebrew yāḵūm < "yāḵūmu "he will arise" and yāḵūm < "yāḵūm "may he arise"), ʿaṭlī < "yāṭāli "he ascends" and ʿaṭlī < "yāṭāli "may he ascend"). By this criterion, we may classify Modern South Arabian and Ethiopic together as South Semitic and Arabic, Aramaic, and Canaanite together as Central Semitic. Thus it is the position of Arabic within the Semitic family that is least certain. (The position of the Old South Arabian languages in the more recent classification is also unclear; a recent study showing that the imperfective verb was probably not bisyllabic suggests that they belong in Central Semitic.)

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In the Pahlavi books, notably in Bundahîshn and Menînâ i khrad, the original identity of Kârshâsp and Sâm is still evident. Like the former, Sâm plays a part in eschatological events: he is said to have died but to rest in a hidden place, guarded by 99,999 spirits (fâwâdshâk), until the day when he will be summoned to fight the demon Ažî Dâhîka (in Persian Dabrhâk), who near the end of Time will escape from his captivity in the mountain Dâmâwâd [q.v.]. Further analogies are the fights against several monsters attributed to Sâm (Christensen, op. cit. 59-60, 101).

In the historical and epic sources of the Islamic period, Gârshâsp and Sâm (the form Sâm used by al-Ṭabârî is merely an orthographic error due to the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script) are usually kept separate, although they mostly belong to the same lineage, viz. the house of the vassal kings of Sîstân and Zâbulâstân who act as dîvân-pahlavân ("chief champion") to the kings of Iran. They are sometimes contemporaries, e.g. when they are named in the Shâh-nâmâ among the principal warriors of the army of Iran (i, Fâridûn 692, 792). More often, however, Garshâsp is a remote ancestor of Sâm's. According to the 6th/12th century chronicle Mûdâjmâl al-tawwârîkh, the career of Sâm began during the reign of Fâridûn. After the death of his father Nârimân, he was sent out on expeditions to several parts of the world (cf. Spiegel, 248-50). In the Shâh-nâmâ, the story of his family completely fills the account of Manûzîr's reign. As the principal warrior of the realm, Sâm replies to the speech delivered by this king at his accession to the throne (i, Manûzîr, 39 ff.), and restores order in the empire after the succession of the unjust king Nawdâr (i, Nawdâr, 22 ff.). On the whole, he is less prominent in Firdawsi's story than his son and grandson, being away most of the time on a campaign against the Gûrsârân (the "wolf-like people", living in a country by the same name) and rebellious warriors (gûrdân) in Mâzândârân. He becomes a full epic character only in the account of the birth of Zâl. Sâm is portrayed as outstandingly brave and determined to sacrifice his son rather than face the scorn of his peers when the child is born with grey hair. However, he equally shows the courage of repentance after he learns of the care bestowed on the abandoned child by the miraculous bird Simûrg [q.v.] (i, Manûzîr, 41 ff.). He supports his son in the matter of Zâl's courtship with Rûdâba, the daughter of the king of Kâbul, in spite of his disapproval of a union with a descendant of Dabrhâk. An echo of the Avestan legend of Kârsâspâ can be heard in a letter written by Sâm to the king of Iran, relating his struggle with a dragon who had emerged from the river Kâghaf (i, Manûzîr, 993 ff.). A parallel story, situated in Mâzândârân, is told by Ibn Isfândîyar. Sâm was still alive when Rustam was born (i, Manûzîr, 1514). His death, mentioned in the reign of king Nawdâr (i, Nawdâr, 127), incited the Tûrântâns to invade Iran and Sîstân. The famous name of Sâm, with which the nation won the nickname yâk-zâkhâmi ("with one stroke"), was inherited by Rustam.

In the Garshâsp-nâmâ, Asadî Tûsî [q.v.] tells about the birth of Sâm as a descendant of Garshâsp, shortly before the latter's death, and the prediction of his future greatness. From a latter, but not precisely definable period, dates a maṯnawî called Sâm-nâmâ,
which is preserved in redactions of varying lengths. The poem relates the adventures of Sam, son of Naftūn, in China, where he pretends to the hand of Parthūkū, the daughter of the king Faghūrū. Actually, the poem is a forgery based almost entirely on the romance Ḥumayū wa Ḥumayyūn by Khādūjī [q.v.]. Kamāl al-Dīn Kirmānī (689-753/1290-1352), for which not only the entire plot of the latter poem was copied but also its lines stolen. The anonymous plagiarist merely changed the names of the protagonists and added some episodes of a fairy-tale nature.


On the Sām-nāma, see F. Spiegel, Die Sage von Sām und das Sām-nāme, in ZDMG, iii (1849), 245-61 (with a synopsis of the story); Ch. Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, London 1881, ii, 543-4; H. Eshê, in Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1881, no. 45, 1736; idem, in GFRφ, ii, 234-5; idem, Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, London 1903, no. 1235; Dabīḥ Allāh Šāfā, Hamāsāsārāt dar Īrān, 1 Tehran 1352 sh./1973, 335-40. (J.T.P. de Bruijn)

SĀM MĪRZĀ, Abū Naṣr, Persian poet and biographer of poets, with the poetical name Sāmī [q.v.], known for his ṭadhimān of contemporary poets, the Tāḥmāsp-yi Sāmī. He was the third son of Shah Ismāʾīl I [q.v.].
1. Biography.

Shāh Ismāʾīl (906-31/1501-24) and his eldest son and successor Tahmāsp I (931-84/1524-76) followed the practice of preparing the princes of the ruling family, already at an early age, for the direction of state affairs by appointing them to the post of governor, under the guidance of an experienced amīr of the Khāzānān (see F. Spiegel, Introd., 19). For Sam Mīrza does not think nothing to do with the devastating revolt of his elder brother Alkās Mīrza (953-5/157-9 [q.v.]). He apparently lived for his literary studies, being occupied with his Tāḥfā at least since 957/1550. It was finished at the latest in 968/1560-1 (see Humayūn-Farrukh, Introd. to the Tāḥfā, 17 ff.). In 969/1561-2 Sām Mīrza fell into disgrace for a second time. He apparently came under suspicion of political intrigues, for he was interred with two sons of his brother Alkās Mīrza in the fortress of Khakah, the place of confinement of political delinquents. He remained there until his death in an earthquake in 974/1566-7 (Tāḥbīd, Dānīḵmandan, 173 bis; the date is confirmed by the chronogram dawlat-i Tāḥmāsp shud bāb). 2. Literary work.

Sām Mīrza has immorlised himself in literary history with his Tāḥfā-yi Sāmī, the summa of his involvement over many years with contemporary Persian poetry and its poets, contained in 714 short biographies of all those who had distinguished themselves in this field since Shāh Ismāʾīl I’s coming to power. However, the curricula vitae themselves are only dealt with in very rare cases. The biographies rather give information about a series of points, viz.: name — origin — working place — function — education — training — art and artistic specialisation — works — career — eventually, end of life, and paradigmatic quotation of at least one verse. They are, however, rarely all dealt with; occasionally one or the other is missing. Not even the works or the favourite genres of poetry are noted down regularly, and a qualification is often also left out. Occasionally, a small scene illustrates a point and the author shows a preference for the piquant and the subtle. But two points are never missing, origin (scene of activity) and quotation of verses, the latter being often reduced to one single verse, which then is almost always the matla′ of a ghazal [q.v.]. This is not by accident, for the author considers poetry as the fruit of love (Tāḥfā-yi Sāmī, 2). In the separate chapters the place of origin often serves for an associative classification (cf. Tāḥfā-yi Sāmī, Introd., 19). For Sām Mīrza does not think in a centralistic way but along lines of political integration; every place in the realm of the Safawids counts, and the total value of Persian poetry emerges only from the totality of all the places where it is practised. In this context, still another point must be observed. It is remarkable how often the author mentions the occupation or profession of a poet or of his father. The more simple trades, such as those of a craftsman or a trader, attract his particular interest. He is apparently concerned with the spread and
embedding of poetry in all social levels, from the craftsmen to the princess (cf. Humayun-Farrukh, *Tuhfa-yi Sami,* Intro., 6-7).

The arrangement of the work seems to confirm this. It consists of seven chapters (sahifas), in which the poets with a main occupation and those with an additional function are classified as follows. The first chapter is reserved for the princes of the period. It starts with Shāh Isma'īl and his descendants, but place is also devoted to the sworn enemies of the dynasty, even for the Ūbayd Allāh Khān, with whom the author was in hostile contact at Harāt itself. The second chapter deals with the most prominent poets of the second one. The sixth chapter deals with Turkish-speaking poets who tried their hand at Persian verses too. The seventh and last chapter is devoted to the poetasters; it turns out to be particularly amusing and instructive (Humayun-Farrukh, Intro., 22-B).

Sām Mīrzā was prompted to compose his *Tuhfa* by `Alī Shīr Nawā'ī's *Magālis al-nafā'ī* (see mīr `alī shīr nawā'ī), which he must have come to know at Harāt during the first period of his governorship. At that time his first lālā, Dūrmīsh Khān, had the work translated into Persian (Lātā'īf-nāma, 3). Not only the form of the selective and accentuated short biographies may have been inspired by this work, but also the motivation. Like his predecessor, Sām Mīrzā wants to save the many poets of his time from oblivion. However, the distinction from Nawā'ī is that Sām Mīrzā not only equals their delicacy of expression with that of the ancestors—as does Nawā'ī—but appreciates it even more highly (*Tuhfa*, 3-4). While Nawā'ī exults in the idea according to which Khurāṣānīs, with its capital Harāt, had reached the highest blossoming of Persian culture under its lord Husayn Baykara, and concentrates his observation on the Khūrāsānī poets, Sām Mīrzā's point is rather that the overall picture of Safawī poetry. Besides—and this applies in common with Nawā'ī—he only rarely mentions his relations with the subjects of his biographies, though he must have owed the great majority of his informations to personal relations (for the question of his sources, see M.I. Kazi, *Sam Mirza*, 86-7). Ultimately, the high value of his book lies in this point. Without it, we would not even know the names of many of the poets.

About the presentation itself it can be remarked that the "biography" does not depend only on the number of the points treated and on the eventual inserted stories, or on the quotations of verses, but above all on the linguistic presentation. This goes from a concise, pragmatic turn of phrase to a highly-developed, manneristic one with rhyming prose and metaphorical expressions. Sām Mīrzā likes imaginative turns of phrase in particular when mentioning the end of life. He permits himself sporadically to be carried away by the name of a poet to a metaphora *continuata* in other accounts, as, for instance, the case of Badr al-Dīn Hilālī [*q.v.*], who often visited the gifted prince at Harāt (*Tuhfa*, no. 266). In general, a personal engagement with somebody, or also the latter's high standing incited him to a more intensive use of images.

Numerous statements of a literary-critical character are spread throughout the entire book; their critical clouds gather in the seventh sahīfah. In their totality, they point to the unusually trained and sharpened feeling of the author for stylistic nuances and quality. This is not only expressed in critical remarks on singular verses, which go as far as to suggest corrections (e.g. no. 429), but above all in the choice of the quotations of verses. Sām Mīrzā is less carried away by the refined, poetical play of ingenuity of the Timurīd period than by the art of subtly bending known motifs in order to give them a permanent garment in a sāhī-i muntāmī (inimitably beautiful elegance). In this respect, too, he distinguishes himself from Nawā'ī. Nothing might show this more clearly than the fact that the Timurīd high tightrope of exquisite poetical acrobatics of thoughts, the logograph (*mu'āmmā*), is substantially less frequent in the *Tuhfa* than it is in the *Magālis*. Unfortunately, Sām Mīrzā's terminological palette does not correspond with the fullness and differentiation of his aesthetic formation. Qualifications like *mātin* (firm), *pur zūr* (powerful), *rangīn* (colourful), *ab-dār* (brilliant), *ba-lāghī* (with good taste), *pur sūz u dār* (passionate), etc. might perhaps be better understood and described if all the verses thus estimated were gathered and those which are equally qualified were compared with one another. This would be all the more a desideratum since Sām Mīrzā, instead of a characteristic, often satisfies himself with a quotation of a verse and leaves it to the reader to formulate a judgement. It is the more regrettable that Sām Mīrzā's *Dīsūn*, of which Tarbiyat says that he once saw a manuscript with ca. 6,000 verses without any further indication, however, has not yet been published. Besides a *ghazal*, quoted by Tarbiyat (*Dānishmandān, 175 bis f.*) from a historical work (*Takmilat al-ākhbār*), we possess only the quotations from his own work by the author himself at the end of the *Tuhfa* (*377-80*), a *mankabat* *kaṣida* on *`Ali* with an introductory description of spring, a *rubāʾi* and four isolated verses (*matālīf*). The latter, in particular, correspond, in elegance and pointedness, to the ideal of the sāhī-i muntāmī to which Sām Mīrzā adhered, while the *kaṣida* in its turn is completely free of any complexity of thoughts.

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Sāmā3 (A.), literally "the upper part of anything, the sky, the heavens".

I. As a cosmological and theological term. According to Arabic lexicography (see Lane, s.v.), the word sāmā3 is derived from the root s-m-t (= being or becoming high, elevated). As a noun, it may be used for anything that is "the higher or the highest" part of any physical or metaphysical reality, but it generally denotes the cosmological and theological entity which in English, with equal vagueness, is described as "heaven" or "sky". Fittingly, sāmā3 is predominantly masculine, but it can be masculine or feminine; it is used as a singular or as a plural, as in the Kurān, II, 27, for the seven heavens; however, even then numerical plurality is not necessarily implied since the plural can be understood as a pluralis amparis or as denoting the overwhelming greatness of heaven. But sāmā3 can also be expanded into the plural form sāmātuWS.

For the ancient Arabs, as also for the people of the surrounding countries, sāmā3, in the most common meaning of "heaven", was not primarily associated with the stars, but it was first the location for the "high-flying clouds". In poetical language it even appears to have been identified with the clouds, the provider of rain, or even rain itself. Thus the Arabs could think of themselves as the Banū āl-sāmā3 (= "The sons of the water of heaven"). Hence "heaven" from early on did not only represent a physical and cosmological entity but was linked to the ultimate hopes of mankind for a continued and happy existence on earth as it knew it. Physical highness in the cosmological world view corresponds to the metaphysical loftiness of spiritual aspiration, and the human mind may even be tempered by the identification of heaven with God Almighty. Considering the far-reaching spectrum of aspects which the term "heaven" displays before us, its dictionary meaning alone cannot sufficiently disclose the underlying cosmological and theological concepts; and for the Arabic dictionary this resigned observation imposes itself especially also in view of the profound changes which have provided the fundamental course of Islam's dynamic cultural expansion, when the intellectual heritage of earlier cultures in the Middle East and in North Africa was adopted.

As the foreign vocabulary employed in the Kurān demonstrates (in our context the word FarWSaus for the heavenly garden or Paradise may be explicitly mentioned), the exchange of ideas and theories about heaven and earth must have pre-dated the mission of the Prophet. But with the Kurānic texts a new beginning was made; above all, in place of particularistic and of merely local idolatry, the monotheistic sovereignty of God over the whole universe as the Rabb al-ʿAamiln (I, 2) became the centre of the new orientation. As in almost all other provinces of the human mind, the cosmological and theological views of heaven and earth proposed by the revealed book became the formative world model for Muslim culture up to our days. This world view no doubt has been modified by Islamic thought along the lines of its expanding scientific horizons. But with the unceasing recitation of the Kurānic texts the physical as well as the spiritual notions of heaven and earth were constantly impressed on the minds of the faithful.

It started with the story of revelation itself, the prophetic call experienced in a cosmic vision that filled the whole space between heaven and earth: "This is naught but a revelation revealed, taught him by one terrible power, very strong; he stood poised, being on the higher horizon, then drew near, hung, two bows'-length away, or nearer, then revealed to his servant that he revealed." (LIJJ, 5). "Higher horizon" is here the translation of al-ʿuyf al-ʿalā, which may be understood as a synonym of heaven joining the earth; hence a heaven that does not remain far removed from the world, the abode of mankind, but which approaches man in a divine communication. Such dividing line of the universe(s) and earth(s) as the horizon may appear to be sharply drawn in the Arabic speech, but they are never absolutes. It is the bi-polar consequence of the Kurānic theology of creation that the division of heaven and earth is God's work, and thus also their ultimate union: "...the heavens and the earth were a mass all sewn up, and then then We unstitched them and of water fashioned every living thing." (XXI, 31).

Heaven, in the singular as well as in the plural, occurs over 500 times in the Kurān. But its description is surprisingly meagre; the communication neither of astronomical nor of apocryphal knowledge is intended, although heaven is also associated with the signs of the Zodiac (XXXV, 1), the stars, the planets, and although the heavenly journey of the Prophet (XVII, 1) could have been the best occasion for a detailed description, as can be observed in later traditions. In most cases, however, heaven merely serves as reference point for God's greatness, which is above all beings in heaven and earth. Thus the central message is that God has created the heavens and the earths (LXXV, 12: "It is God who created seven heavens, and of earths their like"), that He knows whatever exists in whatever form, and that all beings in heaven as well as on earth belong to Him—hence absolute monotheism expanded over the whole cosmos. The cosmological models which may have been alluded to in the revealed texts would then be mere figures of speech, in which the prophetic message of God's absolute rule found its adequate expression.

But the theological interpretation of creation did not extinguish human curiosity about the physical nature of the universe. The Kurānic texts about heaven and earth were not easily understood; they provided only the most general ideas. As far as we can gather from the earliest sources preserved, Kurān readers with much curiosity, and some exposure to pre-Islamic literatures, soon offered explanations of the enigmatic and fragmentary texts on the cosmos. Similarly, the earliest commentators from whom we have at least some fragmentary explanations of Kurānic texts, often give brief answers to essentially physical questions about the heavens and what happened there in them. The questions as the dynamic cause of the star movements in their spheres were discussed, and the answers came surprisingly close to what in later scholasticism was described as the theory of "impetus". But, in spite of such rare elements of primitive astrophysical teachings, heaven for the traditional scholar of Islam remained closely associated with rain, wind, ice, snow, and primarily with vegetation. It is a treasure or storage for such meteorological phenomena (LXXIII, 7). They were often also enclosed behind strong dams and safe doors.

Mudjahid b. Ḍjabr (d. 104/722) was one of those early commentators. In an unpublished cosmographical manuscript (Heidelberg Cod. Or. 317, fol. 100a-b), two remarkable diagrams of the various
heavens and earths are preserved (which may, however, be only later additions), possibly illustrating his cosmological model of seven earths under a dome-like structure of seven heavens.

In several other sources, a systematic arrangement of these fourteen stages, neatly separated by an equal number of interspaces measuring 500 “years”, underscores their physical nature, which otherwise might be too easily transposed into the psychological realm of types and archetypes, if not into that of ancient mythology. For the traditionalists no doubt derived deep religious significance from the heavens of Near Eastern mythology. Thus the most mysterious arrangement of cosmic levels, and precisely for this reason certainly not a mere invention, starts with God’s throne being supported by eight huge ibexes (awāl) of the cosmic dimension of 500 years; they stand on a sea as deep as the distance from earth to heaven; and only below these mysterious cosmic beings the seven heavens are spanned out, one below the other. Finally, below all those heavens, and sometimes clearly separated from them by a celestial ocean, there follows a structure of seven earths. These are the main features of the traditional cosmology of Islam, which is further modified from one source to the other; the celestial ocean e.g. which is usually located in heavenly regions, may even be placed under the lowest earth. Common to all these models seems to be that the heavens are vaulted over the earths like a dome-structure, while the earths are arranged in horizontal levels, like a block with different storeys, as the above diagrams indicate. Heavens and earths cannot be clearly separated, as C. Houtman already noticed in his thorough investigation on Der Himmel im alten Testament (see Bibl.). The theological or mythological roots become evident when we see that the seven earths in the older traditional texts are serving as the gradual stages of hell, in particular the store-houses of the various torture instruments: destructive winds, qānim, brimstones of hell-fire, scorpions, vipers, and eventually the devils. This rather mythological structure—and that is its unexpected historical function—was in later texts apparently used to illustrate the geographical division of our globe.

Between the heavens and the earths, there is more often not the clear-cut division that had been axiomatically established in pre-Islamic philosophy, where the supra-lunar world was thought to remain eternally unchanged and having circular movements only. Even the heavens in traditional cosmology are described as being of material nature. Thus most commonly the lowest one is identified with the firmly-enclosed water of the celestial ocean, and the higher ones consist of different substances, such as white marble, iron, copper, silver, gold and rubies, while the space above them is filled with “deserts of light”. The traditional authority Salmān al-Fārāsi even had names for the seven heavens and associated precious stones and metals with them. In this form, the cosmology of the seven heavens was especially developed by The Book of Secrets of Enoch, which may have originated within an Islamic milieu. In the estimation of R.H. Charles, this book is “the most elaborate account of the seven heavens that exists in any writing or in any language.” When he interprets this account as an example of “growing ethical consciousness” within apocryphal literature (p. XXXIX), he gives us the decisive clue for a valid evaluation: not the teaching of any objective cosmological knowledge is intended, but man’s ethical and religious concerns are to be extended to the “highest and most remote reaches of creation.

Since this whole cosmological system of seven heavens and seven earths had entered such authoritative texts as the Kurʾān and Hadīth, it could never henceforth be totally discarded. When the Hellenistic models of the cosmos had become known through numerous translations, a synthesis of the traditional and the translated cosmological notions was tried by some authors. As a result “the heavens” often were simply identified with “the spheres” (= qāb) [see Falak]. But there were important differences. The new world-model of the traditional sources, all the stars and planets connected with the lowest heaven, while in the later models the fixed stars were invariably distinguished from the planets, for which at least one sphere each was reserved; or the sun, in traditional cosmology, was not linked to its sphere, but was said to pass through all heavens as it completed its (yearly?) course, and finally would reach the foundations of God’s throne.

The brief and humble explanations of the Kurʾānic text by the early commentators were soon followed by penetrating speculations of the systematic theologians. The often enigmatic references to such cosmological and theological entities as heaven (or the heavens), the stars, meteorological phenomena, and the earth as being blessed by such heavenly gifts as light, clouds, winds and rain, stimulated their highly speculative minds and drove them to remarkable attempts at finding satisfactory answers to such questions as God’s place in the universe: Did He nearly and physically reside in the heavens, or one particular heaven, or was He so far removed from all His creations that He could have no real relationship to His creatures? But if His transcendence was emphatically enunciated beyond all limits, how could this God still have revealed His will and His wisdom to the Prophet and all mankind, how could His creatures still hope to have access to Him and in prayer attract His attention when they were in need? Among the numerous cosmological theories discussed by the muta’akalimīn and the free-minded intellectuals in the early Muslim community, we may concentrate on the thorny problem of God’s physical presence in this universe. Was He sitting on His throne in highest heaven, or keeping infinitely above all heavens and all regions on and below earth, or was His presence in His creation so that not only the heavens, but also the earth, and (cf. pantheistic monism)? Well before Aristotle’s speculations about the “Unmoved Mover (or Movers)” became known in Arabic philosophical circles, the heretic thinker Qīqām b. Sāfāwān (executed in 129/746 [q.v.]) was accused by traditional scholars of having deviated from the explicit teachings of the Kurʾān by denying God’s sitting on His throne. Qīqām and his followers were apparently especially eager to emphasise the infinity and ubiquity of the Eternal, without allowing His image to be tarnished by anthropomorphic conceptions. But the defenders of orthodoxy were concerned that such a rationalist commixture of the Creator with His creatures might eliminate all distinctions and obscure the personal presence of God Almighty in the universe; thus they insisted that the Kurʾānic texts should be understood literally, and the physical reality of the throne maintained.

Throne (al-ʿargh) and footstool (al-kurs) are closely connected with God’s place in the universe, and they are essential conceptions for the “theology of the Kurʾān” (as far as there is one); God is emphatically called “the Lord of the Mighty Throne” (IX, 129), and this “Throne comprises the heavens and earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the
All-High, the All-Glorious’ (II, 255). These texts, certainly in the circles of victorious traditional orthodoxy, were generally understood quite concretely, not merely as metaphorical assertions about God’s universal rule. Throne and footstool were placed above the heavens and the earths, but they were, however, of the same concrete reality. Thus they can be measured together with them, and they are conceived as being in physical contact with each other and with the lower, physical parts of the world. As all reality was fashioned out of the four elements water, wind, light, and darkness, the throne was created out of God’s light, or it is said to have been made out of a red hyacinth (Sa’d al-Ta’i), or again of a green emerald (Hammâd). The footstool is said to be attached to God’s throne, or to be standing in front of it. The curious fact that a certain creaking sound, which the Prophet was able to hear (see al-Tabarî, Tafsîr, on XXI, 21), is ascribed to it as elsewhere to heaven (al-sam’d) indicates that it sometimes was identified with al-’adâm, i.e. that it had an equal extension as heaven.

But usually it is distinguished from the heavens, as the whole universe is described as a structure composed of a number of horizontal levels: uppermost, the throne—below it the footstool—then the seven heavens—and the seven earths, one on top of the other. Since the kursî is hollow and contains the whole world of heavens and earths in its cavity, the earthly observer—true to his daily experience—finds himself in a dome-like hemisphere. For the Muslim cosmologist and theologian, the Kur’ânic text (XXI, 34: ‘It is He who created the night and the day, the sun and the moon, each swimming in a sky’) further emphasized the physical substance of the heavens and imposed on him a critical attitude that made it difficult for him to simply adopt the common Greek notions that the stars or their spheres are living beings, having souls, which are moving by their own will.

It may be said, then, that it was due to throne, footstool, the seven heavens and earths being mentioned in the Kur’ân that Muslim scholars of all disciplines continued to be attracted by the various branches of cosmology. When Greek science had been introduced into the Islamic world, throne and footstool were often identified with the ninth and eighth spheres respectively, exemplified in such an influential theological book as al-Iqlî’s (d. 756/1356 [q.v.]) al-Kázwînî’s Mabîyan, the famous commentator and author like al-Kázwînî (d. 682/1283 [q.v.]) was much more cautious, and explicitly opted for leaving it to God’s knowledge whether this identification could be made (‘A’dârî al-makhbîkât, i, 54). Similarly, the seven earths were identified with the Hellenistic scheme of seven climatic zones (see tâlîm), although this may have caused some problems since the traditional texts had already been used for earthly parts to the levelling in belief and thought of the mystic.

The early commentators and traditionists of Islam already adopted ideas and cosmological models from earlier cultures of the neighbouring countries. As this scientific heritage became richer through the numerous translations made between the 2nd and the 4th centuries A.H., the cosmological models were further developed along the lines of such authorities as Ptolemy, Hipparchus, etc. But the earlier theories were not simply forgotten or thrown away into the waste basket as metaphorical assertions, nor were they expected to accord with the experiences of other cultures. Even an al-Birûnî (q.v.) remembered them; he naturally criticized them as outdated in his time, but the fact that he bothered about them at all demonstrates the influence—of whatever nature that may have been—which they still must have exerted on some of his contemporaries. Thus his discussion with Ibn Sinâ on the possibility of other worlds than ours may well be inspired by the traditional texts. The same may hold true for al-Bûrûnî’s distinction between mathematical hypotheses, equally allowing a heliocentric as well as a geocentric universe, and an eventual decisive proof based on physical reasoning.

Or the fact that Muslim scholars showed more extensive interests in the physical configuration of the universe than their Hellenistic masters (which is clearly evidenced not only by the use they made of Ptolemy’s Planetary Hypotheses but also by the numerous treatises with such titles as Tarîkh al-’âfâlâk), was most likely the fruit of the Kur’ânic and traditional texts on the seven heavens. Similarly, Muslim authors showed a surprising critical spirit when the number of the spheres was discussed; some of them accepted the eight or nine spheres of Greek cosmology only under the condition that the highest were identified with the footstool and the throne respectively which the Kur’ân had added to the seven heavens.

Such foreign influences raised much suspicion and fear among the more traditionally-minded scholars. Hence a reaction set in against the almost completely Hellenized world view that had been spread in Muslim literature. Thus already two centuries after al-Bûrûnî, a scholar like Fâhari al-Dîn ar-Râzî (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]), who proves to be widely read in all sorts of literatures available after the synthesis with the Hellenistic heritage had been achieved, still states categorically that all valid knowledge about the cosmos is to be reaped from the traditional, ‘inspired’ sources of Islam and not from the scientific sources of ancient cultures (‘there is no way to the knowledge of the heavens save through a traditional report’) (Mafâth al-’âhîb, vi, 149). In other words, the inner scientific value of the works inherited from pre-Islamic scholars was well known, but the knowledge derived from Islamic tradition still carried a functionality for the faithful which, outside the realm of faith, might not be understood.

But the heavens are not solely physical and astronomical entities, which for such speculative reasons as defining God’s place in the universe were of interest also to the theologians; they have a special significance also for the simple worshipper and for the mystical experience of the faithful. Thus when we examine such mystical writings as the Futûhât al-Makkîyya by Ibn ʿArâbî (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]), one is surprised to find long passages, expounding esoteric teachings, which seem to follow the cosmological models of the seven heavens and the seven earths. But it soon becomes evident that the cosmological stages have hardly any other function than to serve as ‘coordinate systems’ giving a structure to the observer’s experiences and psychological states of the mystic.

Similarly, in sectarian circles, and principally in the literature of the Ismâ‘îlî community, the symbolic significance of the seven heavens was stressed to the point that any physical or metaphysical reality which they had in the writings of the commentators, the mu’takallîmûn or the cosmologists, appears to have been suppressed. The fact that the various strata of interaction within the Ismâ‘îlî community were not described, as was the case with the other cosmological terms, however, that the cosmology of the seven heavens had been widely accepted in Islamic literature as common language.

In both cases, mysticism as well as sectarian exchange, the decisive inspiration did not really come from the Kur’ânic world view of the seven heaven
but rather from Neoplatonic teachings. A scheme was needed that would allow a graduated classification of reality without a transgression beyond all frontiers to spiritual descent from, and elevation to, the highest...
the form of an extension of the hearing of the Kur‘ān to that of religious qaṣāda and kāsidā, or furthermore, of sacralisation of the secular concert and a sublimation of the practice of ṣamā‘ into a custom which spread very quickly to Isfahān, Shirāz and Khorāsān, 18). Ṣamā‘ is thus initially an “oriental” phenomenon, promulgated in particular by the Persian disciples of Nūrī and of Dūnayd. By the same token, all of the early authors dealing with ṣamā‘ were Persians, with the exception of Abu Ṭālib Muhammad al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [q.v.]). Subsequently, ṣamā‘ spread to all areas, but found most favour in Persian, Turkish and Indian Islam. The first writings, composed a century after the inauguration of the custom of ṣamā‘, coincided with the first attacks on the part of traditionalists who sought to condemn music (such as Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunya (208-81/823-94 [q.v.]), the author of the Dhamm al-malākhī, cf. Robson), and constituted a reply to them. According to Pūrjadvādī (ibid., 22), these writings may be arranged in three groups and periods:

1. 4th/5th century: Abu al-Raḥmān al-Sulāmī (d. 412/941 [q.v.]), whose Ḳ. al-Ṣamā‘ is the first monograph devoted specifically to ṣamā‘; al-Makkī; al-Sarrādī (d. 378/988 [q.v.]); al-Kalābdāhī (d. 380/990 [q.v.]); and Abū Maṣṣūr. They base their arguments on ḥadīth and on the logia of the ancient mystics (Dhu ‘l-Nūn al-Mṣrī), being concerned above all to defend ṣamā‘ from its detractors.

2. 5th/6th century: al-Bukhārī; Abu ‘l-Kāsim al-Kuṣhārī (d. 466/1074 [q.v.]); al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]). In these authors, too, the defensive aspect is featured, but the Suffīs seem to rely on them more on account of their social and even political status.

3. 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries: Nadjīm al-Dīn Kubrā (q.v.); Rūzbihān Baktī Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209); Ahmad-i Dīn; Nadjīm al-Dīn Baghdādī; Abū al-Raṣād Kāshānī; Ahmad-Tūsī (8th/14th century, etc.); they take into account the social and ritual aspect and argue more rationally. After this period, ṣamā‘ was included in its entirety among the custom of the mystics and was no longer the object of judicial debates. Writers confined themselves to extolling its qualities and its symbolic meanings, some going so far as to consider it an obligation for adepts (Ahmad Tūsī, whose Bawdrik has been erroneously attributed to Ahmad al-Ghazālī, cf. Robson, 1990). After the 9th/10th/15th-16th centuries, the question of ṣamā‘ seems to have been filed away or exhausted, and setting aside the orders which retained its practice and its theory (Mawlawīs, Ǧīstīs), did not give rise to any more original literature (Ǧīṣī Derāz).

The function of ṣamā‘, as well as its conditions of performance, have evolved in a sense which al-Ḥuǧdīrī was the first to explore, and which the authors of the earliest Suffīs (al-Hallāq, Dhu ‘l-Nūn) had anticipated in their warnings. It became for some a form of delocation or a sensual pleasure, all the more so in that the rite now included dancing and was concluded with a meal. Furthermore, the proletariat indulged in profane ṣamā‘, in other words concerts with a religious pretext (Pouzet), not to mention rites of trance inherited from paganism and superficially Islamised (berated by Ibn Taymiyya). In order to restrain the adepts and counter the criticisms of the jurists, the majority of authors established conditions (al-Ghazālī) and rules of propriety (al-Nasafī), and distinguished between the types of concert (ṣamā‘) in terms of the nature of the hearing: some listen according to their ego (ṣamā‘ al-nafs, or their nature, ḥab‘), others according to the heart, others through the
A simple representation of the seven heavens spanning the seven earths. For both zones the shape of a cone is assumed, but the opposition of the two is emphasized by the choice of curved lines for the heavens and horizontal ones for the earths.
The cosmos described as a cone. Like a seven-fold dome, the seven heavens span the cone of the seven earths. The latter are part of a schematic "geography" based on a seven-fold division consisting of alternating earths, seas, and the Kaf mountains.
spirit. While for the first category, music (or samad) is not to be permitted, as for the adepts, not all music was considered detrimental. However, the question was asked: Who, "under whom", was more widespread, while certain orders were content with song. Similarly, romantic poems were adopted at a very early stage in Persia, on condition that they were to be interpreted by the adepts in a metaphorical sense—sometimes very subtle—relating to a spiritual object or to the person of the Prophet.

Faced with the diversity of attitudes, samad has taken on extremely varied forms, especially in combining with or associating with dhikr, the ritualisation of an ecstatic technique, which probably appeared a few centuries later. At the present day, it is most often in the context of a ceremony of dhikr that samad is performed, in the form of chant sometimes accompanied by instruments, whether in the course of one of the phases of the ritual, or in association with the metrical shape of the dhikr. Thus the distinction drawn by anthropologists between samad and dhikr, on the basis of the participation of subjects, "set to music" in one case and "making music" in the other, is not applicable, all the more so in that even silent chanting is generally accompanied by interior dhikr (dhafi), as among the Mawlavis, often being transformed into audible dhikr (dhakri, ghalili). In its primary definition, samad as hearing without acoustic participation of the adepts hardly survives except among the Mawlavis, the Bektashi-Alawis, the Indo-Pakistani Kavvals, and in the rites of marginal groups such as the Yazidis, the Isma'is, the ma'dal shamans of Baluchistan (types damali, kandali). On the other hand, in many rituals (hadra, hizb, ghalili), it survives as the introductory part (Kadiir of Kurdistan) or as a concluding point (sufi conclusion of the dhikr, the Stendiyya in Maghrib). In all these cases, the hymns or the instrumental pieces constitute specific repertoires generally distinguished from the music of the secular environment by means of their rhythms, their structures and their texts. Faced with the diversity of musical techniques put into practice, it is difficult to identify in purely formal terms a notion of "music of samad", except at the level of the force of expression, drawn from the dhikr as a form and as a mode of concentration. The difficulty in identifying a global specificity is due perhaps to the paradoxes underlined by certain shaykhs (al-Suhrawardi), according to which it is not samad and dance which induce ecstasy, but ecstasy which arouses the dance, or furthermore, that samad is only a revealing instrument and that it only supplies that which is brought to it by the bearer.


2. As a term in education. Here, samad (pl. samadî) means [certificate of hearing; audition; authorisation, licence]. With the rise of the large madrasas [q.v.], founded by rulers who were important personalities such as Nizâm al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [q. v.]) or Nûr al-Dîn Ibn Zangi (d. 569/1174 [q. v.]), habits, followed so far in instruction and teaching, especially those in hadîth, took on an official character. It was the period in which places of education and training spread towards remote villages and distant provinces. The principles developed and represented by al-Khâfî al-Baghdâdî (d. 465/1071 [q. v.]), the great, critical systematiser of hadîth methodology, were most often in the context of a ceremony that went under the name of a derwische, in Oriental musulman au VI/IX siècle, in Sl, i (1983), 193-254; R. Burckhardt Qureshi, Qawwâlî sound, context and meaning in Indo-Muslim Sufi music, Cambridge, Mass. 1986; idem, Listening to words through music: the Sufi samadî, in Debeyaya, ii (1986), 219-45; J. Durin, Musique et extase. L'audition spirituelle dans la tradition soufie, Paris 1988; idem, Musique et mystique dans les traditions de l'Iran, Paris 1989; idem, L'autre oreille. Le pouvoir mystique de la musique au Moyen-Orient, in Cahiers des Musiques Traditionnelles, iii (1990), 57-78; idem, What is Sufi music?, in The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism, ed. L. Lewisohn, New York 1992; R. Burckhardt Qureshi, Localiser l'Islam. Le samad à la cour des sultans, in Cahiers des Musiques Traditionnelles, v (1992), 127-50; W. Feldman, Musical genres and zikirs of the Sunni tariqas of Istanbul, in R. Lifchez (ed.), The der- vish lodge, Berkeley, etc. 187-202. (J. Durin)
“when” and “where”, had assisted as auditor (sami) at a lecture on a certain work; who could show a note; but those who had joined the two without being involved and had only listened, had not been able to deduce for themselves any practical privilege from it. A new development grew up among jurists in the second half of the 4th/10th century, sc. jurists (shaykh, with isndd [q.v.] if he is not the author himself) which, in small gatherings can also be kept by the recorder (kdtib), keeps the protocol, during the next two centuries, first in Iraq and then in the Mediterranean basin (Egypt, Libya and the Maghrib), approximately twelve hundred terms. In this rich terminology, numerous appellations are found after separate parts (adjzd-t'. The number of auditors amounts in general to between ten and twenty, but they may also be less or more, or even so many that the recorder, who may belong to the group of auditors, may be assisted by a mithbit, who may or are taken over in transcripts, etc. The term samd-dt can be shown to have existed generally from the 5th/11th century onwards. They reach their prime during the next two centuries, first in 'irak and then in Syria. After the Mongol storm, the centre of gravity shifted to Egypt. The samd-dt can be found at the end of manuscripts and/or on their title- and fly leaves and/or between parts and chapters. In these certificates, the composition of a madqis is reflected, in the field of knowledge of tradition, including law, in the first place, and then in the fields of biographies and history, grammar and lexicography, adab in the widest sense of the word, but also of medicine, philosophy, etc.

The samad of the lectures are quite variable in their outer form and organisation. The lectures are presided over by a shaykh (rarely a shaykhah) as musmi (teacher); the reader (kātib) sits before him, while a third person, the recorder (kdtib), keeps the protocol, which, in small gatherings can also be kept by the musmi or the kātib. In an ideal case, the three of them—including the musmi—are mentioned one after another under their full names, titles, etc. in connection with the introductory formula kara-α (with tawwāya [q.v. if he is not the author himself]) and the title of the work (equally with additions like autograph, rwsyaq [q.v.], owner, etc.); then the reader, and finally the recorder with a statement of the place (such as madrasa, madēs, dr, zawiyā, bayt, ribāh, dayr, hān, etc.), date and duration of the lecture; a list of auditors (samāt) is also added: men, young males, women, young females, children (often with an exact indication of their age), and slaves accompanying them—including the mithbit, who may or are present, and slaves accompanying the lecturer, for his part, has gathered, for the western Mediterranean basin (Egypt, Libya and the Maghrib), approximately twelve hundred terms. In this rich terminology, numerous appellations are formed from the nouns samāt or hāt or nāz combined with a qualitative or a nominal complement. Within the range of the latter, this study will be limited to mentioning only those which evoke a Biblical or historical personage, authentic or legendary, in the field of knowledge of tradition, including law, as well as the names. He may be assisted by a muḥbir (coneerifer), taken from among the auditors, who confirms in a gloss certain places in the idāzat al-samāt, or from whom hand copies, if true, are textbooks, or an author, new samāt are often added in following or later sessions or are taken over in transcripts, etc. The shaykh may issue a note of samāt for one single auditor personally, which is then introduced by the term samā. Already the great al-Samānānī (d. 562/1166 [q.v.]) made efforts to obtain and collect samāt/masmūt either by correspondence or through a third person. They played a role in purchases and estates. Samāt are inexhaustibly overflowing sources of a high documentary value for the spread of a work and its manuscripts, for the completion of the extensive biographical literature, for the busy relations of the learned centres between themselves, and for the history and archeology of individual places.
Joshua" and the hut Sidna Sulayman "the fish of our master Solomon"; these three names are given to the common sole (Solea vulgaris). "Barid" is the name given to the red mullet (Mullus barbatus). The Ibn Ya'qūb "the son of Jacob" is the common sargo (Diplodus sargus). The samakat al-Iskandar "the fish of Alexander the Great" is the hammer-head shark (Sphyraena syrana). With the samakat al-Abraham "the name given to red mullet the sparus; utrut, the hammer-head shark (Sphyraena syrana); iskumn, the mackerel, from Scyliorhinus canaliculatus; sard, the salmon, from Salmo salar; gudus, the cod, from Gadus; lafut, the burbot, from Lota lota; tan, tan, tun, the tunny fish, from Thunnus; tanir, the tench, from Tinca; ankaflis, the eel, from Anguilla; arrang, ranga, ranka, the eel, from Anguilla; arrang, ranga, ranka, the herring, from Clupea harengus; baskara, the ray, from Urolophus; surghūs, the common sargo, from Sargus vulgaris; sardin, the sardine, from Clupea pallasii; isfern, safarna, safarnayā, the spot or barracuda, from Sphyraena; ikurnī, the mackerel, from Scyliorhinus sardina; serif, safarna, serana, the lochoph, from Lophotes; limanda, the dab, from Limanda. Numerous appellations are also encountered formed from the name of a terrestrial creature joined to the complement al-bahr "of the sea", such as: sabā' al-bahr "sea beast" for the sea wolf (Anarchias lupus); faras al-bahr "horse of the sea" for the bellows fish (Centriscus); kunufūl al-bahr "hedgehog of the sea" for the sea-urchin (Diodon). Similarly, many terms are composed of abū "father of..." or umm "mother of...", with the complement of a noun marking a characteristic of the fish concerned. The following are examples: abū karn "father of the horn" for the unicorn fish (Nasus unicornis); abū mirṭaqa "father of the hammer" for the hammer-head shark (Sphyraena syrana); abū sayf "father of the sword" for the swordfish (Xiphias glacialis); abū yundūk "father of the chest" for the coffer fish (Ostracion nasus); abū minkar "father of the beak" for the half-beak (Hemiramphus); abū baṣ̄ūna "father of the scales" of the salmon (Prisci prisci); abū qiqār "father of the scales" of the goatfish or mullet (Mullus barbatus); umm karn "mother of the horn" for the trigger fish (Balistes); umm al-ghābītī "mother of the barbels" for the barbel (Barbus barbus). Some names derive from living foreign languages, and especially from Spanish, such as: angīyūs, angīyūs (Spanish: anchovy). The anatomy of the fish is summarised in few words. The scales are called, according to the regions: barisāf, fisīs, lafīs, kīrāt, kībrā, baṣīr al-hūd and ashqāmā (Spanish: escamas). For the gills and the bronchi, organs of respiration, the only words found are: khayyūm, pl. khayyāmī, khayyūsū, nakhshūshī pl. nakhshūshī. The cetaceans expel water by means of blow-holes or nāyāms pl. nāyāms. For the fins the terms are: dānān al-samak, zīrīsa, bahānīsa. The eggs laid by the fishes (samār) constitute the spawn, sar al-samak, sar, sarus, sa'ur, deposited in spawning-grounds or naysam al-samak, habitual sites peculiar to each species: it is there that the fry (bu'āna) develop.
to the arenicol (trimùnîn), a small beach worm (Arenicola marina).

Once ashore, the fisherman (khanndk, 'arakî) delivers his catch to a fishmonger (samman, 'aw adel) who maintains a shop (khamâka) in the fish-market (sik al-khamnânîn).

Fishing in fresh water, practised in stagnant waters as well as in the current of any watercourse and large river, employs diverse techniques. Where the depth allows, the fisherman enters the water directly, wherever he can find a foothold, thereby dispensing with the need for a boat. By this means he can deposit an eel-trap (sall, radjîn, radjûn, wakhâr) with bait, which needs to be raised only once or twice daily. In the absence of such a trap, he contents himself with digging a channel in the water-bed (kannûra), in the place which he judges to be the best conduit for the aquatic fauna, and baits it copiously; eels, barbels, breams, carp, and many others will soon arrive to feed there. When he sees his channel swarming with fish, he needs only a landing-net (ghirdfa, c. c.)

If the catch is particularly abundant, he may place some of the fish in buckets of water, transferring them, as a reserve, to a fish pond (makkîn, nqals, tkhûddla, fudla, bikra) prepared for this purpose. In the Magrib and the Near East, a very popular and lucrative form of fishing, practised in fresh water as well as on the sea-shore, consists in the use of a stick fished with the small bag-shaped net known as a cast net (jarha, jarrah, basyya) with weights attached to its periphery in such a manner that it sinks to the bed of the water. The caster, who may stand up to waist-deep in the water, draws it slowly towards himself, thus imprisoning the creatures caught in it; eels and barbels are held by the bait which the fisherman has thrown into the water and which needs to be raised only once or twice daily. In the absence of such a trap, he contents himself with digging a channel in the water-bed (kannûra), in the place which he judges to be the best conduit for the aquatic fauna, and baits it copiously; eels, barbels, breams, carp, and many others will soon arrive to feed there. When he sees his channel swarming with fish, he needs only a landing-net (ghirdfa, c. c.)

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4. Literature.

5. Licitness.

On account of the predominant place occupied by fish in the diet of Muslim populations, it has been the object of judicial dispositions based on Kurîanic law, in particular the verse (V, 95) ‘You are permitted the game of the sea (jâyd al-bahr) and the food which is found there’. Any fish of non-cartilaginous skeleton and devoid of blood may be lawfully consumed, without a requirement for ritual slaughter. However, fish found dead may not be consumed. Also forbidden are: (1) fishes of cartilaginous skeleton, in other words the selachians or squalidae (kâfisîyûn) including the shark with its various species (kîrîh, awawîl, kawusû, kanyû, kanyûn, tufayli, kurnûy, âlûm, kalb al-âl, bânûbûk, liyûd, kwaîfî, bâraîfî, abîfînî, abîl-mûmûnî, most of these names supplied by al-Dâmirî, the hammer-head (bûkra, mîzîrâl al-bâl, abîrî, mîrâla, samakât al-ISkandar, naddîfîr), the spotted dogfish (g欢呼înî) and the ray or skate, with its multiplicity of names (raya, radja, waran, jarak, yamamât al-bâl, bâhnîn al-bâl, tarsa, samak al-tars, dârika, samak al-tîmâm, hasira, fardh, kûbû, haîlû, wâsûwa, mânûnî, abîl-mûmûnî, (2) the marine mammals or cetaceans (bânsîyûl) including the whale (wâla, bâla, bâlîla, banîna, bâlin, bâiî Yânînî), the humpbacked whale (kûbû, gîmât al-bâl), the sperm-whale (sâmâr), the porpoise (khnîzîr al-bâl, bânîba), the dolphin (dulûfî, dafîn, dafîrî, dafîrî, duku) the narwhal (karkâdân al-bâl, bârîs al-bâl, the finback (kîrkîl, mânûrî, the orc or grampus (urka, kattîfî) and the white whale (bâhîrûsî, kalb al-bâl); (3) the amphibi- marmal mammals (kawâsîb, bârmâmîyûn) or pinnipeds (zînîfiyyûn al-âkîdâmîn) including the seal (shâykhî al-bâl, bâlî al-bâl, fûkâna, fûkakama, bî mînî), the monk seal (shâykhî al-yahûdî, abîbî al-mârînî, the fîl al-bâl, fîl, the orca or killer whale (dûb al-bâl, sîd al-bâl, bâkraît albâl) and the elephant seal (fîl al-bâl); and (4) the sirenian mammals or ‘sea cows’ (kîhîlînîyûtît, bânîî al-mâmî) including the manatee (kharîfî al-bâl, wmm zubaybâ), the dugong (âtîm, mâlîsî, nákî al-bâl, zâlîkîî, hâfîfî), For Rhytina stelleri, the sea cow (bûkraît al-bâl) of the Red Sea, it has been extinct for two centuries. All of these aquatic creatures have never been always been hunted, either for their abundant stocks of fat, useful for many purposes and in particular for the making of soap and the fuelling of wicked lamps, or for their thick and very resistant hide, used in the manufacture of shields and, in particular, of protective shoes for the feet of camels required to traverse stony deserts.

6. As a source of diet.

Fish has been a staple source of nourishment for humanity from the outset. It is consumed in various forms. Firstly, it may be fried or fried after cooking on a fire. On the other hand, it is the object of four principal modes of preservation. The first, much used in Egypt since the time of the Pharaohs, is desiccation by exposure to the sun of large and small fish (mugamma, sars, buhûsû, kârîdî) such as the stockfish (bâkâlûfû, bâkâlûfû, bakkû, bâkâlûfû, from the Spanish
bacalao). The next is salting and smoking (tamhh and tadkhin) for small fishes (sqyr) such as bacalao. The next is salting and smoking (tamhh and tadkhin) for small fishes (sqyr) such as... (b. 626/1288-9), see ibid, and in al-Damm, s.v. cankabut).

In the Arabic sources there are, however, different...

Also used is pickling or maceration with spices in brine (salămūra). In Tunis this is the method used to preserve carp (būm). Finally, there remains preservation in oil or vinegar and packing in metal containers; this applies to the sardine (sardīn, sarda, bisrīya, abshīya, sam), the cod, the mackerel and the herring. Delicacies (muncīlū), such as caviar (khibyd) and botargo (batrakh), are not widely consumed in Arab countries.

As for culinary preparations of fish, they are most varied and many are similar to those of Europe. Well-known, among others, is the fish stew (munazzalat al-samak, maṣhkūla) based on eel or carp. The ancient Arabic treatises on culinary art supply five recipes for this dish, which has the head of a pig, is covered with repel and banish by making the loudest possible noise, and the sailors hang from the peripheral points of the hut (al-hut), which shatters the ships (fdtus). Who encountered there enormous marine creatures, descriptions of different seas the accounts of seafarers are not widely consumed in Arab countries.

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6. Fabulous marine creatures.

Arab authors naturalists and geographers, such as al-Kazwīnī, al-Dāmīrī and al-Dājbīz, include in their descriptions of different seas the accounts of seafarers who encountered there enormous marine creatures, unidentifiable and very dangerous. Thus they mention the fāsīt or hūr al-bayyad which shatters the ships which it encounters, but which is put to flight when the sailors hang from the peripheral points of the vessel rags stained with menstrual blood (hayyāl). Also mentioned, in the Sea of China (bahr al-Sin), is a fish three hundred cubits in length which the inhabitants of the island of Wākwāk (Indonesian Archipelago) repel and banish by making the loudest possible noise, beating cadtrons and tomports. In the same sea lurks the sām, which has the head of a pig, is covered with a hairy fleece instead of scales, and shows female sexual organs; it is allegedly edible. In the Indian Ocean (bahr al-Ḥind) there is a large fish nicknamed kātaba l-kaṭūb ‘he has written the book’, the juice of which produces an invisible ink legible only at night, and another large green fish with a serpent’s head whose...
theories about the shape of the salamander. Many authors identify it as a bird (al-Djahiz, Ibn Khallikān, al-Ibshīḥ; Kāmūs and Tāḏī, s.r.s.); only al-Damirī, besides calling it a bird, describes it as a reddish-yellow coloured animal (dāḥīb) with red eyes and a long tail. Al-Kazwīnī mentions it in his Notes, but his remarks are superficial. According to the Arabic Physiologus, the salamander is a stone that extinguishes fire (Land, Schol., 166, cap. 52; cf. samandal as a word for asbestos). Moreover, especially in the works of the Arab lexicographers, there are contaminations of the samandal (Tāǧ, Līṣān, Tāḏī, s.r.s–dī); it is also found as a word for asbestos). Moreover, especially in the works of the Arab lexicographers, there are contaminations of the samandal (Tāḏī, Līṣān, Tāḏī, s.r.s–dī). The said author is mostly thought to be from India (al-Damirī) or in China (al-Ibshīḥ).

In Arabic literature, one must distinguish the folkloristic statements on the salamander from the concrete descriptions—especially those from a medical point of view (Ibn al-Baytār, Heil- und Nahrungsmittl., tr. J. von Sontheimer, ii, 3; Ibn Sma, Masdlik, iii, 232; see also ʿUmarī, Masūṭī, xx, 62; for its being mentioned in Greek literature, see Dio-Dorostorids, ii, cap. 67)—to be found under the lexeme salamandaḏajān. There, the salamander is described more correctly as a lizard or snake, its medical effects, including its poisonousness, are stressed, and the idea of its being unburnable is explicitly rejected. Real varieties of salamanders (family Salamandridae, order Urodela of the amphibians) are not very common in the Orient. The fire salamander (Salamandra salamandra) which is black and has yellow or orange spots, is to be found in Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa. In Asia Minor we also find the Anatolian Salamander (Mertensiella luscai), the colour of which ranges from yellow to orange, with additional shiny black spots, and in the Caucasus there is the Caucasian salamander (Mertensiella caucasica), which is black with light spots. They both belong to a genus of varieties with slender bodies.

Bibliography: Arabic sources are given in the article. See also al-ʿAynāṭī al-Kārmali, al-Samandar, al-Maḏrīk, vi (1903), 9–15; ʿAmin al-Maṭūf, Muʿṣīm al-hayawān, Cairo 1932, 213–15.

(H. Eisenstein)

**SAMANDAR** [see KHAZAR].

**AL-SAMANĪ, Abū ʿl-Ḵᵛā记者了解 ABU ‘L-KHUSRAW ABU MANSūR b. Muḥammad b. ʿl-Qādisī, jurist, linguist, historian, theologian, translator of the divine names. His nephew does not mention his writings but, after his death, he entrusted his son to his two learned brothers. Under their guidance al-Samānī received a comprehensive basic education in Kurān, fiqh, ʿarbiyya, and adab. Not quite 20 years old, he embarked on the taḥlīl-al-ʿilm, first, still under the tutelage of his two uncles, once more to Naysābūr for a special training in the ʿādāth of Muslim (q.v.), then also to Tūs and other places. From his home town he visited the centres of learning of his time on three long journeys: 529/1135–43, 540/6/1145–51, and—together with his son ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān—549/52/1154–7. He went via Isfāhān and Hamadān to Baghdād and its environs, to Mecca and Medina, to Damascus and Jerusalem (which at the time of his visit in 536/1141 had been in the hands of the Crusaders for 42 years), and, in the north and the east, to Kāh-ʿarazm, Samākand, Buḵhārā, Balḵ and Harāt. A number of these places with their inhabitants schools and mosques, he visited more than once (he also went on the Pilgrimage twice), even if that involved detours, constantly driven, as he was, by his desire for taḥlīl-al-ʿilm.

This preoccupation of his informed not only his teaching in Marw and elsewhere but also his rich literary production which centred on the Prophetic Traditions and their transmission. With admirable orderliness and fastidiousness, he constantly strove to enlarge and correct his collected materials. Many of his more than 50 works most likely became casualties of the Mongol invasion. Marw was conquered in 618/1221. As late as 615/1218 Yaḵūt (q.v.) had participated in a maḏūlis of al-Samānī’s son ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān (537/617/1143–1220, al-Ṣafādī, xviii, 331) (see Muṣjām, i, 6); he had worked in the local libraries, in- ter alia those of the Samānī (b. c., iv, 509) and had excerpted some of the great scholar’s books, thus e.g. his biographical magnum opus on the Traditionists, namely:

(1) al-Ansāb. Arranged alphabetically according to изма [q.v.]; it contains 5,348 entries; each starts with an exact indication of the pronunciation of the изма, gives the place, the person, or the group etc. to which the relative adjective refers, followed by the full name of the scholar in question with Irish names on teachers and disciples (िनाद), places and times of their ac-
tivities, and the date of death; as a rule, other personalities (including women) having the same *nizāra* will be joined to the entry, so that the number of the scholars mentioned exceeds by twice or three times the amount of the number of entries, not counting the many additional persons that occur in a *sīta* as teachers, colleagues, or disciples of the biographers. In not a few places Al-Samʿānī indicates the literature used by him; the small *Kīyāb al-ʿĀbīn* by Ibn al-Kaysārānī [qn.], quoted by Yākūt, was likely also known to him. He finished the clean copy a few years before his death, but constantly added supplements. It was edited in facsimile by D. S. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912 (containing an introduction with a list of his works); edited by al-Mu′allimī *et alii*, 13 vols., Haydarābād/Deccan 1382-1402/1952-82 (with a detailed introd.); since 1976 reprints and new editions (in part) in Damascus and Beirut complete in 5 vols., ed. ʿA.ʿU. al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1988. Abridgments with supplements: the best-known is that of the historian ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭīr [qn.], *Lūb al-ṣabāḥīt al-ʿAnṣāb*, 3 vols., Cairo 1357-67/1938-49 (repr. Beirut 1988); this was abbreviated and added to by al-Suyūṭī [qn.], *Lūb al-ṣabāḥīt fī ṭabrīr al-ʿAnṣāb*, ed. and annot. P. J. Veth, 2 vols., 1841-51 (repr. of vol. 1, Baghdad 1963).

(2) *Ṭabībī fī l-Muʾammad al-kabīr*, a work of more than 2,000 pages, is the best and the most reliable source of biographical dictionary, covering Al-Samʿānī’s teachers, as well as the students of his students, whom al-Samʿānī had either encountered during his *talab al-ḥadīth* at home and abroad, especially in Nāṣībūr and Isfahān, or with whom he had corresponded, or, finally, from whom he had received an *idāra* [qn.] through intermediaries. The biographies are brief but informative; they reflect diary entries. Al-Samʿānī produced the first copy in the year 1001/1689, which may which have actually overtaken him while doing this work; for the beginning and the end are missing in the ancient *Zayriyārī*, *ḥadīthī* 529 (al-*lshš*, 529). This work had only been published once, in a Cairene ms. of 714/1316 and in a Nāṣībūri ms. of 998/1591. On 529 he mentions at the end that he has treated the biography of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in the first place. The text is not a critical edition of his source material, as he states at the beginning of his work that he has followed *Ṭabībī* in this respect. The work is incomplete, as his students and other scholars have included other biographies in the *ṭabībī* and *tahdhib al-Anṣāb*. The unique copy of 647/1250 in Topkapi Sarayi, Ahmet Khan, was likely also stored by him; the small *Kitab al-Anṣāb*, part of *ṭabībī* is missing.

(3) *Muntakhab Muʿallāt al-Waṣīfah*, another biography of scholars, as well.

(4) *Ṭabībī* to *Ṭabībī* Bāghdādī of al-Khaṭīb al-Bāghdādī [qn.], known from quotations; excerpt: Leiden 1023 (de Goeje-Juynboll); for two other (?) excerpts see Munirā, *Ṭabībī*, 1, 31; cf. Ibn al-Ṣaḥbānī, *Ṭabībī*, 1377/1957, 241-2; MʿA. Muḍarrīs, *Rāyihān al-ṣabāʿād*, Tabrīz 1346/1967, i, 427. — As far as is presently known, the following biographical works have not been preserved, even in excerpts: *Wangī*, al-muṣallah *l-kāʾim in al-nuʾayn*, Muʿād al-ṭayyīḥ [a list of the teachers of his son], his early work, *Ṭabībī* Marw, which Yākūt (*Muʿād*, i, 75, 15) quotes in his *疏kāʾim in al-nuʾayn*, *Muʿād al-ṭayyīḥ*, the last two are likely to have contained biographies of scholars, as well.

### Genealogical table of the Sāmānids

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1. History, literary life and economic activity.

The early history of the Sāmānīd family is obscure. They may have stemmed either from Soghdia or, perhaps more likely, from Tukhāristān south of the Oxus, probably from the petty landowners of the Balkh area. It was not possible to connect the Sāmānīds with a noble Arab tribe, as the almost certainly originally Persian Tāhirīds endeavoured to do, but the tradition later grew up of an aristocratic origin for the Sāmānīds through descent from the Sāsānīd warrior hero Bahram Cūbīn [see Bahram]; al-Birūnī, al-Ālīḏūr al-bākīya, ed. Sachau, 39, states that there was "universal agreement" over this claim (see C.E. Bosworth, The heritage of rulership in early Islamic Iran and the search for dynastic connections with the past, in Iran, JBIPS, xiv [1976], 58-9). All that we really know is that the dihkān Sāmān-khudā apparently accepted Islam at the hands of the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḵāšī (i.e. at some point during 105-7/725-7 or 117-20/735-8), therefore naming his son after the Arab governor (see Bosworth, Asad b. Sāmān-khāda, in EIr).

However, nothing is heard of the family for several decades, until, at the 'Abbasīd caliph al-Ma'mūn's behest, his governor in Khurāsān, Ghassān b. 'Abbād, in ca. 204/819 rewarded the four sons of Asad b. Sāmān-khudā for their support to the 'Abbasīds during the rebellion in Transoxania of Rāfī' b. al-Layth b. Sāyyār [q. v.]. Nūḥ was given the governorship of Samarkand; Ahmād, Fargāna; Yabhā, Shāh; and Ilyās, Harāt. This last branch of the Sāmānīds south of the Oxus did not prosper, and Ibrāhīm b. Ilyās was in 253/867 defeated and captured by the Saffārid invader of Bādghīs, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth [see Saffārides]. The ones in Transoxania, on the other hand, had a glorious future ahead of them. After Nūḥ died in 227/841-2, the governor of Khurāsān 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir [q. v.] appointed the remaining two brothers in Transoxania, Yabhā and Ahmād, over Samarkand and Soghdia. Very soon the line of Ahmād (I) replaced that of Yabhā, and with the Saffārid dispossession of the Tāhirīds from Nīghāpur in 259/873 and the lapse of Khurāsān into something like anarchy for the next two decades, Naṣr (I) b. Ahmād b. Sāmān-khudā found himself in effect autonomous ruler in Transoxania, with his capital at Samarkand. The caliph al-Mu'tamīd formally invested him as governor of Transoxania in 261/875, and from the 250s onwards Naṣr began to mint dirhams of a mixed 'Abbasīd-Sāmānīd type, with the regular minting of dirhams and then of dinārs beginning ca. 279/892 with the formal accession of Ismā'īl b. Ahmād; their father Ahmād (I) had already issued his own copper fulūs [q. v.].

However, fratricidal strife between Naṣr and Ismā'īl, whom Naṣr had sent to subdue Bukhārā, ended in the military triumph of Ismā'īl, although he left Naṣr as de jure ruler in Samarkand till the latter's death there in 279/892. Ismā'īl then assumed sole power, ruling over Transoxania and Fargāna from Bukhārā, whether the Sāmānīd capital was now permanently transferred.

Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl (I) (279-95/892-907 [q. v.]) may be regarded as the real founder of the Sāmānīd amirate, his power sealed by his victory over the Saffārid 'Amr b. al-Layth [q. v.] in 287/900, after which the caliph al-Mu'tamīd appointed him governor of both Transoxania and Khurāsān. This was in practice the concession of independent rule there, given the distance of the Sāmānīd lands from Baghdaḍ and the shrinkage of the direct sphere of 'Abbasīd political authority to Irāk, Syria and western Persia, although the Sāmānīds continued till the end to pay formal respect to the caliphs, placing them in the khaṭba of their territories and their names on their coins, and employing for themselves no higher title than that of amīr. One role which Ismā'īl inherited as ruler of Transoxania was the defence of its northern frontiers against pressure from the nomads of Inner Asia, and in 280/893 he led an expedition into the steppes against the Karluk [q. v.] Turks, capturing Talas and bringing back a great booty of slaves and beasts.
Sâmanîd suzerainty was asserted over various local rulers in the Syr Darya valley and on both sides of the upper Oxus, such as the princes of Šahrâsâna [q.v.], the Abû Dâwdîdî and Bânîqûrîdîs [q.v. in Suppl.] of Türkchûstan and Khuttal and the Mubârâqîdîs [q.v.] of Câshânîyân and over the ancient kingdom of Khârazm [q.v.]. In the west, he extended his authority over the Zaydi Imâms of the Caspian region, and in general, achieved a reputation as a capable and just ruler.

Ismâ’il’s son Abû Naṣr Abûm (II) (295-301/907-14) attempted to recover the Caspian provinces which had slipped from Sâmanîd control, and sent two expeditions into Sîstân (298/911 and 299-300/912-13), where Šâfîrârî authority had fallen into disarray [see Šâffârîds]. But he was murdered at Farâbîr by his Turkish slaves in Dîmâdîd II/301/January 914, allegedly because of his excessive favour at court to the ‘ulama’ and other members of the religious classes, thus earning for himself the posthumous title of al-amîr al-‘âbidîn “the martyred prince”. The practice of awarding posthumous lakabûs had already begun with Abûm’s father Ismâ’il, who became known as al-amîr al-mâdîf or al-amîr al-‘âbidî “the last/jjust prince”, and some of the subsequent abîrs further assumed regnal titles, such as Nûh (I) b. Naṣr’s one of al-malîk al-mu’âyyad, appearing on his coins, and Nûh (II) b. Mûnûs’s al-malîk al-munâsîr, in addition to the titles given to them after their deaths (see Bosworth, The titulature of the early Ghazanâdîs, in Orient, xv [1962], 214-15).

His eight-year old son Naṣr (II) [q.v.] succeeded for a reign of some 30 years (301-319/914-43). He faced prolonged internal opposition from his ambitious uncle and brothers, who at various times controlled Samârând and parts of Khûrâsân and who stirred up in the cities popular elements which included the quadîs and qâsmîs. Sâmanîd armies penetrated as far westwards as Rayy in northern Persia, occupied in 314/926, when al-Müktâdî formally granted its governorship to Naṣr. Sâmanîd coins were issued from there till 920/932 and at various times thereafter (see Miles, The numismatic history of Rayy, New York 1958, 147 ff), although control here was disputed with the Dayâvînî commanders and then with the Buyid Rukn al-Dawla [q.v.], who secured the most permanent control of the city after Naṣr’s death. The later part of Naṣr’s reign was noteworthy for the appearance in Transoxania of an extensive Ismâ’ilî Shî’i de’wâ, with converts made up to the highest level at court before an orthodox Sunnî reaction and purge of these heretics set in; this episode was an exception to the normally firm upholding of Sunnî orthodoxy by the abîrs’ policies. His eight-year old son Naṣr (III) (331-37/943-47) had devoted his attention to the ambitions of Khûrâsân, a specialisation and sophistication as the instrument of the abîrs’ centralising policies. As with the administration of other provincial dynasties, the model was that of the caliphs in Baghdad. The local historian of Bûkhârâ, Narghahû, describes ten dâ‘ûms, beginning with those of the wuzûr, the treasurer and the ‘amid al-mulûk or head of the chancery (see for these, Barthold, op. cit., 229-32), and many of the bureaucratic techniques of these departments can be pieced together from the information given by the Sâmanîd official Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Khârazmî [q.v.] in his encyclopaedia of the sciences, the Muqta’d al-salâm, dedicated to the vizier Abu l-Haṣan ‘Ubayd Allâh al-Utbî (see Bosworth, Abû Abdallâh al-Khuârazmî on the technical terms of the secretary’s art, in JESHO, xii [1969], 113-64). It was this efficient administrative system which brought in rich amounts of taxation from the agricultural oases of Soghdîa, Farghânâ and Khurâsân, together with revenues from the slave traffic between Inner Asia and the Islamic lands further west (the abîrs levied customs duties at the Transoxanian frontier towns on imported Turkish slaves and at the Oxus crossings for their transit across the Sâmanîd dominions), so that the 4th/10th century geographers and travellers like Ibn Hawkal and al-Mu’âdîdî could praise the Sâmanîd’s for their mild rule and moderate taxation and could extol the cheapness of provisions and pleasantness of life in their lands.

The security of the realm rested, of course, on the powerful army which the Sâmanîd maintained under the command of the Chief Hâdîg. The first troops of the Sâmanîd must have been recruited from the free Iranians of Transoxania, long trained in the martial arts by their position on the northeastern frontiers of Islam facing the pagan steppes; but from at least the time of Ismâ’il b. Abûm onwards, a Turkish slave guard around the abîrs’ comes into prominence, formed from Turks brought in from Inner Asia (see Barthold, op. cit., 227-8; Bosworth, An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amir Naṣr b. Abûm: a contribution to Sâmanîd military history, in M. Minovi and I. Afshar (eds.), Yad-nâm-e Irân-ye Minârs, Tehran 1969, 1-13, and Gûlâm. ii. Persîa). This slave guard early made itself a force in the internal affairs of the state, with its own aims and interests. As noted above, Abûm (II) b. Ismâ’il was killed by his gûlâmân, and from the mid-4th/10th century onwards, the influence of the generals, and especially of the holders of the coveted post of Commander-in-Chief in Khûrâsân, frequently resulted in the making and unmaking of Sâmanîd princes, as the personal authority of the abîrs’ waned (see for this, ‘Umâr b. Mûnûs’s ambitions in Khurasân of the powerful governor there, the Iranian noble Abû ‘Ali Câgâhîn, endeavours to replace him by the Turkish commander Ibrâhîm b. Sîmîrûr and to maintain, in alliance with the Zîyârîs [q.v.] of Gûr-gân and Tâbaristan, the position in northern Persia against the Sâmanîd’s rivals, the Buyids. A disturbing portent for the remaining years of Sâmanîd rule was a financial crisis in the state, caused by the cost of the wars in northern Persia and the expenses of the army in general. During the next reign, that of Abu l-Fawâîîs Al-Malik (I) b. Nûh (343-50/954-61), the ascendancy of the Turkish slave commander Alptîgîn [q.v.] was notable, although when ‘Abd al-Malik died, he was unable to place on the throne his own candidate, the dead abîr’s young son Naṣr—who would have been a puppet in the hands of the military—and was forced to flee to Qâzîn, on the far eastern fringes of
the Samanid lands. 'Abd al-Malik's brother Mansūr (I) b. Nūḥ now ascended the throne (350-65/961-76 [q.v.]). His reign was in general peaceful, although fighting continued in northern Persia, on the whole favourably for the Samanids, and after Alptegin's death at Ghazna (352/963), his Turkish successors in eastern Afghanistan once more acknowledged the amir's overlordship.

The last twenty years or so of Sāmanid rule were ones of increased impotence of the amirs in face of the ambitions of Turkish commanders like the Simджuris, Tāṣh, ḅegtuzun and Fā'īk Khāṣṭa, and deepening crisis in the state as its tax base shrank. Mansūr (I) b. Nūḥ had a vizier, Abu 'l-Husayn 'Abd Allāh al-'Utbī, appointed in 367/977, did what he could to halt the decline and to stem the successes of the Buyids, who were poised to invade Khūrāsān when the death of 'Aṣūd ad-Dawla [q.v.] fortunately supervised in 372/983; but al-'Utbī was murdered in 371/982 by the machinations of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Simджūrī and Fā'īk Nūḥ (II) b. Mansūr (363-67/976-97 [q.v.]) soon no longer had any authority in Khūrāsān and was by the end of his reign reduced to controlling Soghdia only. He was forced to call in the assistance of Sebüktigın from Ghazna against Fā'īk and Abū 'Ali Simджūrī after the latter had encouraged an invasion of the remaining Sāmanid lands from the north in 362/972 by the Turkish Karakhanids under Bughra Khān Hārūn [q.v.]. Bukhārā and Samarkand were temporarily occupied by the Turks, but although these were recovered by Nūḥ, the position got steadily worse.

A fresh Karakhanid invasion took place in 386/996, and at this point, Sebüktigın and his son Māhmūd [q.v.], who now controlled Khūrāsān, came to an agreement with the Karakhanid ilḫ Ilār Nāšr b. 'Ali whereby Sebüktigın retained Khūrāsān and the ilīg occupied the whole valley of the Sīr Daryā. Nūḥ died the next year, and the reign of the new amir, his son Abu 'l-Ḥarīrāt Mansūr (II) [q.v.] lasted only two years (387-9/997-9) before he was deposed by Fā'īk and Bguṭtuzun and replaced by his brother Abu 'l-Fawārīs 'Abd al-Malik (II). Māhmūd b. Sebüktigın by 398/999 secured for himself all the former Sāmanid lands south of the Oxus, and in this year the Karakhanids under the ilīg Ilār definitively took over Bukhārā without any serious resistance, thereby ending the dynasty's vestigial rule in Soghdia. A further brother of Mansūr (II) and 'Abd al-Malik, Abū ʿĪbrāhīm Ismāʿīl (II) b. Nūḥ al-Muntasīr [q. v.], attempted a revanche in the following years, but after some initial successes against the Karakhanids was killed in 395/1005, the last hope of the Sāmanids.

The downfall of the Sāmanids meant that the northeastern part of the Iranian world, first the Trans-Oxus provinces under the Karakhanids and then, four decades later, the steppe lands between the northern rim of the mountains of Khūrāsān and the middle Oxus under the Saljuqs, passed for the first time into Turkish control. It was after this that the gradual process of the almost complete (save for the modern Tadjikistan) Turkicisation of these regions accelerated, a process which must however have begun already in Sāmanid times with the extensive influx of Turkish slave soldiers into the state apparatus and the peaceful settlement of sedentarised and Islamised Turks along the northern fringes of Transoxania. On the documentary evidence, the old Soghdian language disappeared towards the end of the Sāmanid period under pressure from New Persian, which was probably the day-to-day language of much of the Sāmanid bureaucracy's routine business (although it may be noted that the neo-Soghdian language Yaghnobī has survived to this day in the valley of the Yagnob, an affluent of the upper Zaraḵhān; see IRAN. Languages, in Suppl.), and Turkish. There was, however, some counter-pressure against this trend from the 'ulamāʾ and religious classes and from the higher bureaucracy, who were trained in the classical Arabic sciences, in favour of the use of Arabic as the language both of scholarship and of diplomacy. According to the 8th/14th century historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, the amir Āḥmad (II) b. Ismāʿīl changed the language of official business from Persian to Arabic, but the measure was unpopular and had to be rescinded. Thereafter, the two languages doubtless existed side-by-side in administrative usage. Of course, Arabic retained its primacy in the spheres of religion, learning and science. The achievements of the Sāmanid period in Arabic scholarship were very considerable, with Bukhārā and Samarkand as centres for literary activity under the patronage of the amirs themselves, as the plethora of poets and prose stylists appearing in the fourth kism of the Khurāsānīan author Abu Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik al-Ūṣalībī's [q. v.] literary anthology, the Yātimāt al-dahr, that on the Arabic littératours of Khurāsān, Transoxania and Khwārazm, shows (see V. Tanner, in Camb. hist. Iran, iv, 589-93).

But the 4th/10th century is notable for the florescence under the Sāmanids of a lively New Persian literature, one whose roots lay in the preceding century and whose poetic production came to a remarkable stage of maturity and expressiveness with such authors as Rūdkā, Dākikī and Abu 'l-Ḥāsān Khwānīšāt of Marw [q. v.]. This development of New Persian literature both in the Sāmanid dominions and at the other petty courts of the East does not necessarily imply promotion of this by the amirs or princes as a conscious, proto-nationalist Persian policy (although the Sāmanid amirs were undoubtedly interested in this, see below; one of the last rulers, Mansūr (II) b. Nūḥ, is included by ʿAwfī amongst the rulers who composed Persian poetry, examples of which he gives, see his Lūbāb al-alabāb, ed. Ṣāʿīd Nafṣī, Tehran 1335/1956, 23-4) but reflects rather the distance of Khūrāsān, Transoxania and Bukhārā from the kipalities from the focus of Arab-Islamic life in the central lands of the caliphate, and also the vigorousness of Persian culture in the East, always strong at the local level. Certainly, it was the dīḵān class there which nurtured and cherished the old Persian epic traditions; this is especially clear in the case of the lord of Tūs, Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāḵ, who in 346/957 commissioned the translation of Pahlavi texts of the national epic into New Persian, and these were utilised by Firdawṣī [q. v.] for his Shāh-nāma and also, it seems, for the earlier, unfinished verse rendering (known from Firdawṣī's incorporation of it within his own work) by Dākikī (see V. Minorsky, The older preface to the Shāh-nāma, in Studi in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida, Rome 1956, ii, 139-79; G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, Paris 1963, 36-7). This New Persian literature of the Sāmanid period involved not only poetry but also prose, including prose versions of the national epic such as that of Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Bāln, known from fragments (written in the reign of Nūḥ (II) b. Mansūr); Persian translations and epithomes of al-Ṭabarī's History (made for Mansūr (I) b. Nūḥ by his vizier Abu 'l-Ḥaṣām Ṣalā'āmī [q. v.]) and of his Kur‘ān commentary (also done in this reign by a group of scholars); etc. (see Lazard, op. cit., 38 ff.; idem, Les premiers poètes persans (IX-Xe siècles), Tehran-

The economic strength of the Samanid state lay, as noted above, in the flourishing agriculture of the populous river valleys and oases of the region, and also in the craft industries of the towns and the commercial connections of the Samanid lands. These last lay at the southern end of trade routes coming from the Inner Asian steppes and, ultimately, from China, so that the Samanids could mediate the products of these distant lands to Baghdad and other great centres of consumption in the central lands of the caliphate. Until the later 4th/10th century, when internal strife amongst the rival Turkish commanders and their strifes with the amirs set in, disorders completed by the Karakhanid invasions, the Samanid lands generally enjoyed internal peace and freedom from external attack. Local industries and crafts could flourish, such as the irsiz [q.v.] workshops of Bukhara, whose embroidered textiles were used, so Narshakhi says, for payment of annual tribute to the caliphs (? in the earlier period of Tahirid suzerainty over Transoxania), the famous paper production in Samarkand, started by captured Chinese artisans [see Kakhod], arms and weapons from the metal industry of Farghana, etc. Various of the imports from the steppe and forest lands to the north, i.e. western Siberia and Russia, including furs, hides, honey, wax, cattle on the hoof, etc., exchanged for the textiles, leatherwork, grain and fruits of Transoxania, are listed by al-Mukaddasi (tr. in Barthold, Turkistan, 235-6). Above all, Transoxania benefited from the trade in Turkish markets in frontier towns like Isfandjab and Shash or slaves, brought to the slave markets in Transoxania and sold in Baghdad and other great centres.

As a result of this buoyant economic and commercial atmosphere, the revenues of the Samanid lands amounted to 45 million dirhams (within this, so Narshakhi records, the land tax of Bukhara and Karmina yielded 1,168,566 dirhams). The amirs themselves took over extensive estates from the Bukhara-khudos as personal domains (khassa), and groups like the sayyids of the Alids and other ulama held much land in waqf. The evidence of the existence of the army and the bureaucracy, which were, according to Nizam al-Mulk (speaking of “former kings”, i.e. the Samanids and Ghaznavids), paid in cash. However, there are signs of the beginning of the practice of granting out lands as assignments [see ırtak], already known in ’Irak and western Persia, so that revenues were subtracted from the central treasury; the Ghaghanis held extensive estates on the upper Oxus, and the Simghuris in Khusistan (cf. Barthold, op. cit., 238-9). It seems that the old Persian dhikhân class began to decline in both Khurasan and Transoxania during the Samanid period, parallel to increased centralisation in the state and a movement of population from the countryside to the towns; the factors at work here were doubtless complex, but it is true that we hear little of the dhikhân as a landowning class in the ensuing Karakhanid and Sajidkh periods, and the actual word dhikhân [q.v.] begins its semantic decline into the modern Persian meaning of “peasant” (cf. Frye, in Camb. hist. of Iran, iv, 152-3).

Consideration of the Samanid financial and economic situation is also bound up with that of their coinage. The amirs were fortunate to control some of the best silver-producing veins in the eastern Islamic world, sc. in Badakhshan and Farghana, and the sheer volume of coinage minted, and especially that in silver, is impressive. G.C. Miles enumerated no fewer than 47 mint places known to have issued coins in the name of the Samanids, not only—as one would expect—in Transoxania and Khurasan—but as far afield as Sitran, Fars, Djibah and the Caspian region, as the result of military campaigns there or of alliances with local potentates (see Camb. hist. Iran, iv, 374). A vast quantity of this coinage found its way outside the Islamic world into Siberia, northern Russia, Scandinavia and the Baltic shores, and even as far as the British Isles and Iceland, apparently as a result of trading operations which are not precisely to have been largely discontinued in the opening years of the 5th/11th century. The whole topic of this apparent one-way drain of Samanid silver northwards and westwards has been much discussed by both economic historians and numismatists, but remains substantially unexplained. Amongst the extensive literature here, see e.g. J. Duplessy, La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIII au XII siècle, in Revue Numismatique, sér. 5, vol. xviii (1926), 101-63; T. Lewicki, Le commerce des Samanides avec l’Europe orientale et centrale à la lumière des trésors de monnaies coufiqes, in D.K. Koyumjan (ed.), Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles, Beirut 1974, 219-33; A.E. Lieber, Did a “silver crisis” in Central Asia affect the flow of Islamic coins into Scandinavia and eastern Europe?, in Commentationes de nummis sas, s, sc. in Suecia repertis, N.S. 6, Sigtuna papers, Stockholm 1990, 207-12.

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2. Art and architecture. Although history and literature are fairly well documented, no clear picture exists of artistic achievements under the Samanids. The fertile oases under their rule are on the fringes of Inner Asia, a north-eastern times for the Iranian world. The early caliphs wrested the eastern part of the area from Chinese suzerainty; over the centuries these lands have remained at the crossroads of trade routes and influences.

(a) Applied arts. Ceramics. They are the best testimony of Samanid craftsmanship, as in the finds of Achariya/Samarkand and Niğhpâr. Dating of the material is still not clear; the later rule of the Karakhanids could be responsible for some of it. The pre-Islamic red body earthenware serves as support to white, black or russet slips and their decor under the new transparent lead glaze. When no slip is used, as in Niğhpâr, the body takes on a buff colour under the glaze. The decoration draws on five sources. First, the new but soon assimilated Arabic calligraphy painted in near black manganese. Second, the possible influence of late T’ang bichrome, copper green with iron brown or yellow, but not the earlier three-coloured
décor; there are no shapes nor designs recalling Chinese originals. Third, strong echoes of textile designs ranging from stripes, triple dots, dotted circles and peacock-eyes to roundels containing birds, figures, chiefly in Nishapur: hunters on horseback, seated rulers and dancers, all surrounded by fantastic animals and birds. Would they also be survivors of earlier times in a society becoming more and more Islamicised?

Thus dishes up to 45 cm wide, with a small or large cavetto, are usually covered in a white slip; they recall the new manufacturing of paper; this white ground acts as an ideal support for calligraphy. Ewers, bowls, often with a double recessed base, lamps, inkwells, even toys, all are coloured with a mixture of metal oxide and fine white clay; the mixture prevents the design from running under the transparent glaze. The use of a russet/orange colour points to the red of later Iznik pottery. When colour is required to run, no fine clay is added to the oxide. As for sgrafitto, it appears to be an original means of decoration and is used as a visual counterpoint for the colour runs, usually green, yellow and purple in a dense patterning for large dishes and bowls. Unglazed wares consist of long-necked ewers, some with filière, jars, gourds, cooking pots, oven shapes and moulds.

Glass. In the finds of Samarkand, bottles are either freely blown or, when a pattern is required, mould-blown to produce a lattice or twisted pattern. The ewers are not unlike their ceramic counterparts; spoons and inkpots can be added to the list of shapes. Green and turquoise are the usual shades with the occasional blue or amber bottles, bowls, bangles and beads.

Metalwork. Since most metals were available in Khurâsân and Transoxiana, the important metal industry of pre-Islamic times was carried over and adapted to the taste of the new rulers, although precise dating is still hazy. Early Arab governors of Khurâsân sent gifts of silver and gold vessels to the caliph in Baghdad, as well as bowls and jugs of high-tin bronze. The latter, safîdruy, with its appearance of silver, was a good substitute for precious metals. Cast objects of copper such as ewers, buckets and braziers, were of daily use. In archaeological finds, household objects like lamps, jugs, flat-bottom bottles, ewers, incense burners, some in the shape of a stupa, spoons and weights, were made of bronze. Bronze was also used for more personal items like rings, tweezers, mirrors and kohl sticks. Iron was used for sword, dagger and shovel blades, as well as for arrowheads.

Textiles. Already in Sâsnâid times, local silk and cotton provided the yarn for goods appreciated well beyond the area. Early after the Islamic conquest, tributes of garments were sent to Baghdad from Khurâsân. The dirâz [q.v.] factories of Nîshâpur and especially Marw produced very soft cotton fabrics as well as sbrîjum and jazî silk. The only surviving silk from this period is the remarkable compound twill known as the shroud of Saint Josse [see harîs]. Its inscription reads "izzi wa-ikbâl li 'l 'arb'd Abû Mansûr Bahk-

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decor; there are no shapes nor designs recalling Chinese originals. Third, strong echoes of... in Tashkent. A small number of single-domed tombs in baked brick illustrate the possible evolution of such construe-

designs ranging from stripes, triple dots, dotted circles earlier times in a society becoming more and more in Egyptian lustreware. Communities of Nestorians and Syriacs still existed, as did also Manichaeans and Buddhists, the latter manifest in the overall pattern of a lotus base inside dishes. And fifth, paintings of Buddhists, the latter manifest in the overall pattern of... (b) Architecture. The dearth of 4th/10th-century surviving monuments underlines the attitude of later Islamic rulers to the buildings of previous dynasties. Mud brick is still the basic building material in the area. Remains of impressive walls with an outward corrugated surface, visible in Marw, suggest the importance of main towns and the need to protect them, though in the capital Bukhârâ, the Rîgîstân, a large square, lay outside the pre-Islamic town, surrounded by ten divânās to the west of the well-fortified citadel. Stucco remains from palaces and affluent houses still have traces of painting. Large bazars sheltered commerce and industry. Towards the end of the Sâmnâid period, the town proper, unable to absorb the growing population, had become an unpleasant maze of filthy streets. Traces of early caravanserais survive along the trade routes and by the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

After the Muslim conquest, baked brick, seemingly a Mesopotamian tradition, was preferred to mud brick for mosques, tombs and important civic buildings. Yet in such buildings as the Nuh Gunbad ("nine domes") mosque in Balgh, while the structural elements including the six massive columns (1.56 m in diameter) were of baked brick, the walls were still made of mud brick. The almost square structure (20 m²), open on one side opposite the kibla wall, is entirely plastered and decorated with carved stucco. Spacious grid systems enclose palmettes, leaves, cones and buds not unlike those in Nîshâpur, Aftasîyab or Sayad near Dughânbe, but in a more attractive manner than in the possibly contemporary mosque of Nâ'în [q.v.] in Persia. In the Deggaron mosque of Hazârâ near Bukhârâ two series of three domes cover the building, the kibla domes being higher than the three others. Inside, the columns are less squat and the intrados of the arches broadly pleated; the domes sit on pendentes. The great mosque in Khiwa echoes the other older tradition of an hypostyle hall with wooden columns and carved capitals, four of which have early inscriptions. More wooden carvings have survived in the shape of a cusped-headed mihrâb from Iskandarabad in the Zarafshan valley, now in the Dughânbe Museum, and a capital from the mosque in Obburdan, now in Taghstân.

A small number of single-domed tombs in baked brick illustrate the possible evolution of such construc-
tions: the so-called tomb of the Samanids in Bukhāra, a domed square with four entrances, patterned brickwork and corner arches, and the ʿArab-Ata mausoleum in Tim, dated 367/977, with only one entrance and an open arcaded façade, complete with brickwork and corner arches in smoother patterns. If the inscription of the Shīr Kabīr mausoleum at Maḥḥad-i Miṣṭiān in Dihistān allows for a late 4th/10th century dating, then part of its zone of transition with its four receding arches could be later than its carved muhrab and niche. Finally, with the restored Mir Sayyid Bahram mausoleum at Kana ṭīn, between Samarkand and Bukhāra, appears an early suggestion of a pishtāq [q.v.] or raised portal; it emphasises the doorway with a design of arches and frames. By the end of the period, baked brick with its new building possibilities, has asserted itself.


**SAMANNŪD.** A town of the Delta in Egypt, in the Ghharbiyya province and on the western bank of the Nile (Dimyān/Damietta branch), 8 km/5 miles east of the town of al-Mahalla al-Ḳubrā [q.v.]. It is an old town, with the name in ancient Egyptian of Ṭab nutir, i.e. holy place. Greek documents call it Σαμαννοῦ, whence the Arabic name, and in Coptic it was known as Σαμάνη (Djemnuit).

Samanṇūd had a very ancient Christian tradition. Athanasius states that the town had a Melkite bishop in 352 and that the town's name often figures in the old martyrological literature. We know e.g. that the martyr St. Anub passed through Samanṇūd when coming from Atrib, where he had found the town's churches destroyed and a temple built in their place. In the 14th century, when the Synaxarion had already been put together, the body of Anub was at Samanṇūd, and there has always been a church in the town dedicated to St. Anub.

Arabic geographers like Ibn Khurraladhībih and al-Yaḳūbī mention the town in the 3rd/8th century, and in the 6th/12th century al-Idrīsī describes its lively commercial activity. From the Fāṭimid period, and after Badr al-Djamall’s administrative reorganisation, an independent province called al-Samannūdiyya was set up.

In modern times, an administrative district was set up in 1826 called the ism of Samannūd, with its chef-lieu in the town, and after 1867 it was styled the markaz of Samannūd. In 1882 this last was, however, abolished and the district and its administration transferred to al-Mahalla al-Ḳubrā. In 1928 it was re-established, and then, because of struggles between political parties, it was abolished three times in less than 7 years until it was definitively re-established in 1935, with the town of Samannūd as chef-lieu of the district.


**SAMARITANS** [see al-samīra].

**SAMARKAND, an ancient city of Transoxania, the Arabic Maš warāʾ al-Nahr [q.v.], situated on the southern bank of the Zarafshān river or Nahr Șughd. In early Islamic times it was the first city of the region in extent and populousness, even when, as under the Sāmānids (3rd-/4th-9th/10th centuries [q.v.]), Bukhārā [q.v.] was the administrative capital.** Samarkand’s eminence arose from its position at the intersection of trade routes from India and Afghanistan via Balkh and Tirmidh [q.v.] and from Persia via Marw [see Maw al-Mawāmid] which then led northwards and eastwards into the Turkish steps and along the Silk Road to eastern Turkestan and China; but above all it flourished because of the great fertility of the surrounding district of Soghdia or Șughd [q.v.], the highly-irrigated basin of the Zarafshān which could support a dense agricultural population (see Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol invasion*, i 83 f.).

1. History

   The city—the second part of the name of which contains the Eastern Iranian word for “town”, kand, frequent in Eastern Iranian place-names (cf.
1. Slip-painted dish, W: 46.8 cm, H: 6 cm. 52.11. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.


Buddhist-Soghdian kand-, Christian Soghd. kanth), while the first part has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cf. the attempts by Tomasech, Centralasiatische Studien, i, Soghdiana, in SB Ak. Wien, lxviii [1887], cf. 297 ff.) led to the first finds while Arab legends of Alexander's campaigns in the east as Maracanda, Maroqadda, whose site at Tepe Afrasiyab yielded it Hellenistic archaeological evidence (see P. Bernard, Alexandre et l'Asie Centrale, in St. Jr., xix [1990], 29-32). Arrian (iii, 30) calls it βασιλεία τῆς Σογδιαίων χωρῶν. Alexander occupied it several times during the fighting with Spitamenes and, according to Strabo (xi, 4).), led to the first finds while Arab legends make him, as well as the Tubba' [q.v.] king Shâmir Yur'ish, founder of the city). Under the Diadochi—after the partition of 323 BC—as the capital of Sogdiana, it belonged to the satrapy of Bactria and was lost to the Seleucids with Bactria when Diodotus declared himself independent and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was founded during the reign of Antiochus II. The Harding, it was exposed to the attacks of the northern barbarians (cf. PW, xiv/2, art. Marakan-da, cols. 1421-2). From this time up to the Muslim conquest it remained historically and economically separated from Persia, although cultural intercourse with Western lands continued. (On the settlement of Manichaean in Samarkand, cf. J. Marquart, Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften, in WZKM, xii [1890], 165; the attempts made by E. West to refer the Sin in Sogdian in the Budzhishin and Bahmaniyaht to Samarkand are very unsatisfactory.) The only positive information is given by Chinese imperial historians and travellers (of which the former are unfortunately for the most part only available in obsolete translations). From the Han period the kingdom of K'ang-Ku is mentioned, whose chief territory, K'ang, is definitely identified in the Tang Annals with Sa-mo-kiian = Samarkand (cf. the passages in C. Ritter, Erdkunde, vii, 6’ 57 ff.). According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in 437 AD (cf. F. Hirth, in Marquart, Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften, Leipzig 1898, 65-6), the Cau-wu dynasty related to the Yüe-či (Kuqhan) had been reigning here since before the Christian era. Hüen-tang visited Sa-mo-kian in 630 AD and briefly describes it (St. Julien, Memoires sur les contrées Occidentales, i, Paris 1857, 18-26; S. Beal, Shi-yu-ki, Buddhist Records, i, 1884, 32-3, with valuable bibliographical note on p. 101).

The Muslim Arabs do not appear for certain in the affairs of Samarkand until the time of the governor of Khurāsān Kutabay b. Muslim [q.v.], the alleged tomb at Afrasiyab of the Śah-i Zinda, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin Kutham b. al-Abbas [q.v.], who was supposed to have been in Samarkand in 56/676 (cf. Barthold, Turkestän, 91-2), must have appeared later as part of a family cult inaugurated by the 'Abbāsid after they came to power in 132/750, possibly adapting a pre-Islamic cult on this site. The Iranian ruler Hārūn-ar-Rashid to have restored it after it had fallen into decay (al-Ya'qubi, Buldan, 293, tr. Wiet, 110). The rebel against the central government Rāfic b. al-Layth [q.v.] began his outbreak in Samarkand in 190/806 by killing the governor there and seizing the city, holding it until he surrendered to al-Ma'mūn in 193/809 (al-Tabari, iii, 80, tr. J.A. Williams, Albany 1985, 203), and Hārūn-ar-Rashid to have restored it after it had fallen into decay (al-Ya'qubi, Buldan, 293, tr. Wiet, 110). The rebellion against the central government Rāfic b. al-Layth [q.v.] began his outbreak in Samarkand in 190/806 by killing the governor there and seizing the city, holding it until he surrendered to al-Ma'mūn in 193/809 (al-Tabari, iii, 707-8, tr. E. Bosworth, Albany 1989, 259-61). It is also from the early 'Abbāsid period that we have the first Islamic coins issued from Samarkand, beginning with issues of 142-4759-82 (E. von Zambaur, Die Münzprägungen des Islam, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 148-9).

At the command of al-Ma'mūn, the governor of
Khurāsān Ghassān b. Abbād in ca. 204/819 allotted to the four sons of Asad b. Sāmān-Khudā various cities of Transoxiana and eastern Khurāsān as governorships, and Nūh received Samarkand. On his death in 217/832 the city reverted to Bukhārā and was then re-taken by the control of his brother Ahmad (d. 250/864), whose copper fulās were struck there from 244/858 onwards. With the collapse of Tahirid authority in Khurāsān under Saffārid attacks, Naṣr b. Abbād found himself virtually independent ruler of Transoxiana with his capital at Samarkand. However, his brother and eventual vanquisher Ismāʿīl, progenitor of all the future Samanid dynasty, was not yet to arrive. Kāthulī, laqṭīf al-maʿārif, ed. al-Abāyīrī and al-Safāyī, 218, tr. Bosworth, The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information, Edinburgh 1968, 140; and see kāhmad). It was, moreover, a centre for scholarship. The great Ḥanāfī theologian al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 335/944 [q. v.]) stemmed from the Māturīd quarter of Samarkand, his tomb in the city being still shown in the 9th/15th century, and another Hanafī theologian Arabic by the famous theologian Abu Ḥafs Umar b. Thālībī, lāqīf al-maʿārif, ed. al-Abâyirī and al-Safrī, 218, tr. Bosworth, The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information, Edinburgh 1968, 140; and see kāhmad). It was, moreover, a centre for scholarship. The great Ḥanāfī theologian al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 335/944 [q. v.]) stemmed from the Māturīd quarter of Samarkand, his tomb in the city being still shown in the 9th/15th century, and another Hanafī theologian and Kurān commentator was Abu ʿl-Layth al-Samarkandī (d. towards the end of the 4th/10th century [q. v.]). Unfortunately, the local history written in Arabic by the famous theologian Abū Ḥafs Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasāfī (d. 357/1162-3 [q. v.]), the Kitāb al-Kandī maʿrifat ʿulamdī Samarkand, which dealt with the shrines and graves of local scholars and also with some of the city's historical events, has come down to us only in an abridgement of a Persian translation (see Storey, i, 371; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1112-15; Barthold, Turkestan, 15-16).

It is to the heyday of the Sāmānids, the 4th/10th century, that the descriptions of Samarkand by the geographers al-İstakhri, Ibn Hawkal, al-Mukāddasī and the author of the Ḥudud al-ʿtlām refer. They show that Samarkand was a typical triple citadel formation of Iranian towns: a citadel (kuhandīz, arabicized kuhandīz or translated kaʿba), the town proper (gāhristān, gāhristān, madīna) and suburbs (rabād). The three parts are here given in order from south to north. The citadel lay south of the town on an elevated site; it contained the administrative offices (dar al-ınāma) and the prison (kaʿba). The halves, on which the houses were built of clay and wood (cf. E. Herzfeld, in Islam, xi, 162, and E. Diez, Persien, i (Kulturen der Erde, xx, Hagen-Darmstadt 1923), 20), was also on a hill. A deep ditch (kbondak) had been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town was supplied with running water, which was brought from the south to the central square of the town called Raʾs al-Ţab as an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes?), running underground. It seems to have dated from the pre-Islamic period as its supervision, as is expressively stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct made possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town had four main gates; to the east, the Bāb al-Sin, a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade; to the north, the Bāb Bukhārā; to the west, the Bāb al-Nawwābah, which name, as in Bukhārā and Bāb Khākh, points to a (Buddhist) monastery; and to the south, the Bāb al-Kabīr or Bāb Qīṣāh (bāb stands for the Persian darvāza). The lowering-lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the Zaraftūn and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself. The government offices of the Sāmānids and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. See al-İstakhri, 316-23; Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, 491-501, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 472-9; al-Mukaddasī, 278-9; Ḥudud al-ʿtlām, loc. cit.; al-İstakhri, Lāqīf al-maʿārif, 217-19; tr. Bosworth, The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information, Edinburgh 1968, 140-1; Yākit, Buldūn, ed. Beitr, iii, 246-50; al-Kazwīnī, ʿAṭār al-bilād, 395 ff.; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern caliphate, 460, 463-6.

Samarkand was, together with Bukhārā, occupied by the incoming Kārkhāndīs in 382/992, and with the defeat of the last Sāmānī, İsmāʿīl b. Nūḥ al-Muntazīr [q. v.], in 394/1004, passed definitively under Turkish control. In the second quarter of the 5th/11th century it became, under ʿAlī b. Hārūn Boghra Khân, called ʿAlītīgin [q. v.], and then under the parallel line of the descendants of the Ilī Naṣr, the eventual capital of the western khānate of the Kārkhāndīs, covering Transoxiana and western Farghāna [see tīlī ḳīrās]. With such rulers as Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghā Khān İbrahim, Samarkand became in the later 5th/11th century a splendid cultural and artistic centre. The city also became a regular mint centre for the Kārkhāndīs. But after the battle of the Katwān Steppe in 536/1141, when the Seldjuk sultan Sāntār [q. v.] and his vassal Mḥmūd b. Muḥammad Khān were decisively defeated by the pagan Kara Khitāy [q. v.], Samarkand and Bukhārā became the centre of a reduced Kārkhāndī principality under Kara Khitāy overlordship. It nevertheless continued to flourish commercially, and in ca. 1170 the Spanish Jew writer Benjamin of Tudela visited Samarkand and allegedly found there 50,000 Jews (M.N. Adler, The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, London 1907, 59. The last Kārkhāndī in Samarkand, ʿUḥmān Khān b. İbrahim, was executed by the Khārāz̄am-Shāh ʿAlī al-Dīn Muḥammad [q. v.] in 608/1212, and the city occupied by the Khārāz̄am-Shāhs. Later, the Mongols of Ğingiz Khān [q. v.] reached Transoxiana, and after conquering Bukhārā in 616/1220, they arrived at Samarkand, the concentration-point for the Khārāz̄am-Shāh’s forces, in the spring of 617/1220. The city fell after a five days’ siege (Rabiʿ I 617/May 1220, or possibly Muharram 617/March 1220). After it had been devastated, some of the citizens were allowed by the Mongols to return after payment of a ransom of 200,000 dinārs (Djouwaynī-Boyle, i, 115-22; Barthold, Turkestan, 411-14).

For the next century-and-a-half, Samarkand was only a shadow of its former self. The Taʾistit hermit Chʿang-chʿun (travelled in Western Asia 1221-4) states that there were 100,000 families in the city before the Mongol sacking, but only a quarter of these remained in Shī-]%ī-se-kan after that (E. Bretschneider, Mediæval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, London 1910, i, 76-9; on the form Shī-]%ī-se-kan, cf. the Latin travellers’ Semiscant and Clavijo’s Cimesquinte, Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the way thither, iii, 39). In the mid-8th/4th century, Ibn Battūta found the population much reduced, and the city ruinous and without a wall (Rihla, ii, 51-2; Gībī, ii, 367-9).

The revival of the town’s prosperity began when Timur [q. v.] after about 771/1369 became supreme in
Transoxania and chose Samarkand as the capital of his continually-increasing kingdom, and began to adorn it with all splendour. In 808/1405 the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (see B. de Herrera, Spanish-Russ. encl. his itinerary by I.S. Sreznevskiy in the Shornik otd. Russk. Yz., xxviii [1881], 325 ff.; Eng. tr. Le Strange, *Narrative of the Spanish embassy ...* 1403-1406, London 1928). He gives Cinesifonda as the native name of the town, which he explains as *aldea gruesa* “large (lit. thick) village”; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *šimţ* “thick”. The Bavarian soldier Johann Schiltberger seems also to have been in Samarkand at this time (Reisebuch, Stuttgart 1885, 61, Eng. tr. J.B. Teller, London 1879). Timur’s grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) *q.v.*) embellished the city with his palace Çihâl Sutun and built his famous astronomical observatory there; on him, see W. Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii. Leiden 1958. A very full description of the city in Timur’s day, which may just be described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bâbur (*Bâbur-nâma*, ed. Ilminski, 55 ff.; ed. Beveridge, 54 ff.; French tr. Pavet de Courtelie, i, 96 ff.; Eng. tr. Beveridge, 74-86; Çaghatay (in transl.) and Persian ed. and tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1993, 90 ff.), who captured Samarkand for the first time in 903/1497 and held it for some months. In 906/1500 it was occupied by his rival, the Ozbeg Shxbâni Khân. After his death, Bâbur, in alliance with the Shxbâni Şafawid Ismâ’îl Shâh, succeeded in 916/1510 in once more victoriously invading Transoxania and occupying Samarkand, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Ozbeg. Under the latter, Samarkand was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhârâ.

During the 18th century, Samarkand fell into severe economic decline and in the middle years of that century was virtually uninhabited. However, when the extension of Russian Imperial power into Central Asia accelerated in the later 19th century, Samarkand was occupied by Russian troops under General K. Kauzen in November 1868 and a treaty of vassalage imposed on the amir of Bukhârâ, within whose territories Samarkand had fallen. The city was now detached from the Turkestan Autonomous SSR in 1930. Since 1990 it has come by Tashkent [q.v.] to the wakf of the Shâh-i Zinda “the living prince”, which Samarkand was at first the capital but replaced of those making up the Turkestan Autonomous SSR in 1918, and then in 1924, part of the Uzbek SSR, of which Samarkand was at first the capital but replaced by Tashkent [q.v.] in 1950. Since 1990 it has come within the Uzbekistan Republic. The modern city (Lat. 39° 40’ N., long. 66° 58’ E., altitude 710 m, 2,330 feet), an important centre for the processing of foodstuffs and for industry, had in 1970 a population of 257,000 (see BSE*, xxii, cols. 1571-7).


2. Architecture.

Archaeologists refer to the ruins of Samarkand as Afrasiyâb after the destruction of the town by Chingiz Khân [q.v.] in 617/1220. A museum on the site preserves fragments of stucco ornament and ceramics (see Sâmanids. 2). Thereafter, under Timur and his successors, the earlier southern suburbs of the town became the new Samarkand with its striking ceramic revetment and typical modular architecture. The shrine of Kuţham b. al-‘Abbâs [q.v.] known as the Shâh-i Zinda “the living prince”, had survived on the southern slopes of Afrasiyâb. Recent excavations, particularly those directed by N.B. Nemtseev in 1962, have revealed the base of a 5th/11th-century minaret in the north-west corner of the shrine as well as an earlier mausoleum, the underground mosque and a semi-underground chamber, all reflected in the later renovations. The south-eastern corner of a madrasa, possibly a funerary construction, was excavated to the west and opposite the shrine, if a *wâqf* of the Karâkhânid İbrâhîm b. Nasr Tamghâe Bughra Khân dated Radjab 458/June 1066, relates to it.

The Shâh-i Zinda ensemble. Cemeteries developed around shrines of holy men. Here mausolea are like scattered jewels with the shimmering of their blue-turquoise tile glazing enhanced with bichrome bands in white and black or turquoise. A series of tombs, with portal and domed room, lines an ancient north-south alley, while the shrine itself stands at its top northern end. Its lower section, off-centred to the east, overrides the old walls of Afrasiyâb. The two main 9th/15th century *lahâr ftaks* emphasise the entrance to the shrine (CT1) and the lower southern monumental entrance (CT2) to the whole alley; a subsidiary one (CT3), late 18th century, stands at the top of steps. Its southern face (CT1) carries remains of ten-pointed star vertical panels in tile mosaic which include hexagonal terra cotta elements around the stars.

1. The shrine, entered through delicately carved wooden doors (806/1403-4), consists of (a) a mausoleum *gir-khâna*, (b) a *ziyârdât-khâna* (735/1334-5), (c) a *masjid* (15th century), (d) a minaret (11th century), (e) an *ambulatory/miyaân-khâna*. The original mausoleum with its tiled *muqarnas* and dome in blue and turquoise, was in (b). The *masjid* stands over the older one, the *mihrab* inscription in tile mosaic, quotes surâ II, 139.

2. At the southern end of the ensemble, the monumental entrance with *hasârâh*, “a thousand weave” decoration, is dedicated to Ulugh Beg’s son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz (838/1434-5), and leads into the *lahâr ftak* (CT2). On its west side, a doorway opens into a contemporary mosque. The east door leads into a later *madrasa* (1225/1812-13).

3. An excavated anonymous mausoleum, 17th/13th century. The mausoleum of Khâdîja Aḥmad (1350s) remains the only surviving building to recall the older east-west road of the ensemble; it is “The work of Fakr [b.] Âlî”, and a variety of deep moulded glazed tiles enhance the portal: a band of calligraphy in white against a turquoise scroll, a frame of underglaze black painted star tiles with a turquoise glaze and a granîk, a “knot” decoration, in turquoise and unglazed terra cotta in the tympanum.

5. A mausoleum for an anonymous lady, earlier
The Shah-i Zinda, after Rogers.

known as ʿArab Shāh, perhaps one of Timur's first wives, Kutlug Aka (13 Safar 762/12 December 1361). A restored plinth and two steps under the portal lead into the mausoleum. There are similar colour harmonies and moulded glazed tiles, inside and outside tiled mukarnas, as in 4.

6. a.b.c.d. Excavated mausolea dating to the 1360s.

7. The mausoleum of Shād-i Mulk Aka (who died on 20 Djamādā II 773/29 December 1371) was built by her mother Turkan Aka (died 785/1383), Timur's elder sister. The calligraphy of the portal in Arabic refers to the building and the daughter, the Persian below the mukarnas praises the building. The Persian around the door frame mentions the "pearl" buried within. Three craftsmen have left their signatures, with unclear nisbas: Birr al-Din, Shams al-Din and Zayn al-Din. Here is to be seen the best-preserved tile decoration of the ensemble. The restored portal over the entrance was originally higher. Eight frames arise from a plinth of three square ornate panels; they are hemmed in on either side by deeply carved turquoise engaged columns. Two of the frames are larger, with calligraphic and star patterns enclosed in a risen border. Underglazed painted tiles of irregular shapes, in delicate turquoise and white on blue, fill the spandrels with leafy lotuses around a raised roundel. These tiles are also used for the large frame inscription and around the four carved and glazed panels of the inner portal containing a lotus-filled mīhrāb and an upper roundel. The mukarnas of the portal are echoed in those of the chamber, which measures about 42 m² and is all glazed with lotuses and leaves, small girākhās and mīhrābs; large roundels almost fill the tiled wall panels, three aside. Eight black and white ribbed panels, each containing a "tear-drop" motif, meet at the apex of the inner dome in an eight-pointed star. A feeling of lightness emanates from the decoration despite its dense patterning.

8. Only the portal remains of the mausoleum of Amir Husayn/Tughlūk Tekin, who died in 777/1376; he was one of Timur's generals. The vault goes back to the 6th/12th century.

9. The Amir-zade mausoleum, 788/1386, stands east of an earlier crypt and on the south side of 7. In a similar manner, two frames filled with turquoise moulded rosettes and calligraphic haft rang [q.v.] tiles, are enclosed in risen borders, the lower part being two haft rang tile panels. The slightly recessed entrance is three-quarters framed by a band of square tiles with moulded square Kufic (Muhammad and ʿAlī) based on minute lozenges of terra cotta, possibly gold originally, with a red dot or glazed in blue with turquoise and blue in fill, above it, a tympanum of hexagonal star-filled tiles encompasses two central panels in haft rang tiles. A ribbed inner single shell dome over a plain chamber over 38 m² was plastered in the 19th century.

10. An excavated mausoleum, late 8th/14th century.

11. The mausoleum is the work of Ustad ʿAlim-i Nasafi in the 1380s, with turquoise glazed plugs in its south brick wall; there is no trace of the outer dome, only a 16-sided drum of hazārhāf panels in black and turquoise. The ceramic programme is a mixture of old and new techniques and designs. The vertical panels of the portal strapwork recall the design on the base of the Djām minaret [q.v.], sūra CIX, 1; CXII; and CXIV, 2-3. The panels and stars within also contain glazed moulded Kufic inscriptions, mostly in white on a blue ground. Large floral haft rang tiles make up the inner panels and the corner engaged columns; yellow, pale green and light brown for red, now add to the general turquoise impression. A splendid turquoise girākh punctuates the border of the right outer wall. Rectangular panels filled with hexagonal tiles cover the walls of the shrine, and corner arches with mukarnas lead to a dome covered in strapwork girākh filled with the same hexagonal tiles, all of which create a suffused turquoise vision.

12. The mausoleum known as that of Ulugh Sultan Begum, was built in the 1380s over part of the 5th/11th century madrasa. A roofless portal survives with lāğıward (dark blue) tile panels, and framed and moulded turquoise glazed narrow girākh containing small lāğıward tiles. A combination of calligraphic tiles in gold and white against a leafy scroll survives on the front. The red cinnabar, now visible, was originally hidden by the gold leaf décor. The use of dark blue
and gold, recalling Chinese textiles, appears here for the last time.

13. The mausoleum of “Amir Burunduk”, dated to the end of 8th/14th century, adjoins the Tuman Aka complex to the south. Only the right side of the portal remains with its hazarhāf pattern. Nine burials were found in the crypt, as well as some textiles.

14. “This is the tomb of the great and noble queen, Shirin Bika Aka, daughter of Taraghay, 787/1385-6” [4]. Taraghay was the sister of Timur. The mausoleum has the earliest double-shell dome with an outer bold hazarhāf pattern and remains of tile mosaic panels on the drum. The higher than usual portal, ca. 11 m, is decorated with a dense composition of calligraphic bands, arabesques and stylised flowers.

Blue remains the dominant colour, with added turquoise and white, and a touch of light brown. The 36 m² mausoleum rises to a total height of about 18 m. The dado is tiled with hexagonal green tiles with gold cranes in flight inspired by contemporary Chinese textiles. The rest is painted plaster with elongatedinar patterns filled with vegetal or stylised leave patterns.

15. The mausoleum with two hazarhāf walls and a tiled double dome ca. 15 m high, is attributed to Tūmān Aka (908/1405-6); set next to the undated mausoleum of Timur in the same lot. The tomb of Amīr Abū Sa‘īd Mahdī b. Haydār dated 733/1332-3 or 833/1429-30. Tile mosaics decorate the three entrances with blue and some black ground. In the inner entrance to the mosque, the ten-pointed star pattern meshes with a blue girih. This girih is lined in white, a well-known device of carpet designers when a motif requires enhancing. Other colours are green, light brown, turquoise and plain terra cotta. Intricate plaster mukarnas lead to the painted dome.

16. a.b.c.d.e. These excavated mausolea overlook the east-west road.

17. This octagonal mausoleum, with arch openings on all sides and crude hazarhāf décor, is dated to around 1440. It would have had a double dome. Remains of a plaster painted inscription can still be seen on the inside of the octagon ( sûra II, 256).

18. A 9th/15th-century excavated burial vault is sited west of 12.

19. The two turquoise tiled double-domed buildings of the so-called Kāḏī-zāde Rūmī mausoleum, built in the 1420s, stand out from afar with their larger part rising to 23 m. Hazarhāf patterns animate both drums, with a lādār inscription on the larger one. More patterning would have covered the south portal. Chambers were excavated to the west and east. The zone of transition and dome of the tomb chamber, almost 10 m², consist of elaborate plaster mukarnas; the crypt contained remains of a female in her mid-thirties. This is the only building in the ensemble with a feeling of space, partly due to unpatterned plain walls or dados of unglazed hexagonal tiles framed by blue glazed strips.

The mosque of Ḥadrat Khiḍr. Its name recalls the saint-protector of travellers and master of the water of life, Khiḍr [q.v.]. On the south slope of Afrāsīyāb, this summer mosque, with its wooden columns, overlooks the site of the Iron Gate and the road to Tashkent. Built in the 19th century with two small minarets and a squat dome on foundations going back to Soghdian times, it was restored in 1915 by ‘Abd al-Kāḏīr Bakiev.

Little remains of the citadel in the western part of the town. It contained the usual administrative buildings, the treasury, the armoury, the Cīhil Sūṭūn, the Gök Saray, and the palace with the Gök-Tash, a carved grey marble monolith which was used as a ceremonial throne.

Rūhābād, “The abode of the soul”, in mid-town. The shrine of Būrrān al-Dīn Saghārdji was built in the late 8th/14th century over the tomb of the gūykh, whose body was brought back from China by his son Abu Sa‘īd. The massive plain square tomb chamber is crowned by a dome on an octagonal zone of transition. Its dado consists of unglazed octagonal tiles separated by glazed black strips.

The mausoleum of Saray Mulk Khānūm is late 8th/14th century and possibly part of a madrasa. Its vanished portal briefly ralled that of Timur’s Masjid-i Djami 200 m away. The inner dome has gone; the semi-basement crypt in brick is cruciform like the main chamber. Despite its ruinous condition, a variety of tiles and paintings have survived.

The vast Masjd-i Djami is known as Bīb Khānūm (801-8/1398-1405) was started on Timur’s return from India; 95 elephants for the carrying of quarried stones were added to an immense task force. Its sahn measures 87 m by 63 m and the four L-shaped halls, with 480 columns, are linked by four portals, one of which, the entrance pīškāb [q. v.], rises to 41 m. At the opposite end of the sahn stands the mīrāb domed chamber in India the two lateral minor domed chambers were built between extra minarets. Built too fast, with a minaret at all four corners, the mosque soon began to deteriorate and was superseded in the 11th/17th century by the Tilla Kārī mosque on the Rigštān (see below). The 1897 earthquake hastened the collapse of the domes, but restoration work on a long-term basis was started in the 1970s.

Parts of the tile programme of the mosque were determined by its large size and recall that of the slightly earlier gateway to the Aḵ Saray in Shahri Sarb and the contemporary shrine of Khānūn Aḥmad Yasa‘ī in Turkestan. Large-scale hazarhāf patterns, with a dominant of turquoise, cover most parts of the surviving monument; six-sided haft rang tiles still fill the space of some spandrels, and complex tile shapes including twelve-sided ones, decorate part of the mīrāb dome. The restored portal as well as the plinth and dados of the main entrance are of carved stone. After the earthquake of 1875, the monumental Kūrān stand of carved marble was moved out into the sahn.

The madrasa and khānakh of Muḥammad Sulṭān and the Gūr-i Mīr. The remains of the madrasa and khānakh, on either side of a courtyard, were probably completed in 1401/1404 by Muḥammad Sulṭān, Timūr’s favourite grandson. After his death in Anatolia in 805/1403, Timūr had an octagonal mausoleum built for his remains, on the south side, known as the Gūr-i Mīr, “the World Master”. Its turquoise melon-shaped double dome soars to a height of 37 m. A gigantic Kūfī inscription “God is eternal” runs round the drum. Timūr was buried here in 807/1405 as well as later Timurids. Ulugh Beg added an eastern gallery to the mausoleum in 827/1424. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bānā‘ī al-Isfahānī signed a concluding portal in 837/1434. An unfinished 11th/17th-century iwān still stands on the west side. The last standing minaret collapsed in 1903.

The inner room of the mausoleum, about 100 m², with its high cupola, has painted pendentes with gold leaf decoration; its dado, in onyx and further gaudy restoration in blue and gold, contrast with the dark nephrite of Timur’s cenotaph. The stone was brought by Ulugh Beg from Inner Asia in 828/1425
and is inscribed with Timūr’s genealogy. This and other cenotaphs are surrounded by a delicately-carved large patterns of the pishtak vary from enhanced square Kufic to bursting star motifs.

On the opposite side of the square, the master-builder ʿAbd al-Dżabbar built the Shīr Dör madrasa under İmām Kull of the Dżānids from 1028/1619 to 1045/1636. It is a fine example of the Ulugh Beg madrasa, despite the lions in the spandrels of the entrance pishtak, the melon-shaped domes and minarets on either side, and the lavish use of tile mosaics. The whole building, without a mosque, is slightly smaller than the Ulugh Beg madrasa although the imposing courtyard is bigger and allows two levels of blind arcades with rooms around it.

To its north-eastern side stands the polygonal Čahār Su built with bricks from the Bībī Khānum mosque at the end of the 18th century under Murād Khān of Buḫḥārā. This bazaar crossroad was famous for its hatmakers.

A short distance to the north-west of it has been re-erected in the 1880s the grey marble platform of the Shībānī dynasty with 31 inscribed tombstones. Between the two madrasas of the Rīgīsīn stands the Tīlkari “adorned with gold” madrasa (1066-70 1646-60). It is also a Dżānīd construction and combines the functions of a theological college and a masjīd-i ʿāmī. The mosque on its west side replaced the crumbling Bībī Khānum. The recent and lavish restoration has included the rebuilding of a new turquoise dome over the miḥrāb.

The observatory of Ulugh Beg, ʿAbd al-Rażāż al-Samarkandi records under the year 823/1420 the construction of the circular building 48 m wide, decorated with glazed bricks, and sited to the north-east of the town on the side of a rocky hill. Recent excavations have revealed at the centre of the inner hexagonal shape a deep stepped trench marked in degrees which was part of the gigantic sextant used for recording the movements of the planets and the stars. Contemporary texts mention shallow inner galleries on two floors above the ground floor service area, possibly painted with maps and charts if not decorative subjects. In the central area, and perpendicular to the wall of the sextant, stood a solar clock in the shape of a concave profile wall which would show up the shadow of the sextant.

The shrine of Čuptan Ata stands on the same hill as the observatory but farther to the east. It is a rather coarse-ly-shaped mausoleum with a tombstone in a 16 m² chamber without a grave below. The very high drum has chamfered sides with monumental Kūfic inscriptions in tiles. It could have been a place of popular pilgrimage in the 9th/15th century.

The mausoleum of the Ṭharrat khānā “The house of happiness” was built by Habība Sultan Begum, wife of Sultan Abū Saʿīd, as a mausoleum for a daughter, and is dated by its waqf to 869/1464. There are about 20 tomstones in the crypt. The double dome and high drum collapsed in 1903. The middle of the 28 m-long façade is dominated by a high pishtak which opens into the 64 m² tomb chamber; on both sides of it and beyond its four corners, steps lead to the next floor and its various rooms. The western side of the ground floor contains a mosque. All ten types of vaulting are elaborate systems of arch nets with flat profiles. What survives of the hażrābī decoration on the outer walls shows more restraint than earlier Timūrid architecture. A few haft rang stars and bands survive near the entrance. Inside, traces of blue and ochre painting of stylized vegetal motifs recall some of the painting in the mausoleum of Gawhar Shād in Ḥārāt. No gold now remains visible. Polychrome glass from the window was recovered in the excavations.

The ʿAbdī Dārūn “inside” ensemble was built in the 1440s to the south-east of the city near the Ṭharrat khānā. The mausoleum with its conical roof is set on foundations possibly going back to Sultan San-djar; with its adjacent chambers, it stands beyond the ḡānakāh which is domed by a large octagonal pool at the top of a long alleyway. On its eastern side was built a later wood-columned mosque as well as a madrasa south of it. The drum of the double-domed khānakāh has a bold Kūfic inscription; some tile mosaics survive within it. Mūṣizz al-Dīn b. Muḥam-mad Yaʿṣīk b. ʿAbdī, a descendant of the caliph ʿUīghmān, was supposedly a kādī in the Samarkand of the 3rd/9th century.

The Ak Saray mausoleum. This now stands on its own to the south of the Gū́rī Mīr, an unfinished brick structure built in the 1470s, with plain walls and no outer dome. The portal rises to 19 m and leads into a cruciform dome chamber with a dado of polychrome tile mosaics with gold. Some painting with gilding survives in the vaulting. A headless skeleton was excavated in the crypt. Later Timūrīds could have been buried in the ūsūlīs behind it.

The Khāna Aḥrār ensemble. South of the town, the outdoor tomb of the powerful leader of the Nakhshbandiya order Khāna ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, known as Khāna Aḥrār [q. v. in Suppl.], who died in 896/1490, lies under a platform of grey and black marble which carries sixteen richly carved tombstones and is surrounded by a wall. A summer mosque looks over the square which lies to the west; on the north side stands the recently restored Nādir Dīwān Beg Madrasa (1630-5), with its mosque probably built earlier. The decoration on the entrance portal with tiger and gazelle in spandrels, and the pishtak in front of the domed miḥrāb chamber, vaguely echo Timūrid tile mosaics and calligraphic tiles.

The Namāz-gāh mosque stands in the north-western part of Samarkand and was built by Nādir Dīwān Beg around 1040/1630. A pishtak rises in front of a domed chamber between two groups of three blind arches. The baked brick surface shows no sign of surviving decoration.

Up to the building of the railway, there used to be on the left bank of the Zaraṣhān two large brick arches set at an angle to each other. One has since collapsed. They are said to have been part of a greater structure built under the Shībānīs to offset the current of the river during the spring high waters.

Although no gardens survive from the Timūrid
and which became the subject of numerous commentaries (see Hāджī Khālīfa, Kāṣf al-zunun, Istanbul 1951-3, i, 39). Unlike prior authors who had limited themselves exclusively to disputation in either theology or law under the rubric of ḍādāl, ḍādāl or munāzara [i.e.,] al-Samarkandi presented the first treatise applicable to any subject area—philosophy, law, and—thus the first attempt at a universal theory of disputation, referred to by his successors as simply the ʿaddāb al-baḥbḥ. The work is divided into three parts. The first gives definitions of technical terms such as munāzara, ḍādāl, amrān and ṣalāt, the second gives the procedure of debate (ʿaddāb al-baḥbḥ) who starts; what counts as a question; what objections are valid and when; how to determine the end of the debate (there is no judge), etc.; the final part gives examples of debates on questions (masāʾil) in theology, law, and philosophy. In his ʿṢahr al-mukaddima al-burḥānīya (i.e. of Burhān al-Dīn al-Nasafi, d. 687/1288 [s.]) (ms. Chester Beatty no 4396, at fol. 5b), which he completed according to I. Baghdadi in the year 690 (Hadīṣīy al-ṣīrin, Istanbul 1951-3, ii, 106), and in which he implies that he studied with al-Nasafi, al-Samarkandi mentions (at fol. 4a) that he treated the ʿaddāb al-baḥbḥ in his Muṣ'akātād (ʿArīf Ḥikmat no. 206, Medina), Kūshās al-ṣāfīr fī tabbākī al-arār and al-Anwār (probably his ʿṣahr on the Kūṣās).

Manuscripts are the best source of information on his biography; Hāджī Khālīfa slipped in stating that al-Samarkandi died around 600 A.H. (Kūṣās, i, 105). An important Istanbul manuscript apparently in the hand of his student (Laleli no. 2432, fol. 33b) states that he died 22 Shawwāl 702/9 June 1303. He wrote ʿṣahr on several of his own works, including the Kūṣās (completed in 683) and his own ʿṣahr thereon (completed in 692 according to Istanbul, Fatih no. 3960), a standard work on Aristotelian logic, which contains, inter alia, a solution to the liar paradox (see L. Miller, A brief history of the liar paradox in Islamic philosophy, in Of scholars, savants and their texts (London 1989, 173-82), and a detailed discussion of the ʿaddāb al-baḥbḥ. Both his al-Sāḥīfāt al-ilāhīyya (completed in 680 according to Laleli no. 2432, fol. 33b), ed. Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ṣāḥīfī, Kuwait 1985, and his ʿṣahr thereon, al-Masāʾilī fī al-sāḥīfāt, were important theological works and are the most important in the field of Islamic theological disputation. In the dictionary of art, forthcoming, G.A. Pugačenkov, Ishrat-Khaneh and Ak-Saray. Two Timurid mausoleums in Samarkand, in Ars Orientalis, xxi (1968), 14 n. 19.

Other works include: ʿAyn al-nazar fī al-mantiqī fī ʿilm al-ḥadāl, a short treatment of the logic of juristic disputation concerned with, inter alia, implication (ṭalāzum), (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub no. 197) (manṭiq wa-ʿaddāb al-baḥbḥ); cf. Ṣuʿād, al-Maktabah al-Qaribiyah bi l-Ṭājmi l-Kabir, ms. v. Gāyī al-nazar, obviously a misprint.


Al-Ṭādākhira fī l-bay’a, a compendium on astronomy; Ajmal-i takhvim-i kasvātī-i Ḵāhīna (Leiden ms. no. 1196, 3 pers.), an astronomical chart for the year 1275-6; an anonymous commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī’s ʿṣahr on Tolemy’s Almagest is also attributed to al-Samarkandi (see Sezgin, vi, 94).

Al-R. al-islāmiyya (Princeton, Yahuda no. 2367), an interpretation of the ʿkhāhīdā, is probably identical with a manuscript of Berlin ms. no. 2458, Tabbākī kalimat al-ṭahālī ḍādāl according to Mach; cf. Bepān madkhab ahl al-sunnah wa al-baḥāb bi kalimat al-tawḥīd mentioned by Brockelmann.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, i, 468, S I, 840-1;

**SAMARRA**

a town on the east bank of the middle Tigris in Irak, 125 km north of Baghdad, of about 35 ha in 1924, and ca. 120 ha in the 1970s. Between 221/836 and 279/892 it was the capital of the *Abbásid* caliphate, and expanded to an occupied area of 57 km², one of the largest cities of ancient times, whose remains of collapsed pisé and brick walls are still largely visible.

The district was only lightly occupied in Antiquity. Apart from the Chalcolithic Samarran Culture excavated at the rich site of Tell al-Šuwwān, the city of *Sur-marrā*, refounded by Sennacherib in 690 BC, according to a stele in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, may somewhat doubtfully be identified with a fortified site of Assyrian date at al-Ḥwawāyī opposite to modern Samarra. The ancient toponyms for *Samarrā* are Ḟ. Ṣawma (Polemy, V. c. 19; Zosimus, III, 30), Lat. *Sumere*, a fort mentioned in the retreat of the army of Julian the Apostate during the retreat of the army of Julian the Apostate.

The region experienced an upturn in its fortunes with the excavation of the Kāšū al-Kisrawī, the northern extension of the Nahrawān canal which drew water from the Tigris in the region of *Samarrā*,2 attributed by Yākūt (*Muṣjam*, s.v. *Kāšūl*) to the Sasanian king Khusraw Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-78). To commemorate this event, a commemorative tower (mod. Būrj al-Kālm) was built at the southern inlet (mod. Nahr al-Kālm) south of *Samarrā*,3 and a palace with a walled hunting park at the northern inlet (mod. Khādkdnī) north of the city. The new military canal, the Kāšūl Abī ʿl-Djund, excavated by the *Abbāsid* caliph Ḥārūn al-Raḥīd, was commemorated by a city in the form of a regular octagon (mod. Huṣn al-Kādisiyah), called *Muḥābārak* and abandoned unfinished in 180/796. The plan is based upon that of the Round City of Baghdad [q.v.].

*Probably* in 220/834-5, the caliph al-Muʿtasim [q.v.] left Baghdad in search of a new capital. The sources all report that the reason was conflict between the caliph’s regiment of Central Asian Turks and the population of Baghdad. The caliph apparently sought a residence for the court, and for a base for the *Abbāsid* army, outside of Baghdad, and was attracted by a region known for its hunting, but otherwise poor in natural resources.

The caliph’s city was formally called Surra Man Raʾa (“he who sees it is delighted”). According to Yākūt (*Muṣjam*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*), this original name was later shortened in popular usage to the present *Sāmarrā*. It seems more probable, however, that *Sāmarrā* is the Arabic version of the pre-Islamic toponym, and that Surra Man Raʾa, a verbal form of name, has been Aramaic which recalls earlier Akkadian and Sumerian practices, is a word-play invented at the caliph’s court.

Sura Man Raʾa was laid out in 221/836 on the east bank of the Tigris around the pre-Islamic settlement, with the principal palace on the site of a monastery to the north. This palace complex, called in the sources *Dār al-Ḳisrā*, *Dār al-Qalīfā*, *Dār al-Sulān*, and *Dār al-ʿĀmμ* ([see *AL-MAṣIRAH*] at al-Matīra, the city to the east, extending into the old hunting park. Two new palaces with hunting parks were built in 235/849 and 237/851, formed part of an extension of the city to the east, extending into the old hunting park. Two new palaces with hunting parks were built in the south, at al-Īṣṭablāt, identified as al-ʿArūs, and al-Muḥarrarahāt (not yet securely identified). A further palace, Balkuwara, excavated by Herzfeld in 1911, was built on the Tigris bank south of al-Maṣīra, surrounded by a military camp, but did not contain units of an army corps under al-Mutawakkil’s second son, al-Muʿazzz.

Three courses for horse-racing were built east of the
main city. Two have an out-and-back course 80 m wide and 10.42 km long with a spectators pavilion at the start, and the fourth a pattern of four circles 80 m wide and 10.42 km long with a spectators pavilion at the... 1936-1939, 2 vols., Baghdad 1940; A. Susa, Rayy Sdmarrd* fi cahd al-khildfa al-^Abbdsiyya, 2 vols., Baghdad 1948-9; 

The second avenue, Shdri*- Abi Ahmad, was the original avenue of the time of al-Mu’tasim, narrowed from 60 to 10 metres, and ended at the south gate of the caliphal palace, called Bb- al-Bustdn or Bb Aytdkh. Outside this gate stood the palace of al-Askar al-Mu... in 290/903, but found al-Djasawak a ruin. The two Shdri’l Imams ‘Ali al-Hâdí (d. 254/868) and al-Hasan al-A’askarî (d. 260/874) had a house on the Shdri* Abi Ahmad, probably adjacent to the mosque of al-Mu’tasim, and were buried there. The Twelfth Imâm disappeared nearby in a cleft commemorated by the Sardáb al-Mahdî in 260/874. The tomb was first developed in 333/944-5 by the Hdmdân Nâîr al-Dawla, and subsequently by the Bûyids. According to al-Shâykh Muhammad al-Samâwî, Wâhâbî al-sarrâ* fi shdn Samarra^, a verse composition of the 13th/19th century on the history of the shrine, the double shrine continued to be rebuilt frequently, notably in 445/1053-4 by Arslân al-Basâsîrî and in 606/1209-10 by the caliph al-Nâîr li-Dîn Allâh, whose work is commemorated by an inscription in the Sardâb. The present appearance of the shrine is to be attributed to work by the Persian Kâddar ruler Nâîr al-Dîn Shâh in 1285/1688-9 and other more recent work.

From the 4th/10th century onwards, Sammrra became a pilgrimage town. In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, the displacement to the east of the Tigris road from Baghdad to Mawâlî to the west bank of the river, and a consequent loss of trade, Sarrmrra was not apparently walled until 1834, when a wall was built out of ‘Abbâsîd bricks, as a result of a charitable donation.

In the 1950s a barrage was constructed on the Tigris, in order to divert the spring flood waters down Wâdî Tharthâr and to end the disastrous periodic flooding of Baghdâd. The lake formed behind the barrage drove the farming communities of the flood plain on to the steppe-land among the ‘Abbâsîd ruins, and enlarged the town, which remains the market centre of its district.

SAMARRA — AL-SAMAWAL B. ADIYÁ


AL-SAMAWAL (*A.* "the elevator of land")

1. Al-Samawa was the name given, in the definition of al-Bakri (*Muqādam mā stā'qdam*, Cairo 1364-71/1945-46), to a region in general inhabited by the Banū Kalb and the Banū Fazara (*q.v.*), a region in northwestern Arabia to the west of al-Kufa and the Euphrates and to the desert of Khusaf between al-Samawa and al-Kufa. Earlier geographers were more specific. Thus Ibn Hawkal (ed. Kramer, 22, 34-5, tr. Kramer-Wiet, 21, 34), see also his map of the Arabian peninsula) defines it as the plain stretching from Dāmât al-Qādir (of which he could not find any justification in the manuscripts) in northwestern Arabia to Abū Tammam’s *al-Tamr in the desert on the fringes of the middle Euphrates*. The first is a *fālāf poem* (*no. 1 in the Dīwān*), while the second was incorporated in his *Hamādiyā* (*no. 15*) and on which Șafi al-Dīn al-Hillī (8th/14th century) composed a *talqūn*. (ed. Beirut 1962, 36-41). The poem, however, is attributed with good reason to other poets than al-Samawa as well. A second poem (no. 2 of the *Dīwān*) found its way into the *al-Asma‘ī*’s poetic anthology (*al-Asma‘iyyāt*, no. 23) and parts of it are quoted in different other sources, among them Ibn Sallām al-Djumahī’s *Tabakāt*. The poem contains reflections on birth, death and the Day of Judgment which may be, as Hirschberg proposed, references to Aggadic literature, thus, contrary to poem no. 1, pointing to the Jewish religion of its poet. The authenticity of the poem was defended by Hirschberg against Noldeke’s negative verdict. Levi Della Vida drew up the very probable hypothesis that the poem was in fact created by one of al-Samawal’s descendants, who had already converted to Islam but still was acquainted with Jewish tradition.

Yet al-Samawa’s owes his fame less to his poetry than to a story, which gave rise to the saying “more loyal than al-Samawa”! The story is told in different versions. According to Ibn Sallam, the poet and King Da’i’ra imru’ al-Kays (*q.v.*) had entrusted his arms to al-Samawa. As the Ghashānī phylarch al-Hārith b. Djabala (*q.v.*) heard about that, he set out against al-Samawa, who entrenched himself in his fortress. Al-Hārith, however, took hold of al-Samawa’s son who happened to be outside the castle and threatened to kill him if al-Samawa would not deliver the deposited weapons. Yet al-Samawa preferred to witness his son to be killed by al-Hārith rather than to betray the trust committed to him. The story is referred to in a poem by al-Azghā (*q.v.*). In discussing this poem, Caskel concluded that the reference to Imru’ al-Kays in the story is a later invention. The poem no. 6 in al-Samawa’s *Dīwān*, where the poet refers to his loyal keeping of “the coats of mail of the Kindi”, is considered as spurious by Caskel.

In western scholarship, interest in al-Samawa concentrated on his Jewish religion, because one hoped that his poetry could throw some light on Jewish influence on early Islam. But since there is not a single poem of which al-Samawa’s authorship has never been questioned, discussion have focused mainly on the problem of authenticity. These discussions were stirred up anew when a hitherto unknown poem, which contains numerous references to biblical history, was discovered in the Geniza. It became clear, however, that its poet was not al-Samawa’s b. ʿAdiyyā. Following a hint in one manuscript, some scholars have started to think that its author was an otherwise unknown poet bearing also the name al-Samawa, who is said to have been a member of the Jewish tribe of Kūrasya (*q.v.*). Kowalaki attributed poem no. 7 in al-Samawa’s *Dīwān* of which he could convincingly show that it was the reply to a poem of Kays b. al-Khātim (*q.v.*) by an anonymous Jewish poet in the time of the prophet Muḥammad, to this al-Samawa b. al-Kurahī. Yet it still remains rather unlike-

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AL-SAMAWAL b. ʿADĪYÁ, Jewish-Arab poet, who lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. His residence was in the famous castle of al-ʾAbkal (cf. Vāyktū, s.v.) near Taymā‘. His genealogy is uncertain. Though mostly called al-Samawāl b. ʿAdīyā (or ʿAdīyā) al-Yahūdī, other genealogies such as al-Samawal b. Ḥarīd b. ʿAdīyā or al-Samawal b. Ḥiyāyā b. ʿAdīyā are also given. Some few poems attributed to a certain ʿSa‘ya (cf. Ṣezgin, *GAS*, ii, 250-1), who is said to have been al-Samawāl’s brother or, more probably, his grandson and to other members of his family are also handed down.

Even in the Middle Ages very few poems attributed to al-Samawal were known. His *Dīwān*, which was collected by Niẓāmah (*q.v.*), contains only nine poems comprising 88 verses. From these poems again only two gained greater fame because they had been included in widely-known poetic anthologies even before Niẓāmah’s comparatively late compilation of the *Dīwān*. The first is a *fālāf poem* (*no. 1 in the Dīwān*), while the second was incorporated in his *Hamādiyā* (*no. 15*) and on which Șafi al-Dīn al-Hillī (8th/14th century) composed a *talqūn*. (ed. Beirut 1962, 36-41). The poem, however, is attributed with good reason to other poets than al-Samawa as well.

A second poem (no. 2 of the *Dīwān*) found its way into the *al-Asma‘ī*’s poetic anthology (*al-Asma‘iyyāt*, no. 23) and parts of it are quoted in different other sources, among them Ibn Sallām al-Djumahī’s *Tabakāt*. The poem contains reflections on birth, death and the Day of Judgment which may be, as Hirschberg proposed, references to Aggadic literature, thus, contrary to poem no. 1, pointing to the Jewish religion of its poet. The authenticity of the poem was defended by Hirschberg against Noldeke’s negative verdict. Levi Della Vida drew up the very probable hypothesis that the poem was in fact created by one of al-Samawa’s descendants, who had already converted to Islam but still was acquainted with Jewish tradition.

Yet al-Samawa’s owes his fame less to his poetry than to a story, which gave rise to the saying “more loyal than al-Samawa”! The story is told in different versions. According to Ibn Sallām, the poet and King Da’i’ra imru’ al-Kays (*q.v.*) had entrusted his arms to al-Samawa. As the Ghashānī phylarch al-Hārith b. Djabala (*q.v.*) heard about that, he set out against al-Samawa, who entrenched himself in his fortress. Al-Hārith, however, took hold of al-Samawa’s son who happened to be outside the castle and threatened to kill him if al-Samawa would not deliver the deposited weapons. Yet al-Samawa preferred to witness his son to be killed by al-Hārith rather than to betray the trust committed to him. The story is referred to in a poem by al-Azghā (*q.v.*). In discussing this poem, Caskel concluded that the reference to Imru’ al-Kays in the story is a later invention. The poem no. 6 in al-Samawa’s *Dīwān*, where the poet refers to his loyal keeping of “the coats of mail of the Kindi”, is considered as spurious by Caskel.

In western scholarship, interest in al-Samawa concentrated on his Jewish religion, because one hoped that his poetry could throw some light on Jewish influence on early Islam. But since there is not a single poem of which al-Samawa’s authorship has never been questioned, discussion have focused mainly on the problem of authenticity. These discussions were stirred up anew when a hitherto unknown poem, which contains numerous references to biblical history, was discovered in the Geniza. It became clear, however, that its poet was not al-Samawa’s b. ʿAdīyā. Following a hint in one manuscript, some scholars have started to think that its author was an otherwise unknown poet bearing also the name al-Samawa, who is said to have been a member of the Jewish tribe of Kūrasya (*q.v.*). Kowalaki attributed poem no. 7 in al-Samawa’s *Dīwān* of which he could convincingly show that it was the reply to a poem of Kays b. al-Khātim (*q.v.*) by an anonymous Jewish poet in the time of the prophet Muḥammad, to this al-Samawa b. al-Kurahī. Yet it still remains rather unlike-
ly that such a poet really existed. Whatever the case may be, al-Samawal's poems, though only partly or even not at all genuine in the narrow sense of the word, are still of interest to the history of Judaism in early Islamic Spain.

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(SAMBAS, a town and river in the Province of Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan) in the Republic of Indonesia, lying just south of Sarawak at lat. 1° 20' N. and long. 109° 15' E. It is one of a number of Malay/Muslim-dominated estuarine settlements on the Borneo coast whose existence was based on trading relationships with non-Muslim native peoples in the interior and Chinese traders and miners. Local versions of the Islamisation of Borneo's West coast attribute the coming of Islam to Arabs from Palembang who were trading in the area from the mid-16th century.

At this time, Sambas was a tributary of the Peninsular Malay kingdom of Johor, but through a royal marriage in the 17th century came under the authority of Sukadana, another Bornean coastal settlement to the south. Descendants of Sultan Mufaham Sâdi al-Din, the first Muslim ruler of Sukadana, assumed power in Sambas and may have helped to spread Islam in the kingdom. Sambas was not as influential as its more powerful neighbours, Landak, Pontianak and Membrum, and was prey to local wars and a haven for pirates. To bolster his authority, the Sultan of Sambas sent a mission to Batavia in 1818 requesting Dutch assistance, as a result of which the first Dutch Resident was installed. During the early 19th century there was an international dimension to local politics as the Dutch sought to extend their influence north of Sambas into Sarawak [q. v.].

This period offered opportunities for Sambas to become closely linked with the Sultan's court. There was an Imam and four Kháis, although after 1831 there were two Imams, Imám Tua and Imám Muda (Senior and Junior), probably an example of a dual appointment to resolve a local conflict. Later in the century, Káití Djaíbr studied in Mecca with Sháykh Ahmad b. Muhammad Zawí (1856-1906) of Patani [q. v.], and later returned to Sambas to become Mahárahá Imam.

The Imams of Sambas were in touch with events in the wider sphere, and in 1930 Sháykh Muhammad Bagháni Ímrán wrote to the editor of the Cairo reformist journal al-Manár [q. v.], to ask why Muslims were not as advanced as people in Europe, America and Japan.

Sambas shared in the reorganisation of Islam in Borneo carried out by the Netherlands East Indies government in 1937. This established kádí Courts and kádí Appeal Courts on the same lines as for Java and Madura. After 1945, in the independent Republic of Indonesia, the administration of Islam has been through the Mahkamah Shar'iah, under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

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(SAMGH, samagh (a. pl. samágh) indicates gum resins, the desiccated latexes of several plants and the mixtures of natural resins (rútnád) with gum-like substances.

To the best-known gum resins belong: ammoniac (wugsháhak), the product of the ammoniac gum tree; the so-called devil's dirt (hilií), the latex of the asafoetida (enggulían) which, when exposed to the air, hardens into a dirty-yellow gum resin: wolf's milk (pátti), in several varieties of the class Euphorbia, with many sub-varieties; galbanum (šiina), the desiccated latex of Ferula galbaniflóra, used as spice and medicine; myrrh (mur), from the bark of several varieties of thorny shrubs of Commiphora abyssinica; the often-described frankincense (kundur [see LUBÁN]) from various Boswellia varieties, indigenous in South Arabia and Somalia; sagapenum (sabkinád), the yellow, translucent resin from Ferula Songorí which can cause irritation of the skin and whose smell resembles that of asafoetida; and camphor (káfur), the white, transparent mass of the camphor tree Cinnamomom camphora [see KÁFÚR], indigenous in East Asia. Most of the gum resins (28 in number) are enumerated and described by al-Nuwayri, Nihiá, xi, 291-324; Umar b. Ali al-Ghasáni, Mu'amád, ed. al-Sacká, Beirut 1975, 287-92, has 20 gum resins; al-Bilání, Sháhání, has 13 varieties (see the index of the Russian tr. by Karimov, Tashkent 1973); Ibn al-Bayátr, Djamí, iii, 85, 25 - 87, 13 (= Leclerc, nos. 1407-16) has 9 varieties; other authors have less.

The word samgh is usually used alone for samgh 'arábí, gum arabic, so called because it was exported from Arab ports and spread by the Arabs. It is the viscous secretion gained from the bark of several varieties of the class Euphorbia, with many sub-varieties; galbanum (šiina), the desiccated latex of Ferula galbaniflóra, used as spice and medicine; myrrh (mur), from the bark of several varieties of thorny shrubs of Commiphora abyssinica; the often-described frankincense (kundur [see LUBÁN]) from various Boswellia varieties, indigenous in South Arabia and Somalia; sagapenum (sabkinád), the yellow, translucent resin from Ferula Songorí which can cause irritation of the skin and whose smell resembles that of asafoetida; and camphor (káfur), the white, transparent mass of the camphor tree Cinnamomom camphora [see KÁFÚR], indigenous in East Asia. Most of the gum resins (28 in number) are enumerated and described by al-Nuwayri, Nihiá, xi, 291-324; Umar b. Ali al-Ghasáni, Mu'amád, ed. al-Sacká, Beirut 1975, 287-92, has 20 gum resins; al-Bilání, Sháhání, has 13 varieties (see the index of the Russian tr. by Karimov, Tashkent 1973); Ibn al-Bayátr, Djamí, iii, 85, 25 - 87, 13 (= Leclerc, nos. 1407-16) has 9 varieties; other authors have less.

The word samgh is usually used alone for samgh 'arábí, gum arabic, so called because it was exported from Arab ports and spread by the Arabs. It is the viscous secretion gained from the bark of the acacia tree (al-karas, in Morocco al-sába), which represents several varieties of the acacia imported from Africa: Acacia senegalesis, from the steppe zones of West- and Central Africa to the right and left of Senegal, Acacia abyssinica and Acacia nilotica, from Africa and India, and many others.

In medicine, gum arabic is used as a palliative and
as an astringent for drying up putrescent ulcers. It helps the formation of new flesh in ulcers and stems the blood which flows from wounds; it also serves as cough medicine and for the preparation of collyria. The drug consists of roundish, colourless or yellowish pieces, up to a diameter of three cm, which fall easily into small pieces which shine like glass.


(A. Dierich)

**AL-SAMHūDI,** Nūr al-Dīn 'Abū l-Haṣān Šāli b. 'Affāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Shāḥī, noted Egyptian scholar in history, theology, law, tradition, etc. (844-91/1449-1506).

He was born in Samhūd in Upper Egypt in Safar 844/July 1440, the son of a kādī; in his genealogy, he claimed to be a Hasanid sayyid. His biography is given in detail by al-Sakhātī, resumed in Ibn al-Mukhtar Dīr al-Mustafī, completed in 199/814 (see Hadjdī Khalīfā, i, 190 no. 228, ii, 44 no. 2302; Sezgin, GAS, i, 343-4; this book was known to al-Sakhātī but has since disappeared.

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**SĀMĪ, ŞEHM-UL-DĪN FRAHĒRĪ** (Mod. Turkish, Şemseddin Şami Frasari), Ottoman Turkish author and lexicographer. He was born at Frähger in Albania on 1 June 1850, of an old Muslim family whose ancestors had been granted this place as a fief by Sultan Mehmed II, and was educated in the Greek lycée at Yanina, at the same time receiving private instruction in Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He came to Istanbul in 1871 in order to take up journalism, and in 1874 was sent to Tripoli (North Africa) as the editor of Wilâyet newspaper. He returned to Istanbul 9 months later and founded the daily newspaper Şabāb in 1876. It was during these years also that he embarked on literary production, attacking himself to the new school of îbrahim Şināwī and Nāmil Kirmāl, and producing a pioneer Turkish novel, Ta'ṣhaḵdī-i Taṣfāt we Fitnāt, which anticipated the language reform of the 20th century and the "Ottoman language" but the "Turkish language", and that the over-abundant Arabic and Persian words and phrases should be replaced by old Turkish ones which had fallen into disuse; he thus anticipated the language reform of the 20th century Turkish Republic.

Later, he became the editor of Tergüşmān-ı Şarḵ newspaper and the journals Şâile and Hafsa. Meanwhile, he wrote a series of pamphlets for the Deyh Kütüphāne series. In 1881 he was appointed as the secretary for the Tefīsh-ı Askert Komisyonu, or Army Inspection Commission, but, at the same time, began to publish his famous lexicographical works: Kınāsī i-farsī (French-Turkish, 1882, and Turkish-French, 1885), the six-volume encyclopedia Kınāsī oğlum, and the Kınāsī türk in two parts. In 1893 he was put under house arrest by ʿAbd ʾul-Hamīd II. He stayed in his home at Erenkōy, Istanbul, and devoted the rest of his life to his works, from 1899 onwards being forbidden to receive guests; he died on 18 June 1904 in Istanbul.
Sami’s greatest merit lies in the fields of lexicography and philology. As well as working on Turkish and Arabic, he also worked on producing an Albanian grammar, poems in this language and a book on the future of Albania. With his brother Na’im Frasher (1846-1900; see on him, F. Babinger, in İsl., xi [1921], 99), he was among the leaders of the group which produced a Latin-based alphabet for Albanian in the 1880s. His best-known work is his Turkish dictionary, the Kâmûs-i Türkî. In this work, the order of the words is alphabetical and the arrangement of the different meanings of the words is very clear. Samî represented a compromise between the different views prevailing in his time on the development of Turkish, and, despite his own far-reaching Turkish purism, his dictionary is a reflection of the educated Turkish of his time. Among his unpublished materials are an unfinished Arabic dictionary, comprehensive studies on the Kutadgu bilig and the Qırğız inscriptions, as well as works on Persian and Eastern Turki.

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was never any distinction between Rabbi = teacher and Kohen = priest. These last lived under a ... to the field of impurity. Pietro della Valle observed the low wall inside which women remained at the time of their menstrual periods until they became ritually pure again. Comparison with the rules of the Falasha is interesting. The Kišāb al-Kaṭif, the most extensive of their legal compendiums composed in Arabic in A.D. 1290, states (S. Noja, Il Kišāb al-Kaṭif dei Samaritani, Naples 1970, 84): "When any of our community touches his hand to ablution while he is still not of our religion and then sits down to food, he must rinse his hand, since anyone touching something with his hand after ablution invalidates that ablution". From this arose the Samaritans' revulsion from physical contact with those not of their community (cf. the Kūrānīc là miśād) and, consequently, the ductus n-z-r (nizār) concerning which Silvestre de Sacy noted: "suspecte d'infected (je lis nāzar et je prend ce mot dans le sens de phthicon, etc. defectus, color vitium)". Another non-Samaritan piece of evidence from the 7th century mentions their current custom at that time of burning by fire any of their land over which a non-Samaritan had passed. This piece of evidence ends with the words: tanta illis est execratio utrisque. Al-Shahrastānī was well aware of this when he noted: "suspecte d'infection (je lis ndzir) et d'invalidation (je lis invalidatione)". Nevertheless, much prudence is required in seeing, as has been done in the past, an imitation of Samaritan customs in many of the Islamic rules such as the positions in worship and the ritual formulae, since it may well be that the contrary is true: it was the Samaritans, with their great capacity for adaptation, who were inspired by the living practice of Islam.


2. Samaritan literature in Arabic.

When the Samaritans experienced the Islamic invasion, their language was Aramaic or, rather, one of the numerous forms of Aramaic with its own special characteristics. Above all, in phonology, their language was close to Palestinian Aramaic, with the disappearance of the laryngeals, a marked preference for prothetic vowels, etc., whilst retaining some differences, such as the change a > a in closed, unstressed syaleds. Their writing system was—and still is today—palaeo-Hebraic, i.e. the ancient system of writing similar to Phoenician, which had been used all through Israel before the Babylonian Exile. On their return, the Jews, in order to distinguish themselves from the Samaritans, adopted the "square Hebrew", which has since then been permanently used by them all, including the Karaites; today, it is the writing system used in the State of Israel. After the time of the Arab conquest, the Samaritans began to speak Arabic without any break at all. In an unsystematic fashion, for writing down Arabic, they began to use the palaeo-Hebraic script equally with the Arabic script. A similar state of affairs is represented by the use of Kārghūn [g.v.] for writing Syriac.

The works written in Arabic (in the Narbonne Chroni
cle, there is quoted the first Samaritan who began to speak in Arabic), independent of writing system, cover all the aspects of their interests.

1. Translated works.

Translation of the Pentateuch. Several versions are involved. Five can be identified, given the fact that we still do not have a complete critical edition. The Samaritans were interested above all in commentaries, and one can discern that they utilised verses of already-existing commentaries from Judaism and also—at a late date—from Arabic-speaking Christianity, naturally with adaptations.

Translations of various works. No work in this category can be considered as important.

2. Original works. Any critical edition. (a) Chronicles. At least seven of these exist. Some are short; others, like that of Abu 'l-Fath, very lengthy. The Asaṣīr ("stories"), very close to the Midraṣ. The Shaḥḵaša, the "chain" of the high priests. The Tūlīda, the "genealogy", also called "the Neubauer chronicle", from its editor.

The Book of Joshua. This book, completely in Arabic, has no connection with the relevant first historical book of the Old Testament. It is based on several sources, and was transcribed into Arabic by an anonymous author ca. A.D. 1300. The "Adler-Seligsohn" chronicle, after the names of its editors.

The "Chronicle II" or "Macdonald-Cohen" one, after the names of its editors. Here it is the Arabic text which is the original, and not the Hebrew.

The K. al-Taẖkākh, the Annals of Abu 'l-Fath, the longest and most complete. Dating from the 14th century, it has been brought up to the middle of the 19th century.

(b) Commentaries on the Pentateuch. These books, like the treatises on law, are considered by the Samaritans as their most important books, and were written originally in Arabic.

Various partial commentaries: The K. fi ṣūrūḥ al-ṣaḥāb kāmilāt" Commentary on the Decalogue" by Abu 'l-Ḥasan of Tyre. The al-Khūṭa b al-dīnār or Sharḥ azīnu, on Deut. xxixi by the same author.

Commentary on Genesis (from 1:2 to 5:1) by Sadaka b. Munadjaḏa b. Sadaka, called al-Hākim. The Sharḥ al-Fāṭiha, on the "Fāṭiha", i.e. on Deut. xxxii. 3-4, by Ibrāhīm al-Kabbāši, etc.

The most extensive and most popular is the commentary on the first four books of the Pentateuch written by Muslim b. Murdjan b. Ibrāhīm and his nephew Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Murdjan in the last century.

(c) Legal treatises. These were also written in Arabic after the decline in the use of Aramaic. They include amongst others:

The K. al-Kaṭif "The Sufficient", from A.D. 1042, by Yūsuf b. Salāma of 'Askar, on "that which is sufficient for living according to the law of God"; in effect, a work of fāhah.

K. Masā'il al-khaṭṭāf "Book on questions of conflicting views", from A.D. 1106, by Munadjaḏa b. Sadaka on the points of disagreement between the Samaritans, the Jews and the Karaites.

K. al-Tihāb "Book of the commandments", of A.D. 1030, by Abu 'l-Hasan of Tyre, involving polemics with the Jews.

K. al-Maṭritāy "Book on inheritances", of A.D. 1170, by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, a physician at the court of Sulāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), dealing with everything regarding successions.

K. al-Farādāḏ "Book on the division of inheritances", from the 14th century A.D. by Abu 'l-Faradāḏ al-Kathāžaḥ.

K. al-Gharā "Book on nudity", by al-Mu'allim
Barakat, on the basis of the teachings and fatwàs of Abu Ishák Ibrahim.

(d) Collections of fatwàs for fixing the calendar:

K. Hillel, in "Book of the calculating of the years", of A.D. 160, by Elazar 'Abd al-Mu'in b. Sadaka, which includes the information of previous astronomical works in order to determine the calendar for the year.

(e) Works on grammar.

K. al-Taũsì'a, "The initiation", the first Samaritan Hebrew grammar, by Abu Ishák Ibrahim.

With the arrival in massore of Europe in the Samaritan community in the 19th century and the development of a market for manuscripts, certain of these works, originally in Arabic, were translated and recopied into Hebrew in order to satisfy book-collectors and purchasers who did not know Arabic; the case of the work Hillûk is well-known. Translations have sometimes been taken for the originals by European scholars, naive and excited, and encouraged by information from malevolent and uncritical sources.

Today, still, Arabic is the sole spoken language, but one notes a certain revival of Hebrew, to the detriment of Aramaic, which remains truly a dead language.


AL-SAMIRI "the Samaritan", is the name in Kùrûn, XX, 85, 87 and 95 of the man who tempted the Israelites to the sin of the Golden Calf. The sin itself is mentioned twice in the Kùrûn. In the first narrative, VII, 487-50, the story is told of the sin of Israel and Aaron as in Exodus, xxxii, with but the elaboration that the calf cast out of metal was "lowing" (khuwdr). The second version, XX, 83-96, preserves the claim of Aaron in the terminology of Israel in the same situation. At al-Samiri’s bidding, the Israelites cast their ornaments into the fire and he made out of them the lowing calf which was worshiped by the people although Aaron advised them not to do so. When challenged by Moses, al-Samiri justified himself by saying that he saw what the others did not see, the footsteps of the messenger (understood in Muslim tradition to be the tracks of the hooves of Gabriel’s horse). Moses then announced his punishment to him: "So long as you live, you shall call out, 'Do not touch me' (kà mìsà’î)" (XX, 97).

The Muslim tradition has had no doubt that al-Samiri was a Samaritan as known within the Jewish and Christian traditions. Al-Tabari, Qûmî’s al-hayàn, Cairo 1905, xvi, 152, and al-Zamakhshari, al-Kahfû, Beirut 1967, ii, 549, for example, understood al-Samiri to have been a prominent Israelite of the tribe of Sàrim whose name was Mùsâ b. Zafar; his religion is understood to have differed from that of other Jews.

Scholars have extensively debated the question of how a Samaritan became involved with the Mosaic story of the golden calf. Bernard Heller in El and SEI agreed with Goldzihier (in his article Là Misàsa) that al-Samiri was a representative of the Samaritans, a group which kept apart from non-Samaritans because of a special dispensation. In a segregation of this kind—as in the Jewish laws regarding eating (Kùrûn, IV, 160)—Muhammad saw a divine punishment. What did al-Samiri (= the Samaritans) have to atone for, such that he would be punished in this manner? For the sin of the golden calf. What was known as a ritual practice of the Samaritans—that contact with those outside their group created impurity—is put back into earlier times and explained as a punishment of al-Samiri for having incited the Israelites to make and worship the calf. But other theories have been put forth. Speyer suggested a reference to the story of Zimrí (and thus al-Samiri) ben Sàlû from Num. xxv, 14, who was guilty of defying Moses in having relations with a Moabite woman. More recently, Schwartzbaum, developing a suggestion of Yehuda, has suggested that we have a tale in which the story of King Jeroboam’s calves (one of which, according to a Talmudic tradition, was able to talk, thus being parallel to the Kûrûnic idea of the golden calf "lowing") has merged with that of Moses and the golden calf. The conflation stemmed from Jeroboam’s statement "Here are your gods, Israel, that brought you up from Egypt" (I Kings, xii, 28) in reference to his two golden calves, a statement which also appears in Elijah and Elisha, in the punishment of Aaron. Proposing the link to al-Samiri is the point that Jeroboam’s capital was in Shechem (I Kings, xii, 25), the Samaritan sacred centre. Schwartzbaum also sees remnants of the folkloric motif of the Wandering Jew in the story of al-Samiri who roams the world crying, "Do not touch me!" Regardless of how the story came about, the Kùrûn appears to present the earliest record of this midrashic development; aspects of it are found in Jewish sources (e.g. in Porîkî dr Rabî Eler tên Tanûhà) would seem to date from after the rise of Islam.


(B. Heller-[A. Rippin])

AL-SAMIT, "the Silent One", as opposed to al-
natik "the Speaking One", a term used by several extremist Shi'i sectarians (ghuldt) to designate a messenger of God who does not reveal a new Law (qur'ar). The pair of terms is found in the notices concerning the rise of the more powerful Arghuns, who had been displaced from Kandahar in Afghanistan by Babur [q.v.].

The term natik means that he is the master of the Inner Meaning (sadih al-batin) who does not pronounce an outward revelation (lā yanyukhu bi-qur'artan zahir). In later Ismā'iī writings, the term sāmit falls into disuse.

The presence of Sindhi elements in their names also indicates their indigenous origin. There is little evidence about their conversion to Islam. The first Samma chief is generally mentioned as Djam Firuz Unnar, who came to power in the early 1350s at Thata. It is uncertain whether he was the same person who figures in Ibn Battūta’s account as Wunar al-Sāmirī, a high official at Siwistān under Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlūk of Dīhī, who later rebelled and rose to chieftaincy as Malik Fīrūz (iii, 105-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 599-600). Most Sindhi scholars are inclined to identify Ibn Battūta’s “Wunar al-Sāmirī” with the Samma chief who became the first of the Samma dynasty that ruled over Sind, with their capital at Thatta.

The chronology of the Samma rulers as given in the Ta’rikḥ-i Sind of Mir Maṣʿūm Bakhkāri and in later chronicles which have followed him has been proved to be seriously at fault, as shown conclusively by Riazūl Islam, The rise of the Sammas in Sind (see Bibl.), 1-24. The “tentative list” of the Samma rulers and their chronology worked out by N.A. Baloch “is comparatively more authentic”, see his article, in Bibl. 103-36.

It was during the joint reign of ‘Alī al-Dīn Dīnān and Sadr al-Dīn Bānbhāna that Tughlūkī Dīhī Sultan Fīrūz Shāh led a long campaign against Thatta which began in the last months of 1365 and ended in 1367 with the intercession of the leading Suhrawardī saint of Sind, Sayyid Husayn Djalal al-Dīn, called Maḥdīm-i Dāhānīyān [see Maḥdīm-i Dīn ... al-Baḥrānī] for details, see Riazūl Islam, op. cit.). The two joint rulers made their submission to the sultan, and joined his return march to Dīhī. The sultan assigned the rule of Sind jointly to Djam ‘Alī al-Dīn’s son and to Tamācī, son of Bānbhāna. Later, when Tamācī showed signs of dissatisfaction, he sent Djam ‘Alī al-Dīn to take charge of the affairs at Thatta. Upon Djam’s death, the power rapidly disintegrated after Fīrūz Shāh’s death in 791/1388, the Sammas assumed complete independence.

The Samma chief was a ruler who provided Sind with a century and a half of prosperous and fairly peaceful dynastic rule. Their popularity is well reflected in folk tales and songs pertaining to the various rulers. The best ruler of the dynasty undoubtedly was Djam Nizām al-Dīn (II) Nindā (866-914/1461-1508); his tomb is the most prominent monument at Maḍī (near Thatta), the necropolis of mediæval Sind (see Mir ‘Ali Shīr Kānī, Maḥdīm-i Nindā, ed. Rāghīdī, especially his Note at 88-103). The Djam was a great patron of art and culture, and enjoyed wide popularity at home and high prestige among the neighbouring kingdoms. The famous scholar Djalal al-Dīn Dāwānī (d. 908/1502-3 [q. v.]) wanted to migrate from Shīrāz to settle in Sind under the patronage of the great Djam, but died before he could set out. However, two of his prominent disciples settled permanently at Thatta (Mir Maṣʿūm, Ta’rikḥ-i Sind, 74).

Samma rule came to end with the arrival in Sind of the more powerful Aqhzān, who had been displaced from Kandahār in Afghanistan by Bābur [q.v.].
their leader Shah Beg Arghun founded his own dynasty there after his victory over Firuz b. Ninda in 926/1520 [see ARGHUN]. A branch of the Samma tribe, known as the Jujadedja Sammas, ruled over Samman from around 926/1520 to the French and whose Islamic orientation arose more from the conjuncture of events than from a predetermined plan.

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**SAMMUR [see FANAK; FARW].**

**SAMMUR (A.).** butter, made from cows', goats' and ewes' milk, heated over the fire to extract its impurities, and hence called clarified butter (as distinct from sult which is butter made from churned milk). Mediaeval dietetic texts state a preference for clarified butter made from cows' milk over goats' milk. Its medicinal benefits were as an antidote against poisons and snake bites, if ingested alone or mixed with honey, and as an ointment for the cure of boils and abscesses, including haemorrhoids. Samm was also used in the kitchen and, according to the *Mukhtasarfi 'l-tibb*, the use of this in the urban milieu reflected by the culinary manuals was almost exclusively limited to the preparation of egg dishes, such as omelettes, and sweet dishes made with flour; in the latter case, *samn* was often mixed with sesame oil (ghirad).


**SAMORI TURE (1830-1900), the founder of an empire in West Africa during the 19th century. A bloody tyrant and slave-merchant in colonial historiography, and a precursor of resistance for African nationalism, Samori never ranked as an emblematic figure for Islam in the sub-Saharan region. We now discern in him the figure of an imperial leader, with undoubtedly political and military qualities, whose resistance to the French and whose Islamic orientation arose more from the conjuncture of events than from a predetermined plan.**
Samori arose from the Mandinka/Mandigo world, which had in particular given birth to the mediaeval Islamic kingdom of the Dioura (Dioula) Muslims and traders, at that time stirred up by the indirect effects of the largely Fulani djihadis taking place in adjoining regions (1727, Futa Djalon, in modern Guinea; 1817, Masina, in modern Mali; 1852, al-Hadiji 'Umar, in the northern part of Guinea). Samori's beginnings were those of the leader of a Mandingo band of troops. He first exercised his calling of arms, before 1860, in the service of various clans, notably that of his maternal relatives, the Kamara. In 1878, he personally took control of all Upper Niger, and in 1881 seized Kankan, the main Islamic city of the region.

The capture of Kankan brought into his circle numerous scholars. From now onwards, Samori was assisted by a secretary who wrote his correspondence in Arabic, but, above all, he installed in his immediate entourage, for eight years, Sidiki Sherif Haidara, a shari' of Kankan and shaykh of the Kadiiriyya, who became his master. At a time when he was still, at the age of 20, illiterate, Samori acquired in his shadow a taste for Arabic and for Kur'anic recitation.

The people of Kankan were thus the agents of a grafted process of Islam. In 1884, at the end of Ramadân, he who was not yet anything more than a kättegi (war chief), and then a faama (political chief by right of conquest), assumed the title of aləmami (al-imam), borrowed from the neighbouring Fulani djihadis. In correspondence, he was after this time described as amir al-mu'minin. In December 1886, at the end of a period of study, he proclaimed himself namu'tigi ("master of tradition"), a dignity reserved for scholars of hadith and fiqh, and led in person the Friday prayer. He also launched a forcible movement of Islamisation, imposing the shari'ah and the Islamic law of succession, nominating kadi and making Kur'anic teaching general by means of a network of paid schoolmasters (karamaks), forcing non-Muslims to convert. On this occasion he plunged into open conflict with the Mandingo traditional rulers, whom he denounced on the direct hostility of part of his family and his partisans. The excesses of this Islamic revolution, combined with defeats suffered at the hands of his main enemy in the region, the Senufo kingdom of Kenedugu (Sikasso), forced Samori to relax the system. This episode, which had hardly lasted four years, came to an end in 1889. There nevertheless remained of these attempts a strong Islamising tendency at the head of the empire, which at this time enjoyed its apogee with a population of about a million inhabitants and an area of not less than 200,000 km².

The threat from the French played an important role in this return to a more pragmatical attitude. The first clashes with the French, who were now reaching the river Niger (Bamako, 1 February 1883) and who marked out Samori as the enemy who was to be brought low. The history of relations between the French and the Mandingo Speaks is one of a long series of treaties swiftly renounced (Kenya-Kura, 1886; Bisandugu, 1887; Nyako, 1889) and of frontal attacks which had various outcomes. Samori was forced to evacuate Upper Niger and to transfer his troops and faithful supporters further eastwards, to the north of the Ivory Coast, into lands populated by indifferent or hostile tribes. For several years, Samori's power reached a new peak. But, deprived of access to the ports of Freetown and Monrovia, which had allowed him to import rapid-firing arms, Samori was then forced to rely on the defensive. He was abandoned by the Jula of the "black legend" in French historiography, to the detriment of social aspects (notably, the extension of slavery as a result of the incessant warfare)—and a certain fascination for the author of the "genius" (a recurring term) of his hero—by Y. Person, Samori. Une révolution Dyula, 3 vols., Dakar 1968-75, pp. 2,377; Cartes historiques de l'Afrique (fin du 19e siècle). Samori. Une révolution Dyula, Paris, Centre de Recherches Africaines 1940, 44 maps. See also Person, Samori, construction et chute d'un empire, in Ch.-A. Julien et aîis (eds.), Les Africains, Paris 1977, i, 249-85 (résumé of the thesis), and Samori et Islam, in J. R. Willis (ed.), Studies in West African Islamic History, i, The cultivators of Islam. Studies in community, church and state, 1897, 259-77.

Person has clearly shown the crushing weight of the "black legend" in French historiography, polemical and repetitive. Three works are worth mentioning: Commandant Peroz, Au Soudan Français, Paris 1889; Capitaine L.-G. Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, Paris 1892, 2 vols.; Colonel Gallieni, Deux campagnes au Soudan Français, Paris 1891, which contains in particular the greater part of Peroz's report on his mission to Bisandugu, Samori's capital, in 1886. These three officers were direct participants in the events, and the first two had a long period of contact with Samori. (J.-L. TRIAUD)

Samos [see Sisam]. Samru or Sumru, Bégam, the originally Muslim Indian wife of the European adventurer Walter Reinhardt Sombre or Samru, who held the pargana [q. v.] of Sardhana [q. v.] in northwestern India under the Mughal Emperor Shâh 'Alâ' II [q. v.]. On Reinhardt's death in 1778, Bégam Samru kept up what was virtually a petty principality of Sardhana, with an army which included some 300 European and half-breed mercenaries, and in 1792 married a French soldier of fortune Levassault. Toppled from control of Sardhana in 1793 by a son of

Bibliography: The bibl of the Samorian movement is dominated by the monumental thesis of Yves Person, based on an extensive combing of the archives and far-reaching oral enquiries (861 informants, from 1955 to 1962). Without being basically challenged, Person's work may be criticised on certain points: the very concept of a "Jula revolution", which makes Samori the political expression of the trading minority, thereby underestimating in his approach the truly Mandingo warrior models—the essentially political vision of Samori's undertaking (erection of a sovereign power, defence of an identity), to the detriment of social aspects (notably, the extension of slavery as a result of the incessant warfare) —and a certain fascination for the author of the "genius" (a recurring term) of his hero.
Reinhardt's, Zafar-yab Khan, in whose putsch Levassault died by his own hand, the Begam was nevertheless restored by the Irish adventurer George Thomas. After the British conquest of the Do'âb [q. v.] in 1803, she tendered her loyalty to the British, who allowed her to retain her estates and to keep up a reduced army.

In 1781 she had been baptised a Roman Catholic, and at Sarthana she built churches and schools, including a cathedral for a bishop appointed to the new see, and she also contributed to Hindu and Muslim charities; her foundation is still today an important centre for Christian activity in the Do'âb. However, she was herself proficient in Persian and Urdu, and had a lively circle of poets in these two languages at her court, which included François Gottlieb Koiné (var. Cohen) "Farasu", nephew by marriage of Zafar-yab Khan, who skillfully expressed himself in Hindi poetry and described by Sprenger as "the one outstanding name in the annals of Anglo-Indian [Urdu] poetry". Her new palace in Sarthana later became a Roman Catholic school; her Dilli palace in the "Oriental Regency" style was used as a powder factory by the insurgents during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8. After the death of this remarkable woman on 27 January 1836, her estates were resumed, but her large private fortune passed to the son of the marriage between Zafar-yab's daughter and the Begam's Eurasian factor Dyce, David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, and on his death in London in 1851, her fortune mainly passed, after prolonged litigation, to her wife, daughter of Earl St. Vincent, and subsequently Lady Forrester.


(C.E. Bosworth)

**ŠAMSAM AL-DAWLA SHÂHNAWÂZ** [see MA'ÂTHIR AL-UMARA Q. V.]

**ŠAMSAM AL-SALTANA**, Nadji Kuli Khan, a Bakhtyâri, was born about 1846. His father was Husayn Kuli Khan, more commonly known as Il-khâni, the first Bakhtyâri leader to be formally designated Il-khan of all the Bakhtyâris by the imperial government in Tehran, and who was poisoned on the orders of prince Zill al-Sultân, the famous governor-general of Isfâhan, who feared his growing power. Šamsâm al-Saltana was Ilâk of the Bakhtyâris in 1903-5 and later Il-khân. He is remembered principally for the part he played as one of the leaders of the bakhtyâri movement in the constitutional movement in Persia.

The Constitutional Revolution [see dastur. iv] gave the Bakhtyâri khâns, particularly Šamsâm and his brother, Sardâr-i As'âd, the opportunity to transcend their traditional provincial roles and enter the national arena. Although Sardâr-i As'âd had been at
least partially converted to the constitutionalist cause, Şamsam appears to have been motivated largely by the desire to further his own personal and tribal interests.

During 1908 the Isfahâni constitutionalists attempted to enlist wider support, including that of the Bakhtiyârî, in their struggle against Ikhlâl al-Dawla, the new governor appointed by the reactionary Muhammad 'Alî Shâh [q. v.]. In January 1909 Şamsam, with a Bakhtiyârî force, occupied Isfahâh and assumed the duties of governor. He asked the Shâh to confirm him in this position but the Shâh refused. Şamsam convoked the provincial assembly and, on 3 May, telegraphed jointly with Sâdârî A'sâd to all the foreign legations warning of their intention to march on the capital to force on the Shâh the restoration of the constitutional régime. On July 13 Tehran fell to the Bakhtiyârî marching from the south and revolutionary forces led by Sipahdâr-i A'zâm advancing from Kâght, and the Shâh was deposed. Şamsam was appointed governor of Isfahâh.

In 1911, the news of the return of the ex-Shâh reached Tehran, Şamsam entered the cabinet of Sipahdâr as minister of war. The same day, 19 July, the Madjlis declared a state of siege and martial law, placing extraordinary powers in Şamsam's hands. He advocated the Madjlis putting a price on the head of the ex-Shâh and personally offered to assassinate him. On 26 July Şamsam formed a new cabinet, becoming prime minister while retaining the post of minister of war. He mobilised his Bakhtiyârî tribesmen to fight the forces of the ex-Shâh but the arrival of the Bakhtiyârî with their kâhns in Tehran and their exorbitant demands for money led to several resignations from Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General. In August and September the Bakhtiyârî, with the help of the Armenian revolutionary Yûrîm Kâhn, defeated the supporters of Muhammad 'Alî. The hostility of Şamsam and his cabinet to Shuster's efforts to reform Persia's finances came to a head when the latter attempted to collect taxes from prince 'Alî al-Dawla. On 2 November Russia protested at Shuster's confiscation of the property of prince Shu'ayb al-Saltâna who, although having engaged in armed rebellion, was under Russian protection. Wuthûk al-Dawla, minister of foreign affairs in Şamsam's cabinet, apologised but Russia proceeded with its demands for the dismissal of Shuster. The Madjlis was inclined to resist but on 24 December Şamsam and his cabinet, with the regent Nasir al-Mulk, forced its dissolution and accepted the Russian demands. Şamsam remained prime minister until January 1913, when he resigned from the cabinet. In July 1913 Bakhtiyârî domination suffered a further setback when the newly-formed government gendarmerie expelled all armed Bakhtiyârî from Tehran.

In May 1918 Şamsam again formed a government. As a repercussion of events in Russia, this cabinet, which had a nationalist character, abrogated all treaties with Russia and all concessions granted to Russians. This measure, which affected the interests of foreigners in general, accelerated the fall of Şamsam's cabinet and its replacement by that of Wuthûk al-Dawla, which signed the Anglo-Persian agreement of 9 August 1919. In the summer of 1921 Şamsam was appointed governor-general of Khurâsân to replace the military governor-general, Colonel Muhammad Taki Kâhn Pasyân, but was prevented from taking up his post by Pasyân's resistance. Şamsam died in 1930 while on a mission to mediate between the central government and rebellious Bakhtiyârî tribes.
Khuzai, who was accused of having conspired against the caliph and of having maintained that the Kur’an was not created, contrary to the view laid down by al-Farazdaq (Nakhd’i, 305) and by ‘Amr b. Ma’dikkarib himself (Hamasa of al-Buhurt, 83, ed. Cheikhho, no. 237; Amadi of al-Kali, ii, 154, 10, as well as by Muslim b. al-Walid (ed. De Goeje, vi, 18) in a verse which Schwarzlose (see Bibl.) wrongly thought to refer to ‘Amr’s sword, while the weapon given by Harun al-Rasid to his general Yazid b. Mazyad referred to in the verse is the sword of the Prophet, Dhu ‘l-Faqar [q. v.], as is evident from verse 25 of the same poem and the note by Ibn Khallikan (ed. Ihsan ‘Abbás, v, 329, tr. de Slane, 220).


(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)
ever, claim that Samsun was at one point occupied by the Cossacks and the fortifications seriously damaged; but by the time of his visit, the latter had been repaired.

The Dzhahan-nâma, a 11th/17th-century geographical text, contains some information on Samsun, which was probably put together not by the author Kâbit Čelebi himself but by one of his collaborators. The geographer comments on the non-nucleated settlements of the Black Sea coast and the rustic character of the inhabitants. In his time, the castle of Samsun had fallen in ruins, but the town possessed one or more shops, a mosque and a bath house. In actual fact, late 11th/17th century Samsun possessed at least four mosques: two of them went back to the Ilkhânid period, the mesjidi of ʻÎsâ Bâbâ dated from the 9th/13th century, while the Hadydi Khâtûn mosque had been founded in 1105-6/1694. Tournefort, who passed through Samsun in 1112-13/1701, did not observe any signs of commercial activity such as shops, government house, or the like. By the middle of the 13th/19th century, a pleasant impression on the Prussian general Helmuth von Moltke, who in 1253-4/1838 disembarked from a steamer and began his Anatolian travels in Samsun; but although he must have spent some time in the town and even made a map of it, he does not say anything specific about buildings or people. Henry Suter, who visited Samsun in the very same year, thought that the town had a population of 450 Turkish and 150 Greek families. This traveller commented on Samsun’s well-stocked bazaars, but believed them to serve the transit trade rather than local consumption. In this period, the port did not possess a quay, and afforded only limited protection in case of storms. Yet Moltke observed that a considerable amount of trade was conducted through the port, and other European travellers of the time agreed with him. Many visitors were Persian and other merchants crossing the Black Sea on Austrian steamers in order to trade in Rumelia and central Europe. A.D. Mordtmann, who visited Samsun in 1266-7/1850, also made some acerbic comments on the lack of port facilities.

In an account of Asia Minor published in 1278-9/1862, Charles Texier adds a few details to this description. By the middle of the 13th/19th century, a governor had built a government house in the town, in which antique columns and other finds from the ruins of the ancient city had been incorporated. The town by mid-century boasted a covered market, a khân, a public bath and four saints’ graves. The quarters inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were located some distance away from the Muslim town; they both possessed a mosque and a bath. Yet in terms of population, the town remained quite small; the Ottoman traveller Ferrukhan Beg, who visited Samsun in 1265/1847 and onwards have been made to bridge the gap, which included the Black Sea port in Ottoman ports.


2. Travellers: Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane, tr. Le Strange; Johannes Schiltberger, ed. and tr. U. Schlemmer, Als Sklave an der Hohe Pforte, Graz etc. 1959, xviii/3.

Teymûr’s embassy to Tamerlane, tr. Le Strange; Johannes Schiltberger, ed. and tr. U. Schlemmer, Als Sklave an der Hohe Pforte, Graz etc. 1959, xviii/3.

Westasiens Kleinaisien, Berlin 1858, 796-806 (inc. notices of earlier travellers); Ferregghâm Beg, Bagh-dâd seyâhzâ-nâme, Istanbul 1204/1888; H. von Moltke, Briefe über Täten- und Reisenbegebenheiten aus der Türkei, Berlin 1876, 197-200; Ch. Texier, Atie Mineure, Paris 1862, 620; Van Lennep, Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor, London 1870, i, 38-60; A.D. Mordtmann, ed. F. Babinger, Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien, Hanover 1925, 80-3.

3. Studies. Sâmi Bey Frâgheri, Kâmiş al-ılâm,
iv, Istanbul 1311/1894, 2931-3; V. Cuinet, La Turquie d’Asie, London 1896, index; S. Vronyis, The decline of medieval Hellensism, Berkeley etc. 1971, 131, 161; Tarih boyunca Samsun ve Samsun belediyesi, Ankara 1977; Bütün yörenizle Samsun, Ankara 1978; M. Balar, La Romanie génoise (XIIIe-début du XVe siècle), Rome 1874, ix, 373, 382; ibid. 1894, ii, 130, 131. 'Alim, star 'Alí, 1284, 285-90, 341, 342; Aqtab al-'Alí, 1122/1710 became ca. 1122/1710 became available for study. This is a map of the world centred on Mecca, so conceived that for any locality between Spain and China the direction and distance of Mecca are given correctly within the limits of mediaeval geographical coordinates (see Pl. LXVI). The maker and engraver were on the grounds of the distinctive calligraphy—most probably ‘Abd al-'Ali and his brother Muhammad Bakir, who made for Shah Husayn in 1124/1712-13 the splendid astrolabe now in the British Museum. The grid serves both functions admirably for places between the Maghrib and Sind, but because the latitude curves are drawn as arcs of circles slight errors occur for localities in al-Andalus in the west and India and China in the east. This remarkable object escaped notice in the articles KIBLA. ii and MAKKA. iv. It is a mathematical device or a cartographic projection or a nomogram, depending on how one defines either expression, which enables the user to lay the non-uniform scale of a diametrical rule over a given locality and then simply read off the kibla on the outer scale and the distance to Mecca above or below it. This operation can be easily demonstrated (see Pl. LXVII).

The positions of the ca. 150 localities are related to the coordinates in a set of geographical tables derived from a mysterious Kitāb al-Aṣl wal wa‘l-urdụl fi'l-Furs, which seems to go back at least to the 5th/11th century, with certain positions modified from later zīḏān in the same tradition as the Zīḏī-i Khānānī of Nasir al-Dīn al-Tūsī [q.v.] and the Zīḏī-i Sūdāntī of Uluğ Beg [q.v.].

Now the mathematics underlying the principle of the grid, which is not trivial, was known already in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and in fact the instrument reflects a genius and innovative spirit such as was typical of those centuries rather than the Safavid period. Yet not a trace of a mention of such a device or such a Mecca-centred map has been found in Islamic literature. However, there is indeed evidence that such maps were available in previous centuries. In al-Zīḏī al-ṣaltūnī (Ibn ‘Abd al-Sālih) ca. 750/1350 [q.v.] there is a geographical table with longitudes, latitudes and kibla-values for about 240 localities (ms. Oxford Seld. A30). The kibla-values, which are given to the nearest 1°, do not correspond to recomputation by any of the known exact or approximate methods used by the Muslim astronomers. The fact that they were read from a Mecca-centred
rectazimuthal map of the same kind as the Isfahan piece is confirmed by the kiblas for localities in the western and east. But it was not Ibn al-Shāṭīr who determined the kibla-values. A similar table with entries for about 245 localities is found in the Zījd al-ṣanajari of Sandjar-i Kamālī, also known as Sayyīd Munadjīdīm (fl. Yazd, ca. 710/1310) (ms. Paris B.N. supp. pers. 1488). Both tables stem from a common source, see also Ibn al-Sanajārī of Abu 'l-Fath al-Khazīnī (fl. Marw ca. 515/1120) (q.v.). In one of the three available mss. of this work (B.L. Or. 6669) there is a substantial fragment of the same table (one complete folio is missing). It appears that al-Bīrūnī had access to a Mecca-centred map on which the kibla-values, estimated from the map, were indicated alongside the place names. He himself estimated the longitudes and latitudes and copied the kibla-values. Now the coordinates are essentially those of al-Bīrūnī (q.v.). 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tazimuthal projections by cartographers, including Montucla, I. Craig and E. von Hammer, are mentioned by Schoy. (D.A. King)

**SAMUEL** [see USHMU'IL].

**SAMŪM (A.),** yielding Fr. simoun and Eng. simoom, a hot wind of the desert accompanied by whirlwinds of dust and sand, and set in motion by moving depressions which form within the trade winds or calm zones of the high, subtropical depressions. This wind is especially characteristic of the Sahara, in Egypt, in Arabia and in Mesopotamia. The word occurs in three passages of the Kur'ān, where it is, however, not especially applied to the wind. In sūra XV, 27, it is said that the Dānn were created from the fire of Samūm. In LII, 27, the punishment of the Samūm is mentioned; and according to I, 41, the “people of the left” were dwelling in Samūm wa-Hamīm.

The Hadīth uses the word in the same sense; yet the meaning “hot wind” is here coming to the front. It is said that Hell takes breath two times a year: “its taking breath in summer is Samūm” (al-Tirmidhl. Ḫaṭṭānām, bāb 9; cf. Ibn Mādja, Ṣuḥd, bāb 38). In al-Bukhārī we find reference to the opinion that the hot air during the day is called ḥārūr, whereas it is called samūm at night (Badd al-ḥaṣāl, bāb 4).

In nearly every traveller’s account the samūm is mentioned in the sense of the suffocating wind, often called simoom. From the innumerable references, a few may be picked out. C.M. Doughty mentions it in the neighbourhood of Mada’in Sālih as “a dry southern wind” against which the Bedouins “covered their faces up, to the eyes, with a lap of the kerchief”. He again mentions it between Medina and Mecca and tells us that, according to the Bedouins, weak camels may be suffocated by it (Travels in Arabia Deserta, Cambridge 1888, i, 106, 188).

In Mecca, the north, north-east and east winds are called samūm. When it blows it makes the impression as if it came from a huge fire through the intermediacy of gigantic bellows (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprechwörter und Redensarten*, no. 76). The season in which the sun enters the constellation of the Virgin (August) has an extremely bad reputation in Mecca, because in this time kōm and samūm and zayāb, blow alternately (loc. cit.).

Concerning Egypt, Lane says (Manners and customs, Introduction): “Egypt is also subject particularly during spring and summer, to the hot wind called the ‘‘Simoom’’, which is still more oppressive than the khamāṣeen winds, but of much shorter duration, seldom lasting longer than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. It generally proceeds from the south-east, and carries with it clouds of dust and sands”.

Concerning Kašr-i Šīrin [q.v.], Hamd Allāh Mustawfi (Nuzhat al-kulūb, tr. Le Strange, 50) says: “Its climate is unwholesome, for in the hot season at most times the (hot) Simum blows”.

Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūji al-dhahab, iii, 320-1 = § 1204 has a legendary report concerning the ḍānn which, according to the verse from the Kur’ān mentioned above, were created from the fire of the samūm (tr. R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924; i, 57); see also A. Musil, *Reisen in Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8, iii, 3-34. In other parts of the Islamic world, other words are used for the samūm. In Europe, for instance, one finds the term sirocco.

The word is hardly used in North Africa, where the hot wind is called, after its direction of origin, and according to the various regions, keblī or šārkhī.

(A.J. WENSINCK*)
An extract from the geographical table in the Arabic recension of the Zid-i Ilkhání by Shihâb al-Dîn al-Halâbî. The azimuths of the kiblah are given to the nearest 10° alongside the longitudes and latitudes of cities. Only in 1994 was it discovered that these kibla-values were read from a Mecca-centred world map. (From ms. Cairo Tal'at miḥāl 226/1, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library).

A table from medieval Cairo promising the altitude of the sun when it is in the direction of (the closed back of) the ventilator (bâdhâhandj [see bâdâî]). Since the altitude at the winter solstice is zero, this means that the ventilators in Old Cairo were oriented with their openings facing perpendicular to the direction of winter sunrise (or about 27° E. of N.). This table led to the discovery that the entire medieval city is astronomically aligned (see further, JAOS, civ [1983], 97-133).
There are two sets of curves in the solar quadrant on the upper right of the back of this astrolabe by Muhammad Mukīm al-Yazdī (ca. 1060/1650). The set whose curves are not equally spaced enables the user to find, using the horizontal ecliptic scale, the altitude of the sun when it is in the kibla of various cities in 'Irāq and Persia. For a given day of the year, one finds the solar longitude, moves along the corresponding circular arc with the alidade up to the curve in question and reads off the solar altitude on the outer scale. One then observes the sun until it reaches that altitude, and then one is facing the kibla. The other set of curves, which are equally spaced, enables the user to determine, using the vertical ecliptic scale, the solar altitude at midday for a series of latitudes from 27° to 53° in 2°-steps. Private collection; photograph courtesy of the owner.
The *kīla*-dial from Isfahān, ca. 1120/1710, bearing a map of the world from which one can read the *kīla* and distance of Mecca for any locality in the Islamic world. Private collection, photograph by Margit Matthews, courtesy of the owner.
Quiblakarte

1 cm gerader Abstand von Mekka - ungefähr 318 km in Wirklichkeit

The rectazimuthal Mecca-centred cartographical grid proposed by C. Schoy.